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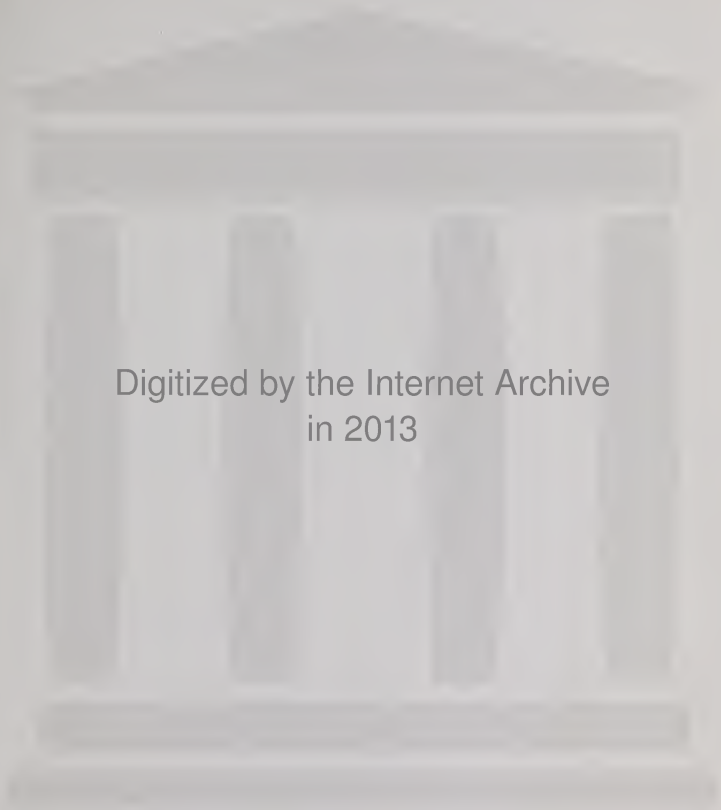
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ancient heathendom, with certain death to all save the few who marvelously creep forth, scarred and maimed, compelled to bear the fruit of her sin through all their future being; or shall she put underneath and round about them from the dawn of their immortality her everlasting arms? To answer this question is the duty and destiny of the Church of to-day. There is to be a radical sifting and replacing of all her doctrine and discipline from this stand-point. The appearance of many essays within a few years, from the strongest exponents of the various opinions, clearly foretells and briefly foreruns the work of the Church for this and the coming generation.

The treatises named above are eminent types at once of the diversity and strength of these sentiments. Dr. Bushnell's work long since startled his communion with the boldness and force of its statements; but his apparent desire to reduce Calvinism and Socinianism to one amalgam has destroyed much of its influence. It reveals the conflict in himself rather than settles it in the general Church. Dr. Olin's is one of those masterly essays of his which seem to flash truth upon the intuitions, like John's writings, rather than make a broad, macadamized road for the logical understanding as Paul does, and as most minds pre-eminently need. It is therefore both satisfactory and unsatisfactory, showing you the truth as the eye sees the sun, but giving you no data by which you can reduce it to practice, either in formularies of doctrine or ceremonies of service. Bertha and her Baptism is an argument from the Calvinistic stand-point, admirably constructed in the narrative and conversational form, said to be by Dr. Adams, of Boston. The Teknobaptist is a very able argument, by a Baptist, in the form of a dialogue between a Calvinist, an Arminian, and a Baptist, the last, of course, conquering, though the Arminian, fortunately for his victor, represents the High Church rather than the Methodist view. The posthumous pamphlet of Mr. Mercein shows what service he would have done the Church, had he lived, in its great conflict for God and the truth. As we read its original thought, exquisite in statement and fiery with feeling, we can but exclaim,

> "Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
> Dextera."

Amid the contending ranks of ancient defenders and opponents of this doctrine, appears Arminianism, as set forth in the Methodist Church, and we design to show that her doctrine alone can satisfy the conditions of the problem, and that on the basis of the belief on which she builds her impregnable towers, and from which rush forth her unconquerable armies, every Church must stand, and carrying it out to its legitimate results, make all her children sharers

in all its privileges, and responsible according to their measure for all its duties.

Every other system either falls into the absurdity of baptismal regeneration, or the equal absurdity that this ordinance is no ordinance; that it is no seal of the inward state of the receiver, but of that of some other person, as a father or mother, who have no more right to impose this upon their child in consequence of their faith, than the child has to impose it on them in consequence of its faith, supposing, as is not unusual, that he is converted before his parents are. They go farther, and say that this baptism does not constitute its recipient a member of the Church, but only "a child of the Church," an incomprehensible term. Says the author of Bertha and her Baptism: "We all know that not one baptized child of a true believer can be really a member of the Church in regular standing till he, like an unbaptized heathen convert, has repented of his sins and believed on the Lord Jesus." Such statements destroy the very doctrine they are set to defend. If it has no surer foothold, the common sense of the Church will soon abandon it. Let us carefully consider the Arminian view of the Gospel as applied to this ordinance.

We grant that baptism is the seal of a spiritual condition. It is the stamp which God requires us to affix to those he has made his own. It is the symbol, upon the body, of the work he has effected in the soul that occupies it. Thus we concede everything essential in the Baptist's idea of baptism. It is no mere christening, or consecration, or parental duty or desire, but the ordinance of Scripture properly applied to appropriate subjects. We grant also that this ordinance, as the Baptists claim that it should, places its recipient, whatever be his age or state of development, within the Church. It is as initiative and influential upon the infant as upon the most intelligent of mature converts. We claim that they are appropriate subjects for baptism and membership on the ground of their gracious condition in Christ, and therefore that they have a *right* to it, and all the relations and duties that follow it.

We claim that this right was conceded to them by the apostolic Church, as Scripture, tradition, and the necessities of the case, abundantly show; and finally we shall show that every excuse for neglecting it is more than answered by the uniform action of every one in other cases that involve the same difficulties with which the Baptist sentiment has unnaturally invested this duty. Thus we hope to prove that this ordinance agrees with the instincts of our nature, the fullness of the atonement, and the design of Christ in organizing his Church, and therefore, if properly embraced as a doctrine, and faithfully carried

out in practice, it will remove every difference of opinion and procedure among Christian Churches on this point, and contribute greatly to their perfect union. A little child shall lead the great sections of the Church to its desired communion in one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.

Let us consider the most important of these statements first. Baptism is the *right* of the infant because of his inward state of acceptance with God through the atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ. Every child when born into this world is born into a dispensation of grace. Whether in heathen or Christian lands, no child of Adam is without the application of that blood of sprinkling and regeneration. He is born virtually a Christian. To all, says the same God and Saviour that spoke to Jeremiah: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee." Some persons in our land who have given themselves over to the mystery of iniquity that worketh here, have had sent upon them a strong delusion that they should believe the lie that human beings can be born slaves. This is but the residuum of the fundamental idea of all monarchies and aristocracies that have distorted and destroyed humanity. Our great Declaration embodies in human law the opposite and Divine idea, long before declared in the Bible to be the corner-stone of the government of God—the perfect equality and liberty of every soul. This viper is crushed beneath its haughty foot before monarchist abroad and slaveocrat at home, in that great sentence yet to go out unto the ends of the world as the basis of all society, "All men are created free and equal." What is true in humanitarian and political philosophy, is the more true in spiritual science and law, and every Church creed ought to start with this statement, "*All souls are created free and equal.*" Some are not born slaves, as saith the Calvinist, following the adult and voluntary condition of their parents. They are not born free, to be instantly enslaved by an irresistible power, and only in rare cases to escape, by God's special decree, that everlasting bondage, as saith the *soi-disant* "New England" theologian. They are not born independent of Christ, gracelessly, licentiously free, as saith the Rationalist. But as every one, in spite of the momentary judicial perversion of the truth into a lie, is born entirely free and equal under our constitution, so into that greater state into which every human soul is born, and to which he owes allegiance, whether he acknowledge it or not, into the invisible but none the less present and potent Church of Christ, is every son of Adam born, and born free and Christian. This may be called assumption and the proof demanded. Consider

whither the negative leads. If it is not so, we sanctify the whole system of caste, from its heathen abomination up to its more refined but not less repugnant manifestations in European distinctions based on blood. We subscribe to that chief of the doctrines of devils which the Southern Church and State have bound as a frontlet between their eyes, and hold as their sole scepter in their right hand—that a man can be born the property of another man, both perchance begotten of the same father, in the same day, lying together in the same cradle, and at the same breast. We hesitate about giving God supremacy over his creatures and giving goodness and love the supremacy in him. We give Satan incalculably greater power than Christ over the race, and that, too, in the purely innocent and irresponsible epoch of its being. Then we must grant that this new immortal creature, whom an infinitely good God has placed in the universe, ere yet it has taken one step in its path of development, is an idolater, an infidel, a Mormon, though these systems of sin have never yet reached his ear, much less won the co-operation of his heart. In fine, we make the babe, born or unborn, a devil; and God, in all his efforts to redeem him, an intruder on domains rightfully belonging to his enemy; for in giving him the babes he grants the legitimacy of his sovereignty, even as (to compare great things with small) the rival claimants of Napoleon's throne would surrender the whole contest if they should acknowledge that his son was the real heir to his possessions.

Such a theology deserves and needs no logical opposition. It can never stand before the clear shining of the truth as it is in Jesus. Its opposite is as far above mere logical defense. Like all Gospel truth it has its seat in the purer reason, and needs but the simple statement to commend itself to every man's conscience and judgment in the sight of God. We must replace the deformed by the transformed. We must cast out this son of the bondwoman, this child of Jewish prejudice and narrowness, and admit as the cardinal doctrine of the Church, to be faithfully carried into all its life and practice, the divine truth, that every soul, when created, is born into the kingdom of God's dear Son. Heaven does, indeed, lie about us in our infancy, heaven in its purest and most powerful forms. Whatever be the faith of the parent, the undeveloped faith of the child is Christian. Christ is the light that lighteth every man that cometh, and *when he cometh*, into the world. The atonement spreads its wings of healing over every cradle in every clime. To be a son of Adam till we willfully cast away our birthright, is to be in Christ a son of God. To this favor the whole Church must come at last, if it ever fully express the favor of God.

But two questions of difficulty lie in the way of this doctrine, and they are, How does this consist with the freedom of man in accepting or rejecting the atonement? and, Does not regeneration necessarily follow willful transgression? It must consist with the first, for that is an absolute truth, and can yield to no foe. It owes no allegiance to the second, for that is an absolute error, made seeming true by the necessity of many, through their previous sin, to thus re-enter a regenerate state. The freedom of choice certainly is no more infringed upon by imparted grace than by imparted sin; and the received theology is in some cases impelled, and is always inclined to believe in this last godless dogma. Such a work of grace simply puts the soul in a free state, *ab initio.* It does not give the enemy the whole field to be filled with his tares, and then let the good man come along with his handful of wheat; but the wheat is sown first. Our connection with Adam corrupts and ruins us at our conception; our connection with the second Adam restores us to as fair a condition at the same point as it would have been had the first parents kept their first estate. So, with the hellish powers dragged away from the infantile throat, and with heavenly powers surrounding him, he grows to a sense of his nature and responsibility, of his dangers and duties, and, in perfect freedom amid the contending powers, makes his decision; and thus proceeds through his probationary career, till his choice is fixed, in the full exercise of the same freedom through his eternal being. No defense is needed of this doctrine of gracious ability, as it is a favorite one with our Church, has received the ablest advocacy of our ablest minds, is winning its widening way amid the fallen and falling systems of natural ability or inability, moderated or full, as the light riddles and consumes the darkness, and is yet to be known and loved of all Christians, and to permeate all theology.

The error involved in the second objection found entrance to our theology as well as others; only in ours it is an exotic, in theirs, indigenous. Even Watson seems to teach that regeneration must follow transgression. This is a vital point, and must be carefully examined. The only foes with whom we shall have a perilous conflict are of our own household, who believe in the salvation of all infants, on the ground of their justification, but do not believe that justification has wrought a work in them equivalent to regeneration; but when they have arrived at years of accountability, they must on their own faith be born again. We have three objections to this theory.

1. It destroys the validity of infant baptism. That is slain in the house of its friends; for the infant can *merit* baptism only on the

ground of his fitness for Church membership, and this fitness depends entirely on his regeneration. It will not do to say that mere deliverance from the curse of the law, without a grant of powers lost by that curse, if this were possible, which it is not, can give its recipient a fitness for membership in the Christian Church. Only those can rightfully enter it who are made *new creatures* in Christ Jesus. If he is not thus made he has no right to, and cannot really receive the ordinance of baptism. They must abandon this duty or that doctrine.

2. Again: all the blessings said to be given to the infant by the atonement are no blessings, if this view be true. These gifts are said to be the operations of the Holy Ghost, the prayers and blood of Christ, and the removal of the curse entailed by Adam. But what would be the benefit of the Holy Ghost or the blood of sprinkling upon a soul not radically changed, so as to be adapted to it? No more than life around a corpse. These Divine gifts are as void, unless something be done *in* this babe, as they are when at work upon the most hardened sinner. And on the other hand, if the removal of the curse means anything, it means not merely lifting a load from us which crushed us, but giving elasticity and vitality to those crushed faculties, so that they can spring back to their lost form and force, and can grow, under the stimulus of the Divine presence, in the Divine likeness. It means conferring upon the babe precisely what is understood to be conferred upon an adult in answer to prayer and faith. It is, in substance, regeneration. It is this or nothing, and as the theory of mere justification denies this, it advocates practically nothing.

3. Finally, we object to this because it opens the door for great errors. If God saves an infant because Christ died for it, and thus removed original condemnation, and yet does not impart any of the effects of that death to his nature, then he saves him without his being born again, and so violates his declaration when he says, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." Then he is saved on just the same ground as Universalism saves all—justification through the death of Christ, without regeneration. Then we cannot see the impartiality of God in taking these wicked beings, still in their depravity, to heaven, and not taking others whose natures, by his gift of life continued, have only borne legitimate fruit. This doctrine breeds these vital errors, and cannot stand the batteries of orthodox or heterodox logic. Only on the doctrine of regeneration do we escape from the quicksands to the rock. Only there do we have a consistent origin for a consistent faith. If it be said the Scriptures preach otherwise, saying, "Behold, I was shapen

in iniquity," we answer this is not against us. As far as human generation is concerned this is too true; but there is a Christian generation, spiritual and divine, congenital with the carnal and human, inwrought in that soul at its very origin, by virtue of which we have a counter life of holy impulses, and can grow after the model of the immaculate Son of God. This life is the foundation of our probation, the gift of God to every man through Christ, and the sole ground, in our infancy, of our acceptance with God and assurance of heaven. As Mercein well says:

"This double heritige of sin and grace is the only key to the mystery of God's dealing with childhood. The theology which excludes either of these truths, is soon felt to be mere speculation and dogmatism. There are those who would fain see in the common history of childhood no fallen nature, but only in symmetrical development amid adverse influences and examples; but they are mournfully rebuked by too many evidences of a spontaneous radical evil that cannot be explained as an 'excess of good.' And on the other hand, those whose faith in revelation, and whose observation leave no room to doubt the fatal heritage of sin, cannot hold fast the creed that damns the poor unconscious babe, sinful though its nature may be."

It may be said that regeneration requires a *previous* generation. If so this previous generation must be sinful, and makes us all children of the devil. His are the souls of men. This cannot be. It is blasphemy almost to conceive such a thought. We must assert their consentaneous movement originally in the soul at its birth. And the divine and holy one is termed *re*generation, because that the sinful is the natural, and the holy is the supernatural, supervened upon it, and therefore, though in point of time contemporaneous, in point of relation subsequent. This, with the fact that it is reconferred in a multitude of cases in mature life on their penitential petition, very properly gives it the name of regeneration.

Hence we see that it may be, it must be possible for God, *it is his duty*, through the atonement of Christ, so to impart of the regenerating grace that flows from justification to the new-born soul, that it may grow in the likeness of its God and Saviour, and never knowing the hour when he was engrafted into him, may always be conscious of the life of God in his soul. Such was the case with the Josephs, the Samuels, and the Timothys of old; such the blessed experience of myriads in the later Church. This theory adjusts the infant state to the whole plan of salvation, and sets this display of Divine love and wisdom as one of the brightest of the Urim and Thummim, the lights and the perfections on that breast of our great High Priest, upon which the babe had often been pressed below, and always is above.

We cannot but refer, in closing this argument, to Mr. Mercein's

admirable statement of this view in his little tract. Never have more important truths been set forth in more forcible and felicitous forms. He says:

"From the moment that the law was broken the atonement became operative in Adam and his race. The Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world, and the descending lightnings of wrath were attracted by the ascending smoke of the great sacrifice, and the full vengeance fell not on Eden but Calvary."

As a consequence of this was the prolongation of the life of those transgressors and the creation of a race.

"It was only by the interposition of a mediatorial grace that the guilty pair were not crushed at once, but simply driven away from the tree of life. Yet only by this extension of earthly life did it become possible to gather a family and initiate a race, so that we may boldly say that *it is only through the atonement that there has ever been a childhood.*"

From this position he advances by a very clear course of reasoning to the following conclusions as to the relation of the infant to the law of the atonement:

"1. The law, the expression of God's holiness, condemns the sinful nature; but the atonement, receiving upon itself that expression of abhorrence, absolves and *justifies.*

"2. The law assigns as one of the penalties of evil is self-perpetuation, its inability to every virtue, and its insensibility to, and forfeiture of, spiritual influences. The atonement withdraws this penalty and gives, in germ at least, and in a new birth, the elements of purity with a capability of growth, under influences adapted to our spiritual constitution. In other words, *the atonement regenerates.* These are precisely the benefits conferred in adult conversion, conferred as often as a wandering guilty soul comes back in humble penitent faith to the Lamb of God.

'He breaks the power of *canceled* sin.'

Much more is this double benediction breathed upon each little one that wakes to being beneath the shadow of the cross."

These statements may seem startling, but it is not from their extravagance, but our timidity. Every step in truth startles those who simply receive and defend what others have discovered. The late great achievement of uniting Europe and America by a second of time, was only the natural result of events connected with that science and art. The mystery was solved, the difficulty overcome, when it was found that lightning could be made to talk. So these statements are the natural, the inevitable, the unanswerable sequences of our doctrine of gracious ability and universal atonement. Wesley, under God, gave us these, and we have defended and propagated them. It remained for this son of his to carry these truths to their legitimate result, as applying to the

infant soul, and we hazard little in saying, that this brief and unfinished treatise will put the name of its author beside those of Arminius and Athanasius, as one who has given an absolutely new idea to the Church, "new and old at its birth, like La Verrier's planet," and cleared up, by this single step of advancement, a crowd of difficulties that had pressed upon it, and thus contributed in no small measure to its final union in clearest thought and warmest devotion.

Another mode of discerning this right of the infant to baptism, because he is a member by birth of the invisible Church, more impressive to most minds than the one we have been pursuing, merits our attention. It is put in the form of a question, and as such smilingly but utterly confounds all adherents of Calvinism or Rationalism. It is, What becomes of those who die in infancy? This question, more than any other, is disintegrating the theology of partialism. The attempt to answer it agreeably at once to the universal instinct and the stern theology of Geneva, instantly shows the fearful and unendurable strain to which that creed is subjected. It cannot answer and live. It is as fatal to it as Christ's question concerning John's baptism was to the Calvinists of his time; for as that was the seal of faith in an immediately coming Messiah, whom this Jesus must be if any one was then living, they saw that if they acknowledged the heavenly origin of that, they must of him; and shrinking from this, they dared not gratify their pride and malice by uttering a willful lie, on account of the populace, who had but one opinion about John, however divided they might be on Christ. So they maintained a most expressive silence between the fires of divine logic and popular opinion. Our modern fatalists should imitate them if they would maintain the scheme intact. The pressure of popular sentiment has compelled them to declare the salvation of all who die in infancy, and this concession will, in spite of all their efforts, undermine their ancient and famous fortress of mingled truth and error. For the corner-stone of their creed is, that God foreordains, from all eternity, a certain portion of mankind to eternal life; that the decree is based on his sovereign good pleasure, and not on any action which they can perform, good or bad, nor on a period of probation, (for probation is not possible with those who are under eternal approbation, or its opposite,) nor even in any length of life, the babe dying at the moment of its birth, and the man of five score years, being alike separated from any free or personal co-operation in this infinite work.

Says Dr. Parsons Cook, (*Puritan Recorder*, April 29, 1858 *et al.*,) "We regard the subject of the new birth as being as really passive as in the natural birth," and thence seeks to shun the necessary

consequent of his faith, infant damnation, by asserting the ease with which God can save all who die in infancy. But it is not easy for God to do a wicked thing, and nothing could be more so than to act as this divine asserts that he does; for if he can thus save some infants, the question comes home with irresistible force, Why not save all then and there? Why let the most of them pass that elysian gate to enter the paths of eternal destruction? If it be said some must be the instruments through which they shall be created and saved, the race cannot live without parents, we answer, many who grow up never are parents, and yet are not saved; and if they are, is not the unfairness of such a sovereign disposer yet more manifest in letting the father and mother become devils by his neglect, in order that he may, through them, increase the number of his elect angels? Thus does this vaunted system of logic and truth destroy not only the probation and responsibility of man, but the wisdom, truth, and love of God.

But moderated Calvinism cannot run her keel, smooth and swift as she is, over these rocks that she will not take out of her channel. It will never witch the world with noble horsemanship so long as it attempts to ride at once two such beasts as rationalism and fatalism. These are their foci: Man is not a sinner till he sins, and therefore all who die before are of necessity saved. Here is their rationalism. Again: Man must inevitably sin when he begins conscious life, and hence cannot be esteemed holy in his previous unconscious condition, and therefore, if dying then, must have regeneration in "a large and unusual sense"* conferred upon him. No orbit can be projected from these points. They are the foci of asymptotes and not of a united and useful elipse. By the first they must save the infant independent of Christ; and their misfortune is that this position arises more directly from their philosophy than the latter one, which is the refuge of their faith unattended by their reason. Thus they separate this portion of the saved from all their kindred. They owe nothing to Christ. No infant voices sing the song of the Lamb. Their white robes were never stained and hence never washed. The babe is taken from its mother's arms, though both fled together to the heavenly mansion. Thus they build up walls great and high, and fix gulfs which cannot be crossed, even in heaven, between members of the same race, of the same household, of the same body of Christ. Gored through all their Christian experience by this rationalistic horn, they leap upon the old fatalistic one that they utterly abhor and yet cannot tear out, and find themselves compelled to acknowledge their Princeton brethren to be

* Congregationalist, April, 1858.

right, with all the *horribilia decreta* that underlie, surround, and crown their system; for it has Christ and him crucified as its center and life, and is therefore, with all its deformities, as much above that humanitarian philosophy of religion, (falsely so called,) as the gnarled and stunted oak is superior, by the one but unspeakable addition of life, to all the gorgeous glitterings of the lifeless iceberg. To save themselves from being ejected from the evangelical fold, they must erase from their flag that natural ability and moral inability which they flaunt before their brethren of other orders as the newly wrought and only banner that can lead the Church to its millennial throne, and wave it a blank, discolored sheet at the head of their solitary column. Under their dissonant creed infant salvation through Christ is an impossibility. Striving to sit on the stools of Puritanism and Unitarianism, a child's hand is put forth, and "New England theology," the boasted union of Calvinism and reason, tumbles to the ground.

As this is the only attempt that Calvinism has ever made to adjust itself to common sense and modern philosophy, and as its failure, when subject to this test, is so clear and even ludicrous, we may confidently affirm that this system of faith cannot tell us if and how infant souls die in the Lord. They must yet pave hell with tender skulls of the fore-doomed infants. The pressure of a cruel faith that has in it a little of the breath of divine life, through its connection with the Saviour, is too strong for the merely natural sentiments. It plows through these waves of native feeling that rush against it with mountainous form and force, as easily and irresistably as the leviathan cuts the "still vexed Bermoothes." Thus the babe in his cradle, the immortal Hercules, living or dying, easily strangles all those serpentine theories of grace that originate in fatality not freedom, partial and not universal love. For none of these doctrinal schemes can answer, under the imperative demand of both the Gospel and human nature, the question, How can you save those dying in infancy through the atonement of Christ? The universal heart demands the salvation of all who die at that period of life. A striking proof was seen lately in the celebration with firing of cannon, and flying of flags, of the victory of a candidate over his council at Woburn, Massachusetts, the council having first refused to settle him because he believed in this doctrine, and afterward were compelled by public opinion to reluctantly relent. Christianity demands that they shall be saved precisely as their brethren are, by Him who took on himself the nature of an infant, that He might include them in the great redemption. A true philanthropical theology demands that they be saved on conditions

which include every infant, whether he lives or dies, otherwise death would be an illicit gain to the one who obtained it.

Our philosophy of redemption admirably answers these ends. Christ died for the race. By virtue of that death the curse entailed on it by Adam was removed from each soul, until the soul voluntarily adopted it as its own; consequently, those who leave this world before they commit any actual sin, are received into the heaven of redeemed souls by and through the atoning Saviour. If they remain here, the Holy Spirit is continually and freely poured upon them, so that they are under no necessity of sinning, but may grow up under its constant influence, new born when first born, new creatures in Christ Jesus when first created. Though the fullness of this truth and light does not fall upon those that are born in heathen lands or of ungodly parents, still, with the children of most pious parentage, they are redeemed and cleansed by the blood of Christ, and when they enter into voluntary sin, are judged according to the light they have, which is sufficient to save them if properly used. "For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts, while their inward thoughts, answering the one to the other, either justify or else condemn them, as will be seen in that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel."* While thus every adult shall receive according to that he hath done, from the hand of infinite love and justice, the soul that escapes the pollutions that are in the world by death, shall, through the power of Jesus, Saviour and Judge, receive eternal life, as the gift purchased for him by His incarnation and death, freely offered and freely received. For as in Adam all have spiritually died, even so in Christ have all been spiritually made alive, and they who leave the world before they slay themselves again by voluntary co-operation with the tempter, shall live forever in the heavens.

This view removes the whole cloud of horrors that from the heights of other creeds overhangs the fate of children. It is equally removed from that blasphemous self-confidence and self-righteousness that ignores the whole work of the atonement, denies Christ the headship of the race, and attempts to send its babes to heaven without putting them in his arms. He takes them though their parents refuse to give them to him. He accepts *theirs* though they reject *him*.

Hence arises the doctrine of infant baptism. This ordinance is the passport to the visible Church for those who have previously

* Conybeare and Howson in loc.

entered the invisible. Every babe has an inward state that fits it for heaven. This must then place him in the invisible Church. He therefore has a *right* to be a member of the visible Church. The greater includes the less. The heir of the throne is the first citizen of the state. These children of God are heirs of his eternal kingdom, and ought to be in its shadowy and temporary representative, the Church on earth. We have the keys of the visible Church. Its Author and Master presents these candidates fitted by himself, and demands that we allow them to enter. The only way of entrance is by the administration of the ordinance of baptism. "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we." "Take heed how ye" refuse his request or "despise one of these little ones. It were better for that man that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of these little ones."

Thus it stands in the light of a true and blessed theology. It is hampered by no such absurdities as baptismal regeneration; for the candidates are in a regenerated state before and independent of the application of water. It it no humane graft on an inhuman system, the conscience compelling the confession of this truth, though it be like a piece of new cloth in an old garment, making the rent worse, and ultimately requiring the reluctant patcher to make all his garment of the new material. It does not make us (as the Baptist faith requires) leave our little ones as a prey to the destroyer. The massacre of the innocents would then be ceaseless, and the Rachels always weeping comfortless tears for their living babes. The Spanish saying would then be too true, that the first cry of the child is because the devil clutches him; clutches and keeps, according to these theologies, save in the few cases where they are snatched from his grasp by Him whom they esteem greater than antichrist, by uncreated Omnipotence, yet weaker in his manifestation of himself in the work of redemption. But ye have not so learned Christ if so be that ye have found him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jesus. Infant baptism is the water of sealing applied to those whose inherited stains His blood had washed away. It is the opening of the door of the Church by the hand Divine, to place within its protective walls the souls new created in him. It makes her the nursing mother of his babes, which he travailed with alone in the greatness of his strength. It possesses, as his gift, a philosophy, faith, and practice that develop, in a natural and harmonious manner, the truth as it is in him, as it is through him, in the human soul, from its feeble beginnings in the helpless babe to its unmeasured growth in the unmeasured ages.

Two important corollaries, one referring to the Church, the other to parents, demand consideration.

First. If this argument be true the Church must extend two favors to their baptized children, which they have thus far steadily refused. One is a recognition of their Church membership, and the other admission to the Lord's supper.

As the Calvinistic Baptist has the advantage of his Calvinistic Pædobaptist in the argument, so he has of all his opponents in their practice. None but avowed believers are usually considered as Church members or admitted to the sacrament. Between these Predestinarian sections there is not a shadow of difference as to the necessity of regeneration and baptism before Church membership, and that the first, which is a pre-requisite of the second, cannot happen till after infancy; hence they both say the last cannot be conferred upon an infant, but he must have a quasi-membership, if any —be "a child of the Church." But if the first and last of these are above that age and class, how can baptism, the intermediate on which both depend, be capable of application to them? It cannot, and the Baptist again wins the day. They go together in the order laid down. If we grant the baptism because of regeneration, we must the membership because of baptism. If we shrink from this, if we dare not call our babes Christians and Church members, let us abandon infant baptism, calling it christening, or what you will, but not the Divine ordinance and sole passport to the Church on earth. We must recognize him as a member; he must be taught that he is one, that after due season, and on the expression of proper feelings on his part, he may assume his vows for himself, and enjoy all the privileges of the Church; but before that hour his connection is as close, his liberty as large as a child in a family before his maturity. If he sins he sins as a Church member. If he persist in his sin he is to be treated as a backslider. Thus alone shall we be consistent with ourselves and the truth.

The second necessity is to admit our children, as soon as they can go to Church, to the great privilege and duty of Church members —the Lord's supper. This may seem to some the very extreme of folly and profanity. How will this service be desecrated by such an admission! Better fall back on the very doctrine that excludes infants from heaven than to admit one that drags us to such irreverent conclusions. But we ask, where is the ground for the especial sanctity which is thrown around this ordinance, a sanctity so sacred that those in the congregation who are nearest the heart and the likeness of the Redeemer are to be excluded from its delights? The hospitality which that supper was intended to commemorate and

symbolize is turned into crabbed discourtesy by these close-hearted servitors of the Master of the feast. What objection can arise to the participation of children in its duties and influences? Is it because they cannot understand its meaning? They are taught to pray long before they are sensible of its nature or benefits. Is that greatest of human privileges, speaking to God, turned into a blasphemous pantomime by the broken prattle of a child's prayer? But if this is obligatory on every parental conscience, why shall not the Eucharist, the other mode of approach unto God, be granted them? They will understand it much earlier and easier than they can prayer. The child knows the meaning of food before he does of conversation; and no way of impressing the great central truth of the Gospel on his sensitive nature can compare with this one appointed by Christ. It seems as if he had this object especially in view, so potent would its influence be. The little ones would have every sense brought in contact with the great truth, and as knowledge thus first enters the soul, they would, from this frequent and solemn duty, have the Lamb of God in his sufferings and death as vividly active in their hearts as they now have their daily meals.

It cannot be refused them from their unfitness, for many others, less worthy, go in their adult depravities, having the wedding garment upon a soul, alive, indeed, but not all glorious within, while those babes in Christ have upon them the perfect robe of Christ's righteousness. The one that is nearest a little child is the most heartily welcomed and rewarded by the Lord of the feast, and the child himself will be taken up in his arms there, and blessed as it nowhere else can be. How pleasant the spectacle of parents and children gathering as one family about this great family table of the Father of mercies and God of all comforts! The pictures of a family prayer and family baptism would then have a fitting consummation in the family communion. The very sight of it would remove every objection. As the posture of kneeling in prayer needs no argument save the convictions the beholding eye gives the heart, so the propriety and beauty of this act would convince every beholder.

These two privileges are absolutely essential to the Church relation and the Church life. Without them baptism is impotent and in a measure harmful; with them it is *un fait accompli*, a finished and perfect work. Without them, the advocates of believer's baptism can pick flaws in our practice that our argument can never close up. With them it stands forth clear as the sun and fair as the moon, lovely and of good report.

Let baptism then have its perfect work. Do not admit the new-born Christian to the font but shut him off from the class, the covenant, and the supper, until he comes back to his Father's house, from which his elder brethren have driven him, and, too often, with jealousies and surmises contribute to the festival of his return. Keep not this seed-wheat in the wilderness, refusing to plant it in the garden of the Lord, until it has grown up among universal rocks and tares. It is not the best way to keep weeds out of that garden by letting nothing grow from the seed, but all from translated exotics. The tares will be bedded in those roots, will be in the sap of those trees to spring up and defile many after their transplanting. Let us the rather carefully raise the godly seed in the sacred inclosure of the Church; and then shall the glories of her future shine upon our eyes when, not by tributary streams like the Sabbath school, but through the central channel, shall flow in upon her a never-failing stream of holy youth, greatly enriching this paradise of God.

As the Church is yet restrained by an imperfect theology from its full duty, so many Christian parents deprive their children of this privilege under convictions originating in like error. Two reasons prompt them to deny their babes this symbol of and passport to the sacramental grace, the first arising from convictions of the invalidity of the ordinance, the last from an unwillingness to impose a yoke on the child which shall afterward burden his conscience. The first we have already examined; let us consider the latter. They dislike to impose a burden on their children, and that this is one proved by the dissatisfaction of many with it when they enter the Church on profession of their faith. The general objection is easily disposed of. In multitudes of cases the parent imposes burdens on the child without his consent, often irksome, painful, and irremediable, and sometimes deadly, which it is sinful for them to murmur at, and from which they cannot escape but by the door of death, made lustrous to their sad eyes by these parental impositions. Do they object to imposing their blood and lineage on an immortal soul? Do they shrink from compelling him to carry their name, or speak their language, or abide in their social condition, be these what they may? Besides these burdens, which substantially make up the whole life of the child, they receive others from their hands for which they are responsible, and which may be equally intolerable. They bear a name at which they may be justly aggrieved and ashamed, an incurable deformity laid upon them by the poor taste of their parents. Is this not interfering with their rights and privileges?

But it may be said this is mere trifling. These are the necessary

incidents of our origination from paternity, and are overbalanced by the blessings flowing from that relation. If children are hampered in these things over which we have little or no control, let them have freedom in their spiritual life. Do they have freedom there? Whence come those doctrinal views so closely resembling their parents'? How happens it that even in this land, with all our freedom of action, the son so seldom deserts the faith of his fathers? As his social and civil notions are growths from seeds of parental planting, so his religious sentiments draw their life blood from his convictions. If it be said these are the inevitable consequences of an intimacy for which the elders are not responsible, but they differ from a Christian duty, we answer, not materially, for these all involve and end in duty. Yet take an imposition which is a Christian duty exclusively, and which every Christian parent lays upon his child—prayer, for before he can well pronounce the name of God and has no glimmering of his nature, he is taught to address him. He is taught the parent's theology in his prayers, in its most vital forms. He is carried to his Church, placed in his Sabbath school, taught his catechism, made to expound the Bible as he understands it, placed under every possible religious burden but this, and without a thought in the parent that he is cramping the freedom of a soul. Why should not infant baptism precede these prayers and studies, giving them a fruitfulness, like good seed in good ground, they can never otherwise attain. It is the grand central duty of them all. It will make each of them vastly more efficacious than they can be in their present disorganized activity. His doctrinal views will be confirmed if he examines them as a Church member. His prayers will have a directness and force if he prays in the temple of the visible Church. Therefore, as in his blood, race, language, and name, social and civil condition, food and raiment, studies and trades, political and religious opinions, Sabbath instructions and daily prayers, in every other case, voluntary or otherwise, the child is under conditions in which he must live, and move, and have his being, it cannot make the fetters much heavier, or the victim much more indignant than he now is or ought to be, according to this reasoning, if the great Divine duty crowned and consecrated them all.

Finally, it may be said, This is solitary and alone among duties; it is the solemn sealing of the soul unto its God and Saviour. I cannot take this responsibility on myself, especially when I see how dissatisfied some are with their baptism. If you would rebaptize them I would give them the benefits of this consecration.

Not one in a thousand of other denominations murmur at having received this rite in infancy. Our children are exposed to peculiar

temptations. Many of our converts are from the unbaptized world, and their necessary baptism sometimes troubles the Christian child who takes his vows upon himself at the same time. But this would occasion no trouble did not many of these, under external pressure, prefer immersion; and this striking form, having the appearance of greater sanctity and self-denial, troubles their tender conscience, especially as their connection with their baptism has never been kept up by the Church, and of course equally neglected in the parental culture. Let them be instructed from their childhood in the duties, and made partakers of the privileges of the Church, and these murmurs will never rise in the heart of the baptized child, but rejoicings rather that he has never gone away, like these, into a far country, but always abode in his Father's house.

If we are still asked to rebaptize, we should refuse; for we make a mockery of the ordinance in reapplying it when we believe it is invalid. We take the name of God in vain over these candidates under the most solemn circumstances. If we are sincere in the act we unbaptize the rest of our Church, and perhaps disturb the peace of thousands while seeking to satisfy the crookedness of an individual conscience, whose difficulty is not usually with infant or believer's baptism, but with immersion, and who is, in fact, an exclusive believer in this mode, and ought, if he cannot be cured, to go with those whose practice honestly conforms to that opinion.

We have endeavored to show that this ordinance is appointed of God; that it is based on the right of every infant as embraced in the covenant of grace, not merely in that with Abraham, but in the larger one made with Adam, made in Christ; that it is impossible, from any basis of human or Divine honor and love, for God to send those who die in infancy to perdition, and yet it is impossible, on the same basis, for them to be saved except by the atonement of Christ, which must not include them as special subjects, but under a general law, whereby all yet in their infancy are subjects of saving grace, their inherited evil taken away, and they, though weak and erring, still without condemnation till they have fallen consciously and wilfully into sin. From this comes the inevitable conclusion that every child being made by Christ a member of his invisible Church, has a right, as a human being, to enter the human or visible Church. This right, while it inheres in all children, is properly conferred, except in extraordinary cases, only on those of believers, because they alone can experimentally bring them up in the obligations it imposes, while there is no such regenerative grace in it, or election through the covenant with the parents, as makes the baptized child, if he dies, the more sure of salvation than multitudes who, by

the same excellent fortune, fly in infant innocence from the bosom of unconverted parents in heathen or Christian lands to the bosom of their Saviour in heaven.

The commands of Christ so far from abolishing, establish this law.* That it was the custom of the apostolic Church, is proved from the speech and the silence of the Scriptures; its frequent reference to the baptism of houses or families, a word never found in the Baptist vocabulary of revivals;† its silence before the prejudices of Jew, and Greek, and Roman, and to whomsoever the word of this salvation was then sent, a silence that is unac-

* There are two commands of Christ that are the two watchwords of the most hostile sects, the regenerationist and the immersionist; the one, "He that believes and is baptized shall be saved;" the other, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Holy Ghost he cannot see the kingdom of God." These can be set over against each other, and it is not unlikely, were so uttered by Christ, that he might destroy both the errors of baptismal regeneration and exclusive believer's baptism. If the Baptist says baptism follows faith always, because Christ said so, the baptismal regenerationist asks, Why did he not put it before faith or its substance, in his conversation with Nicodemus? If he, on the other hand, says baptism precedes and occasions regeneration, because Christ said so, the answer is, he puts it after that in his last command. So the balance is kept, and both infant and believer's baptism are both preserved to the Church.

† Of what members did these *οἶκος* or families consist? We have to draw on our judgment for the answer. This is probably affected by our faith and previous thought. To break through these as far as possible, let us suppose these statements were made in a journal of to-day, with whose views we had no acquaintance. Supposing that the Revival Tribune of last winter, about the length of the Acts of the Apostles, should have said, among other items, that in New York, "a Mrs. Lydia, whose heart the Lord had opened, was baptized and her family;" "that in a remarkable outpouring of grace at Sing Sing, the warden was convicted and converted the same night, and before morning, 'he and all his' were baptized." In Boston the mayor "believed on the Lord, with all his family, and were baptized." Supposing that a great preacher, whose views were not known, should send a letter to the Church that he had been instrumental in upbuilding, in which he should say, "I baptized the family of Stephanus;" and again, "Salute the Church in Priscilla's family, and they who are of Herodian's and Narcissus's families," could any one, however rigid their own views might be, fail to believe that the author of this narrative and letter intended to say that children, even the smallest, were baptized? Could any fair criticism, if it should reject some of them, reject them all? Would not a Baptist brother who should read that Tribune say, that those who wrote that narrative and letter were Methodist or Presbyterian preachers? Would a Baptist preacher, *could* he give such an account of a revival in his Church to his journals? The difference between them and St. Luke and St. Paul is seen in a most striking form in the journals and letters of that great apostle to the Burmans, Dr. Judson. They abound in narratives of baptisms, but not once is the word house or family used in connection with them, so far had he departed from the usage of the first and chief of the apostles to the heathen.

countable if the new religion was to hold the children of its adherents in less vital relations to itself than any one of its contemporaries; the desires of idolators to have the arms of the Church thrown around their babes, so that the whole family may be as a lovely islet in the black and deadly ocean of paganism rolling around them; the inscriptions on the graves of Christian and and baptized babes in the catacombs; the statement of every father, from Tertulian and Origen to Augustine, and of every council, from the first attended by the converts of Timothy and Titus, if not of Paul and John, to the last held by an undivided and unapostatized Church. All these give an array of proof of the apostolic usage that it is impossible to gainsay or resist. We have seen that the doctrine of believers' baptism is complied with if the believer be an unconscious infant placed in the same state into which faith introduces the adult, as if he had passed years in sinful unbelief before his conversion. We have shown that their early admission to all their rights as Church members, though they be ignorant of their full meaning, will bless them and the Church, and be agreeable to the will and education of Him who was taken by his parents when a babe into the temple to do for him after the manner of this law.

We trust the Church will regulate her discipline according to her faith, and that her admission of her babes to her classes, her sacraments, and all other perquisites of membership, will lead her members to give their children their rights, and to train them up in the knowledge of their obligations and benefits. Then shall the reverent words of the holy Herbert be our prayer from childhood:

"Since, Lord, to thee
A narrow way and little gate
Is all the passage, on my infancy
Thou didst lay hold and antedate
My faith in me.

"O let me still
Write thee great God, and me a child;
Let me be soft and supple to thy will,
Small to myself, to others mild.
Be hither ill."

Then will the doctrine of infant salvation logically embodied in our creed, discipline, and practice, lead all other sects to believe its truthfulness and accept its necessary consequents of infant regeneration and infant baptism. The wall in all churches that is built up between the child and his Lord's table, will crumble under the same power. The little children shall again come to Jesus, surround his table, and partake of that flesh which is meat indeed, and

that blood which is drink indeed for every helpless human soul. The hearts of the fathers will be turned to the children, and out of the mouths of babes and sucklings will He ordain praise, while they, like Samuel, shall abide in the temple, and like Christ shall grow in wisdom, and stature, and in favor with God and man.

Art. II.—BRAZIL AND THE BRAZILIANS.

Brazil and the Brazilians, Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches. By Rev. D. P. Kidder, D.D., and Rev. J. C. Fletcher. Illustrated by one hundred and fifty engravings. Philadelphia: Childs, Peterson, & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Blakeman.

It was said long ago by the Great Master, "The field is the world." It is an expression worthy of deep thought by his ministry and his Church. If the world be the field for Christian exertion and enterprise; if the world's conversion should be the grand aim of every loyal worker, then the travels of each explorer, the diary of each adventurer, becomes instinct with thrilling interest. To another it may be but a record of marches, of bivouacs, of huts, of botanical or mineralogical observations. To us it is a new revelation of the world, the world we are to aid in renovating. The world is being made known. Much heretofore supposed to be desert is found to be fertile, and abounding in the *materiale* of wealth. There is yet to be a commerce of which the speculator scarcely dreams. There stand upon the shelves before our table, the volumes of Barth and Livingston, who have brought to Europe and America facts which have awakened inquiry, and suggested future national possibilities which may work a mighty change. The Zambesi is destined to be the world's great cotton canal, and from the broad plains which skirt it, shall be gathered the crop which shall tell with economic arguments, unanswerable facts, in the ears of monopolizing American slaveholders. The sprightly pages of the artist-traveler, Atkinson, have made known the deserts of Siberia, in such manner as we never anticipated. These men, with Captain Kane, in his hyperborean explorations, Wells in his adventures in Honduras, and Loftus in Chaldea and Susiana, have been, in the hands of God, surveyors for his Church. They are mapping the field. We begin to learn what remains to be done ere

"One song employs all nations."

Lying in South America, and stretching from 4° 28′ north to 32° 45′ south, and with a length of two thousand six hundred and thirty, and a breadth of two thousand five hundred and forty miles, is an empire of which we have known but little. We have heard of Brazil as a land of immense trees, tropical fruits, and flowers; a land of semi-civilization, "palm-trees and jaguars, anacondas and alligators, howling monkeys and screaming parrots, diamond-mining, revolutions, and earthquakes;" but, to continue from the preface of the work we propose to notice, "how few seem to be aware that in the distant southern hemisphere is a stable constitutional monarchy, and a growing nation, occupying a territory of greater area than that of the United States, and that the descendants of the Portuguese hold the same relative position in South America as the descendants of the English in the northern half of the New World! How few Protestants are cognizant of the fact, that in the territory of Brazil the reformed religion was first proclaimed on the western continent?" Thanks to our authors, this ignorance is in part removed.

As to the book before us, its joint authorship is thus explained. Dr. Kidder spent some time in the mission work in Brazil, and after his return to the United States published a volume of "Sketches," embodying the result of his careful observations. This volume was favorably received, but has been several years out of print; but by his consent its substance is reproduced in the volume before us.

The junior author, Rev. J. C. Fletcher, is of a family celebrated for combining the intensely practical with a love of the beautiful. His early training increased his born love of travel, and he has wandered almost around the globe. In a special manner his attention was drawn to Brazil, and providentially his way was opened to visit and explore it. He has looked at it as an artist, a political economist, a statistician, and as a Christian and a Christian minister. It has been his province to weave into these pages his own and Dr. Kidder's observations.

Of different denominations, the first an Arminian, the second a Calvinist, the work cannot be accused of sectarian misstatements, but comes commended by a broad catholicity to all its readers. We speak advisedly when we say we consider this book one of the most valuable accessions to modern literature.

"Its authors have consulted every important work in French, German, English, and Portuguese, that could throw light on the history of Brazil, and likewise various published memoirs and discourses read before the flourishing 'Geographical and Historical Society' at Rio de Janeiro. For statistics they have either personally examined the imperial and provincial archives, or have quoted directly from the Brazilian state papers."—Pp. 4, 5.

The publishers have performed their work in superior style. The engravings are very fine, especially the colored ones. Accompanying the volume is a well executed map, prepared by J. H. Colton & Co., which has the advantage of the corrections made by Mr. Fletcher, from personal observation, in 1855, during the summer of which year he traveled more than three thousand miles in Brazil.

It was on the 26th of January, A. D. 1500, that Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the companions of Columbus, and the first Spaniard who crossed the equator, discovered the continent of South America. A mysterious providence gave into the hands of Popery the fairest portion of America, and at a later day opened the bleak and unpromising north to Protestantism, and the result is now history. On the 21st of April of the same year, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, commander of the second Portuguese fleet that ever doubled Good Hope, discovered that portion of the Brazilian coast now known as Espirito Santo.

Passing over much of the early history, we come to 1530, when the unexplored territory of Brazil was divided into captaincies by the King of Portugal and the government of that most unprogressive power seemed firmly established in the New World, and over one of its fairest portions.

Twenty-five years later, a colony of French Protestants, under Villegagnon, sailed up the beautiful bay of Rio de Janeiro, and built a fort, which still bears his name, upon a small island in the harbor. God had cast the lot of Protestantism elsewhere. It was to grapple with difficulty, to be nursed amid tempests, and to show a wondering world how a free Bible, a free pulpit, and a free school, could transform a desert into an Eden. We have not space to write the history. In 1572 the government of "the colony of Brazil" was divided between two captains-general, one having his head-quarters at San Salvador, the other at Rio de Janeiro. From this circumstance came the name *Brazils*, somewhat current among the English, but not tolerated by the Brazilians themselves. These captaincies were, of course, rivals, but their separation was of short continuance, as they were united again in 1576, and placed under one captain-general.

In 1580 both Portugal and Brazil came under the dominion of Spain. For eighty-one years Brazil had a checkered history. English, French, and Dutch, sailed into her bays and invaded her coasts. Lancaster and his band of London marauders captured Pernambuco in 1593. In 1594 the French established a colony at Maranham, which they held twenty-one years. Even grave Hollanders were seized with the spirit of conquest, and in 1624

invaded Bahia, and six years later made a second invasion, in which they took possession of the whole coast from the Rio de San Francisco to Maranham, and made their seat of government at Pernambuco. It was not written, however, that portly burgomasters should *there* make their permanent New Amsterdam. In 1640 Portugal and her colonies threw off the Spanish yoke, and then came a conflict with the Dutch, who were badly worsted at the battle of the Guararapés, and finally, in 1661, abandoned all claim to Brazil.

We pass over the intervening events and come to 1763, when Rio de Janeiro superseded Bahia as the seat of government, and became the residence of the Portuguese viceroys. Under their sway government was arbitrary and despotic. The hand of power clutched the treasures, but did not wisely develop the resources of the country. And so it remained, but not always. It is difficult for Europe to rule America either North or South. Self-government, or at least *home*-government, is sure to be demanded and obtained. The old forms, the cumbrous usages, the ancient follies of the Old World royalty, suit not the restless blood of young America. Spain, Portugal, France, and England, have been taught this fact more than once, and there are still other lessons to be given. Perhaps the maps of A. D. 1900 may letter large portions of this continent as "British America," and "Russian Possessions;" perhaps *so*, and perhaps *not*.

It was long ago prophesied that Brazil would eclipse the glory of Portugal, but when men said so, near the close of the eighteenth century, they did not foresee the nearness of a revolution, the ultimate effects of which should be the accomplishment of those predictions. A cloud had long been gathering over Europe, the iron hand of Napoleon tore it open, and as to the results hear our authors:

"The French Revolution, and the leading spirit which was raised up by it, involved the slumbering kingdom of Portugal in the troubles of the continent. Napoleon determined that the Court of Lisbon should declare itself against its ancient ally, England, and assent to the continental system adopted by the imperial ruler of France. The prince regent, Dom John VI., promised, but hesitated, delayed, and finally, too late, declared war against England. The vacillation of the prince regent hastened events to a crisis. The English fleet, under Sir Sydney Smith, established a most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus, and the British embassador left no other alternative to Dom John VI., than to surrender to England the Portuguese fleet, or to avail himself of the British squadron for the protection and transportation of the royal family to Brazil. The moment was critical; the army of Napoleon had penetrated the mountains of Beira: only an immediate departure would save the monarchy. No resource remained to the prince regent but to choose between a tottering throne in Europe and a vast empire in America. His indecisions were at an end. By a royal decree he announced his intention to retire to Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace. The

archives, the treasures, and the most precious effects of the crown, were transferred to the Portuguese and English fleets, and on the 29th of November, 1807, accompanied by his family and a multitude of faithful followers, the prince regent took his departure, amid the combined salvos of cannon of Great Britain and of Portugal. That very day Marshal Junot thundered upon the heights of Lisbon, and the next morning took possession of the city. Early in January, 1808, the news of these surprising events reached Rio de Janeiro, and excited the most lively interest.

"What the Brazilians had dreamed of only as a remote possible event, was now suddenly to be realized. The royal family might be expected to arrive any day, and preparations for their reception occupied the attention of all. The viceroy's palace was immediately prepared, and all the public offices in the Palace Square were vacated to accommodate the royal suite. These not being deemed sufficient, the proprietors of private houses in the neighborhood were required to leave their residences and send in their keys to the viceroy. . . . . .

"The fleet having been scattered in a storm, the principal vessels had put into Bahia, where Dom John VI. gave that *carta regia* which opened the ports of Brazil to the commerce of the world. At length all made a safe entry into the harbor of Rio on the 7th of March, 1808. In the manifestations of joy upon this occasion the houses were deserted, and the hills covered with spectators. Those who could, procured boats, and sailed out to meet the royal squadron. The prince, immediately after landing, proceeded to the cathedral, and publicly offered thanks for his safe arrival."—Pp. 64, 65.

The house of Braganza had found a sanctuary in the New World. No wonder the people were wild with excitement. We will add to the above somewhat lengthy extract enough to show the commercial relations of Brazil at that time, and the policy inaugurated by Dom John:

"Up to the period now under consideration all commerce and intercourse with foreigners had been rigidly prohibited by the narrow policy of Portugal. Vessels of nations allied to the mother country were permitted to come to anchor in the ports of this mammoth colony, but neither passengers or crew were allowed to land except under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers. The policy pursued by China and Japan was scarcely more strict and prohibitory.

"To prevent all possibility of trade, foreign vessels, whether they had put in to repair damages, or to procure provisions and water, were, on their arrival, invested with a custom-house guard, and the time for their remaining was fixed by the authorities according to the supposed necessities of the case. As a consequence of these oppressive regulations, a people who were rich in gold and diamonds were unable to procure the essential implements of agriculture and of domestic convenience. A wealthy planter, who could display the most rich and massive plate at a festival, might not be able to furnish each of his guests with a knife at the table. A single tumbler, at the same time, might be under the necessity of making repeated circuits through the company. The printing-press had not made its appearance. Books and learning were equally rare. The people were in every way made to feel their dependence.

"On the arrival of the prince regent the ports were thrown open. A printing-press was introduced and a royal gazette was published. Academies of medicine and the fine arts were established. The royal library, containing sixty thousand volumes of books, was opened for the free use of the public. Foreigners were invited, and embassies from France and England took up their residence at Rio de Janeiro."—Pp. 65, 66.

European manners and customs soon predominated. This was apparent, first in the city, in its streets and residences, and thence extended to the country, which rapidly "put on city airs." Business was changed; commercial houses, having European correspondents, sprang up, and European artists thronged the cities. In December, 1815, the colony was merged in the kingdom, and Brazil was raised to regal name, and declared an integral part of the "United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil." This was hailed with an enthusiastic outburst. The whole land from the La Plata to the Amazon was garlanded and illuminated. Following this was the death of the queen mother, and a year later the coronation of the prince regent, under the title of Dom John VI.

Nevertheless all went not

"Merrily as a marriage bell."

There had been a jealousy between the Brazilians and the Portuguese, and this was increased by the action of the government. It had twenty thousand or more who had followed it to Brazil, to provide for, and they received the places of profit. The Brazilians had also claims; they had opened house and purse, and would not be forgotten. The government paid them off in *honors*, in stars and decorations. *Cavalheiro* or *Commendador* became the title of nearly all who asked it, and soon the land swarmed with nobles without nobility, and knights without chivalry. But here a new difficulty arose. These men having been ennobled could not return to labor. They must have more than *honor*. With portly Sir John Falstaff, they soon inquired, "Can honor set to a leg? or an arm? or take away the grief of a wound? What is honor? Who hath it?" And like him they added, in act if not in word, "We'll none of it. Honor is a mere scutcheon, and so ends our catechism." They clamored for the substance. Murmurs spread, but there was no free press or free pulpit to echo them.

But the outbreak came. In 1821 occurred the revolution in Portugal in favor of a constitution, and at once there was a similar demand for Brazil. Dom John VI. was no hero. He saw the tempest and determined to fly.

"He conferred upon his son, Dom Pedro, prince royal, the office of Regent and Lieutenant to his Majesty in the Kingdom of Brazil. He then hastened his departure for Portugal, accompanied by the remainder of his family, and the principal nobility who had followed him. The disheartened monarch embarked on a line-of-battle ship, on the 24th of April, 1821, leaving the widest and fairest portion of his dominions to a destiny, not indeed unlooked for by his majesty, but which was fulfilled much sooner than his melancholy forebodings anticipated."—P. 69.

Changes were to crowd rapidly upon each other. Young Dom

Pedro was in the twenty-third year of his age. It is said when the old king bade him farewell, he pressed him to his bosom and said: "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long, separate herself from Portugal, and if so, place the crown upon thy head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer."

The young regent was at first highly esteemed by the masses, and with this personal popularity, he united decision of character, a trait much needed in his time. An instance of this combination is the fact of his having given the populace, when highly excited, and the king in his palace of San Christovam, only three miles distant, a decree whereby an unreserved acceptance of the constitution of the Portuguese Cortes was guaranteed. His consort shared his popularity. Leopoldina by name, she was an archduchess of Austria, and sister to Maria Louisa, the wife of Napoleon.

He was surrounded with difficulties. The national feuds were deepening, and while perplexed with these, the home powers, fearful of his rising influence, ordered him to Europe, and issued a decree abolishing the royal tribunals at Rio. The people were highly incensed, and pleaded with him to remain. After due reflection he determined to do so. The royal troops made some show of resistance, but cowered before the aroused people, capitulated, and were permitted to sail for Portugal. More and more exacting grew the demands of Portugal, until dispatches reached the prince while journeying, (he had reached the margin of Ypiranga, in sight of San Paulo,) which he read, and indignantly exclaimed, "*Independencia ou morte!*" That expression was thenceforward the Brazilian watchword, and from the day of its utterance, September 7, 1822, dates Brazilian independence.

In October Dom Pedro was declared Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil. In December he received a public coronation, and three years later the new emperor was recognized at Lisbon.

But the boiling caldron was not yet to be quieted. The revolution had been complete and almost bloodless. The new emperor sought to give his people a constitution worthy of him and adapted to them, and convened an assembly which ultimately declared itself permanent, but which his majesty speedily dissolved, and called another. Mr. Fletcher thus describes it:

"A special commission of ten individuals was convened on the 26th of November, 1823, for the purpose of forming such a constitution as might meet with the imperial approval. The members of this commission immediately commenced their labors under the personal superintendence of Dom Pedro I., who furnished them the basis of the document he wished to be framed, and gave them forty days for the accomplishment of the object. The ten council-

ors, as a body, were badly qualified for the important task before them; yet several of their number were noted for the excellence of their private characters, and two only for their erudition. One of these two, Cameiro de Campos, was fortunately intrusted with the drawing up of the constitution, and to him, it has been said, Brazil is principally indebted for a number of the most liberal provisions of the code--provisions which he insisted upon introducing in opposition to the wishes of many of his colleagues.

.... "Its most important features may be stated in a few words. The government of the empire is monarchical, hereditary, constitutional, and representative. The religion of the state is the Roman Catholic, but all others are tolerated. Judicial proceedings are public, and there is the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. The legislative power is in the General Assembly, which answers to the Imperial Parliament of England, or to the Congress of the United States. The senators are elected for life, and the representatives for four years. The presidents of the provinces are appointed by the emperor. There is a legislative assembly to each province for local laws, taxation, and government: thus Brazil is a *decentralized* empire. The senators and representatives are chosen through the intervention of electors, as is the president of the United States, and the provincial legislators are elected by universal suffrage. The press is free, and there is no proscription on account of color.

"The constitution thus framed was accepted by the emperor, and on the 25th of March, 1824, was sworn to by his imperial highness, and by the authorities and people throughout the empire. .....

"The Brazilian Constitution has, to a great extent, secured equality, justice, and consequently national prosperity. She is to-day governed by the same constitution, with which more than thirty years ago she commenced her full career as a nation. While every Spanish-American government has been the scene of bloody revolutions; while the civilized world has looked with horror, wonder, and pity upon the self-constituted bill of the people's rights again and again trampled under foot by turbulent faction and priestly bigotry, or by the tyranny of the most narrow-minded dictators; the only Portuguese-American government (though it has had its provincial revolts of short duration) has beheld but two revolutions, and those were peaceful; one fully in accordance with the constitution, (the abdication of Dom Pedro I. in favor of his son Dom Pedro II., the present emperor,) the other the proclamation of the majority of Dom Pedro II., which was by suspending a single article of the government compact."—Pp. 75, 77.

Passing over many events of interest, we condense the historic *résumé* into a few paragraphs. The Imperial Prince, Dom Pedro II., was born December 2, 1825. On the death of King Dom John VI., the Emperor of Brazil, heir-apparent to the crown of Portugal, abdicated that crown in favor of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria. The same year witnessed the final separation of Monte Video from Brazil, that province becoming the Cisplatine Republic.

There were internal dissensions, which continued until Dom Pedro I., wearied above endurance, abdicated in favor of his son, Dom Pedro II., then hardly six years of age. And now the regency was the prize for which ambitious schemers plotted and worked, until in 1840 the dispute was settled by the declaration of the majority of the young prince, made in the following words by the President of the Assembly: "I, as the organ of the representatives of this nation, in General Assembly convened, declare that his majesty, Dom

Pedro II., is from this moment in his majority, and in the full exercise of his constitutional prerogatives. The majority of his majesty, Dom Pedro II.! Viva Senhor Dom Pedro II., Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil!! Viva Senhor Dom Pedro II!!!"

And the vivas rolled up by millions. The revolution which had threatened disaster was at an end. The multitude who would not receive a regent of fifty, shouted over an emperor of fifteen! Ah, well, an elephant may be led by a gay ribbon, which would snap a seven twisted chain.

Dom Pedro II is, no doubt, the most popular of living monarchs, and we may perhaps justly add, deservedly so. His mind was early cultivated with much care, and his later studies have been uniform and persistent. With a reputable scholarship, he unquestionably possessed statemanship of no common order. He has been the steady advocate and patron of arts and sciences, of internal improvement and commerce, and his enlightened and liberal policy has greatly elevated his nation in spite of their superstition and ignorance. At the rate of progress witnessed during the past decade, ere many years Brazil will take her place among the first-class powers of the earth.

Let not this be deemed an unwarrantable statement. Steam power is just beginning to be employed for transportation. In 1852 ground was broken for the first railroad, and the year following saw the first locomotive placed on Mauá Railway, and a line of steamers on the Amazon. The commerce of Brazil, yet in its infancy, is becoming important. It is to be decided whether the trade of Brazil shall be with the United States or with Europe. The sympathies of Brazilians are with us; we are their neighbors; they have articles which we must import; we have articles which they must import; and yet, says Dr. Thomas Rainey, in his paper read before the New York Historical Society:

"It is a most singular fact that the United States, with the largest commercial marine in the world, disputing with the last great contending rival the championship of the seas, and claiming an aggregate civilization equaled by that of no other people on the globe, should lag behind some, even of the most insignificant nations of Europe, in the prosecution of that trade which all the natural advantages of geographical contiguity would proclaim peculiarly her own; that she should not sustain a single steamship line of any class to those vast, important, and growing countries, (alluding to Brazil, West Indies, Spanish Main, etc.,) while to Brazil alone, Great Britain, with a trade but fifty-four per cent. larger than ours, (though far more rapidly increasing,) is now supporting two distinct lines of first-class steamships; France, with fifty-six per cent. less trade, also two first-class lines; Genoa, with a trade not two and a half per cent. of ours, one first-class line; Portugal, with only twenty-five per cent of ours, one first-class line; Hamburg one; Belgium, with a trade of only

ten per cent. of ours with Brazil, has also one first-class line. This record is indeed startling."

We have not room for the statistics with which the volume before us fairly bristles, illustrative of the above remarks, and the importance of early securing this extensive trade; but we will insert some items of the annual trade, exports and imports, with Brazil.

1856. Imports and Exports united: New York, $7,823,599; New Orleans, $6,376,697; Baltimore, $4,271,538; Philadelphia, $2,861,231; Boston and Salem, $1,524,361; Richmond exports 110,000 barrels of flour, value not given; imports $149,345; while Charleston imports $269,169, and exports $23,470.

We shall add an extract or two from Appendix H. of the volume before us:

"We see from a generalization and combination of these tables and analyses, that our great advance in the Brazilian trade has arisen from imports instead of from exports, whereas the trade of Great Britain has advanced in both, and particularly in her exports, which already were large, the tendency being to enrich Great Britain and impoverish us: that until 1850 her exports were stationary, while ours were increasing, due, doubtless, to the superiority of our clipper ships at that period, which placed us much nearer than England to Brazil; that she is now taking the coffee trade from us and giving it to her own and other European merchants and shipping; that she is rivaling us in the rubber trade; wholly distancing us in that of manufactures; and that from 1850 to 1855 she has doubled a large trade of profitable exports, and increased her aggregate imports and exports two hundred and twenty-five per cent.; whereas it has taken us thirteen years to double a small trade, composed mostly of imports: it being evident that, with equal facilities, we could outstrip Great Britain in nearly all the elements of this Brazil trade, as we were doing from 1840 to 1850."

The remedy for this is in the establishment by our government of a line of mail steamers. Private enterprise can do much, but it needs this aid from the administration. Our people have clamorously demanded it, and in an able report to the House of Representatives, its feasibility and necessity were demonstrated beyond question. It is to be hoped that a subject of so much importance will soon receive the attention and aid it so richly merits.

We pass from commerce to give a hurried glance at Brazilian institutions.

Institutions!—The word at once suggests the idea of African slavery; for other things may be *incidents*, this has a graver name and character. It is a sad fact that this curse blights the rich land of Brazil. From its fields, bright with many-hued flowers, go up to God the groans of the captive. Slavery is essentially and unchangeably evil. Yet there are facts which greatly mitigate the curse, and render Brazilian slavery less hopeless than the *domestic* institutions of this

"Land of the free and home of the brave!"

1. The Brazilian constitution does not, either directly or indirectly, recognize color as the charter of civil rights; "hence, once free, the black man or mulatto, if he possess industry and talent, can rise to a social position from which his race in North America is debarred." This is, indeed, a difference! There is not, in these United States or territories, a single square foot of ground, from Rio Grande to St. John's River, from Eastport to San Francisco, where a man may claim citizenship or self-ownership by virtue of his manhood. It is color, color alone! If white, if the Circassian tint is the ruling one, though ignorant as the white-haired Celt who has just landed upon our shores, or "taken me first papers, shure," he is intrusted with the functions of citizenship! He may be ignorant, brutish, priest-owned; no matter,

Color makes *the man!*

But if a darker hue be his—he may be a scholar, he may be brave as Ajax, may be worthy to walk with princes—no matter, that rude Celt may eject him violently from the public conveyances of the street, and our laws and our courts approve it. Social elevation and political rights are and will be denied the African race in this country. In Brazil he may ascend the social and political scale.

"In Brazil everything is in favor of freedom; and such are the facilities for the slave to emancipate himself, and when emancipated, if he possess the proper qualifications, to ascend to higher eminences than those of a mere free black, that *fuit* will be written against slavery in this empire before another half century rolls around. Some of the most intelligent men I have met with in Brazil, men educated at Paris and Coimbra, were of African descent, whose parents had been slaves. Thus if a man have freedom, money, and merit, no matter how black may be his skin, no place in society is refused him. It is surprising also to observe the ambition and the advancement of some of these men with negro blood in their veins. The National Library furnishes not only quiet rooms, large tables, and plenty of books to the seekers after knowledge, but pens and paper are supplied to such as desire these aids to their studies. Some of the closest students thus occupied are mulattoes. The largest and most successful printing establishment in Rio, that of Sr. F. Paulo Brito, is owned and directed by a mulatto. In the colleges, the medical, law, and theological schools, there is no distinction of color. It must, however, be admitted that there is a certain, though by no means strong, prejudice existing all over the land in favor of men of pure white descent. . . . . I was informed that a man of mental endowments, *even if he had been a slave*, would be debarred from no official station, however high, unless it might be that of imperial senator.—P. 133.

2. There is a possibility of freedom. "By the Brazilian laws a slave can go before a magistrate, *have his price fixed, and purchase himself.*" The price is fixed, not by the owner, but by a magistrate supposed to be disinterested. "We have no such custom."

3. While the condition of Brazilian slaves is bad enough, we know of no law against instructing them. If an amiable "elect

lady" should teach Sambo to read, we have no evidence that she would be imprisoned therefor.

Mr. Fletcher regards slavery as surely doomed in Brazil. In 1850 the slave-trade was suppressed, and since then there has been a heavy immigration. Europe has rolled a countless tide up the beautiful bay, and along the coast. Free labor is everywhere coming into contact with slave labor, and the result is obvious. The question unavoidably suggests itself, whether, the climate and soil of Brazil being adapted to the colored race, may not many of that doomed people, who feel deeply their anomalous condition, find *there* the *home* and the *nationality* denied them *here*?

Since the commencement of the reign of the present emperor, there has been an increase in the facilities for popular education, and the influence of the crown is altogether in its favor. There is a common school system for the realm, and its teachers and officers seek quite eagerly for reports from United States' Boards of Education, as imbodying safe principles and practice. This system is becoming popular, and although, perhaps, one half the children are educated in private schools, or those under provincial authority, yet the reports of 1855 show that in the schools of the empire there were sixty-five thousand four hundred and thirteen children. The government has also founded colleges, naval and military academies, and seminaries of law, medicine, and theology. There is also an imperial academy of the fine arts, with professors of painting, architecture, sculpture, and design, which receives annually about seventy pupils, and even provides for the support of a number of its graduates at Rome.

It is also worthy of note that the Brazilian press is free, something unusual in an empire of which Romanism is the tutelar deity. Rio de Janeiro has its four dailies, besides weeklies, tri-weeklies, etc. Any citizen may ventilate his opinions by paying for the privilege, for journalism is made a profitable affair.

It is true there is a vast amount of ignorance in Brazil; but we have reason to be modest in our censures until the damaging disclosures of the United States census are forgotten. It must be remembered, however, that her educational and literary apparatus has been newly created. There is progress. Inquiry is encouraged, books are scattered, papers are multiplying, public libraries are being opened, and there must be an intellectual elevation of the masses.

It is, however, a gloomy look-out when we sweep over the moral and religious condition of this vast empire. When we see its mummery, and take the present condition contrasted with what it might have

been had success smiled upon the colony of French Huguenots, whose songs went up to God, sooner by half a century than Protestant psalmody was heard elsewhere in the New World, but which was destroyed by the base perversion of their leader, Villegagnon, we have another illustration of the unsearchableness of Divine counsels. Why was that colony blotted out, and that embryo empire abandoned to the man of sin?

The blight of Brazil is its ecclesiastical system in the hands of a profligate and ignorant priesthood. These "successors of the apostles" perform the ritual of the Church at all canonical times, but are careful to add no unwritten duty. They shun the hospital, but attend the race-course; they preside in the confessional when not allured to the cock-pit. There is no preaching to the people, but processions and gorgeous pageantry are seen upon every hand. The ecclesiastics live in open licentiousness, and sink to its lowest degree. There are proofs of all these statements given, but we prefer not transferring them to these pages. Such things are the legitimate fruit of a system which so separates between the *man* and the *minister;* between what he *is personally,* and what he *does officially;* allowing him to be vile as Satan, and claiming for him power to create his God, and to absolve from all punishment the victims or companions of his debaucheries. Lest we be deemed guilty of misrepresenting the true condition of Brazilian morals under infallible training, we will give a few specimens of the advertisements which may be read in the newspapers, or found affixed to church doors. The first is of a festival in the Church of Santa Rita:

"This *festa* is to be celebrated with high mass and a sermon, at the expense of the devotees of the said virgin, the Most Holy Mother of Grief, who are all invited by the Board to add to the *splendor* of the occasion by their presence, since they will receive from the above-named lady due reward."—P. 146.

This is modest, however, and decidedly reverent, compared with some others, as per example:

"The Judge and some devout persons of the Church of Lady of our Estrella, erected in the village of the same name, intend to hold a festival there, with a chanted mass, sermon, procession in the afternoon, and a *Te Deum*, all with the greatest pomp possible, on the 23d instant; and at night there will be a beautiful display of fireworks. The managers of the feast have asked the director of the Inhomerim Steamboat Company to put on an extra steamer that will leave the Praia dos Mineiros at eight o'clock in the morning, and return after the fireworks. It is requested that all the devotees will deign to attend this solemn act, to render it of the most brilliant description.

"*Estrella, Sept.* 17, 1855. FRANCISCO PEREIRA RAMOS, *Sec.*"—P. 146.

And yet again:

"The Brotherhood of the Divine Holy Ghost of San Goçalo [a small village across the bay] will hold the feast of the Holy Ghost, on the 31st instant,

with all possible splendor. Devout persons are invited to attend, to give greater pomp to this act of religion. On the first proximo there will be the feast of the most Holy Sacrament, with a procession in the evening, a *Te Deum*, and a sermon. On the 2d, the feast of the patron of San Gonçalo; at three P. M. there will be *brilliant horse-racing* (*!*) after which a *Te Deum* and magnificent fireworks."—Pp. 146, 147.

The above seems bold enough, and illustrates the results of Romanism when not held in check by heretical Bibles and preachers. But we must give still another, which illustrates, also, the harmonious workings of the law of supply and demand; the Church creates the *demand*, and thus an honest tradesman advertises the *supply*:

"*Notice to the Illustrious Preparers of the Festival of the Holy Spirit.*—In the *Rua dos Ourives*, No. 78, may be found a beautiful assortment of Holy Ghosts, in gold, with glories, at eighty cents each; smaller sizes, without glories, at forty cents; silver Holy Ghosts, with glories, at six dollars and a half per hundred; ditto without glories, three dollars and a half; Holy Ghosts of tin, resembling silver, seventy-five cents per hundred."—P. 147.

What must be the result of such teachings? Among the ignorant debasement still more profound, among the more enlightened only skepticism. And just such *is* the actual result. The padres have lost their power in great measure, and are still losing it.

It is hopeful, however, that the empire, with slight restriction, has allowed liberty of conscience and of worship. "All other denominations have the right to worship God as they choose, whether in public or in private, with the single limitation that the church edifice must not be *no formo do templo*, in the form of a temple," which the supreme judges have defined to be "a building without steeples or bells." Romanism has had a fair chance on that field. She has had no opposition, has had government aid and prestige, has been alone with the people, and yet so palpable has been her failure, so insufficient her priesthood, so powerless for good her teachings, that the people refuse to guarantee her exclusive domination, but throw open the door to all others, and bid them enter, if they bring a better and more ennobling system.

If we may credit the statements of our authors, Brazil opens a promising field for evangelical effort. Dr. Kidder thus speaks of it in 1845:

"It is my firm conviction that there is not a Roman Catholic country on the globe where there prevails a greater degree of toleration, or a greater liberality of feeling toward Protestants. In all my residence and travels in Brazil, in the character of a Protestant missionary, I never received the slightest opposition or indignity from the people. As might have been expected, a few of the priests made all the opposition they could; but the circumstance that these were unable to excite the people, showed how little influence they pos-

sessed. On the other hand, perhaps, quite as many of the clergy, and those of the most respectable in the empire, manifested toward us and our work both favor and friendship."—P. 143.

Mr. Fletcher, who spent some time in the empire as an agent of the American Bible Society, and came in immediate contact with all classes and grades of society from Dom Pedro down, gives the above statements his cordial approval. In addition, it may be said that there was a willingness, nay, a *desire* to receive the Holy Scriptures most encouraging to pious effort. It is with reluctance we turn from other marked passages, which demonstrate the readiness and docility with which the people receive the Bible and the message of Protestantism. We fear we have too greatly neglected Brazil. Surely if any fields are white to the harvest there they are. Romanism is powerless for good. The infidelity which once poisoned France is working. The training given by the schools to mind will loosen the hold of the papacy. Those young men now in Brazilian schools are not to be held in leading strings by a Church which offers to sell them tin Holy Ghosts at seventy-five cents per hundred. But where shall they go? "How shall they hear without a preacher?"

It is a question which should be asked by every mission-board at each meeting, "What can be done for Brazil?" Cannot Protestantism go there and grapple with the man of sin, or shall we sit down in full sight of that population of nearly eight millions, who implore bread, and leave them to die of spiritual hunger?

We must forego the pleasure of laying before the reader the interesting account of the exposition of United States art and science, secured by Mr. Fletcher's personal efforts, and which excited so much interest in Rio. We omit it reluctantly, and yet find some compensation in the fact that full accounts have been given through the newspapers of the country. Of this the North American Review says: "The results of this most judicious and praiseworthy enterprise can hardly fail to show themselves in the commercial statistics of the present and succeeding years. Certain it is that attention was emphatically drawn to the superiority of some American manufactures, that a new demand was created, and the knowledge of the mercantile resources enlarged and extended; and it may prove that the missionary of the cross will have been the prime agent in righting the balance of trade between our own and the Brazilian ports." Not unlikely. And it is but indicative of the future. Commerce is yet to follow the cross as its pole-star. The missionary is yet to be recognized as a power among men.

We close this interesting and richly-executed volume. We have

read it with delight, and yet with trembling in view of the duty of our Church to that vast empire. To those who have not read the book, we are sure the extracts with which we have so plentifully sprinkled this paper, will be welcome, and we trust that they will create a desire to read the whole.

Art. III.—BRYANT'S POEMS.

Poems, by William Cullen Bryant. Collected and arranged by the Author. Illustrated with seventy-one engravings, from drawings by eminent artists. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The illustrated book of poems whose title stands at the head of this article contains three hundred and forty-four pages, quarto post size, of superb cream-tinted, highly glazed linen paper, with broad margins; is printed in elegant, clearly cut, sharply defined, antique type, shining in the honors of the glossiest black ink, and is bound in substantial brown Turkey morocco, with no flaunting gilt on the covers, but heavily gilded where gold is valuable, on the edges. The whole outside and external appearance is largely suggestive of taste and genius, and may well prepare the heart of the reader for the poetry within.

William Cullen Bryant is one among the few precocious children that have more than redeemed the promises of an early dawn of genius. He was born in the town of Cummington, Hampshire county, in western Massachusetts, November, 1795. He came from a family in which the profession of physician had for several generations been hereditary. His childhood and youth were therefore spent among cultivated society, where elegance and literature would be appreciated, and where genius would be encouraged. His early rambles were along the eastern slopes of the picturesque and romantic Green Mountain range, and the influences which their gorges and chasms, their streams, and cascades, their valleys and woods, exerted upon the future man, are very visible in almost every one of the poems in this volume.

His earliest attempts at poetry were made at the age of nine, and are as good as those of Pope, Cowley, Tasso, or Chatterton at the same age, or a little later. In 1808, when the poet was not quite thirteen, a book of poems, containing "The Embargo" and "Spanish Revolution," was published by his friends. So wide was

the range of reading, and the extent of knowledge of political affairs and of general history, as well as the maturity of talent and stretch of thought here exhibited, that his friends deemed it necessary, when a second edition was called for in February, 1809, to issue a kind of affidavit, assuring the public that the author's age was a matter of record, and could be verified by examination. "The Embargo" was chiefly a satirical attack upon the policy of the administration of Mr. Jefferson, who had laid an embargo on all foreign bound vessels belonging to the United States, a policy which was thought to be highly detrimental to New England, and which was most fiercely and persistently denounced in all her borders. This poem, written and passed to a second edition before the author was thirteen and a half, is really as good as most of the satirical poems on political subjects published by more ambitious authors. Its sentiments and ideas undoubtedly were learned in the daily discussions at the table of his father, and from the partisan newspapers of the vicinity, more than by his own observation or reflection; and the versification is probably due to the lad's ardent admiration of Pope and Dryden, more than to any great labor of thought, or enthusiastic inspiration of real genius or lofty purpose. It was nevertheless well received, and made the public both anxious to hear more from its young author, and fastidious concerning all that he might thenceforward compose.

In 1810 Bryant entered Williams College, where he remained two years, and then devoted himself to the study of the law in Plymouth county, Massachusetts, where he was admitted to the bar as a practising attorney in 1815. About this time "Thanatopsis," written, it is said, at the age of eighteen, was first published in one of the periodicals of the day. This poem has been a great favorite with everybody since the day it first saw the light. It purports to be the voice of Nature herself to man concerning death, and is full of noble sentiments of the pantheistic school. Its versification is liquid and flowing, and has scarcely a harsh cadence or an imperfect rhythm. It is the voice of Nature seeking to make us content to die, after a life of brave and useful labor. In 1821 "The Ages," the longest poem which Mr. Bryant has yet published, consisting, however, of only thirty-five Spenserian stanzas, was printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, together with "Thanatopsis," "To a Water-Fowl," "The Yellow Violet," "Green River," "Inscription at the Entrance of a Wood," and a few other pieces. This volume was the proper commencement of his career and fame, and it established his reputation as the first of American poets, a position from which no rival has yet dislodged him, after forty years of

almost continual writing. In the year 1825 he left his native state and removed to the city of New York, where he has since resided, engaged chiefly in the business of editing a political newspaper, and devoted to the promulgation and defense of the principles of what claims to be Jeffersonian democracy. In 1834 and 1835 he traveled extensively in Europe, and in 1843 made the tour of the Mississippi and the Great West. His mind is therefore enriched by ancient and modern classical studies and literature, disciplined by the methodical training and practice of the law, polished and elevated by intercourse with the best of metropolitan society, enlarged and refined by domestic and foreign travel, and strengthened by almost daily exercise in the practice of literary composition. Add to these a genial temper, a habit of quick and correct observation, an ardent sympathy with the varying moods of nature, and a soul alive to all generous instincts and impulses, and we have a character well fitted to become a national favorite as a poet. Of all our American male writers of verse, he has been the most praised, if not the most read and most influential; and his poems are now almost daily found in the poet's corner of our multitudinous newspapers, though they may have been already fifty times printed in the former volumes of the same periodical.

As a poet he therefore needs no introduction to an American or even a European auditory. Years ago his poems, edited and introduced by Irving, were dedicated to Rogers, and cordially reviewed and complimented by Christopher North in Blackwood. Their reputation is established. But Bryant is something else than a poet.

The subjects sung in this volume are none other than the topics common to all true poetry, with the almost exception of religion and home, in the highest and most endearing senses of these words. No volume of poems can be at all complete where these topics are wholly neglected, nor can it be at all popular when these subjects, the noblest for human contemplation, and the dearest to the human heart, as well as the sweetest and most consoling, are not often recurred to; and therefore there is found in some one or other of its phases and appearances, on almost every page, natural religion, or that kind of quietism that may grow out of the observation of nature, and prompts to a lazy, indifferent morality and benevolence, together with those feelings and affections that make home agreeable and desirable, such as respect for age and parental authority, chivalric regard for woman and love for childhood, virtues which also grandly dignify and ennoble the character and render a people honorable, and often they are very beautifully and forcibly expressed.

These in some good measure, though not fully, atone for the loss of the direct mention and open recognition of a religion daily felt in the soul, and they redeem the book from the charges of either infidelity or stoicism. Bryant has the power, if he only had the experience, to embalm in words the entrancing raptures that thrill the heart when man's affections all center in God, not as a part of nature, nor as its Creator and Governor, nor yet as the most wonderfully skillful mechanician, or the most bountiful benefactor, but as the One only lovely, supremely just and holy, revealed in the person of Jesus Christ, and felt in the soul as an indwelling power and impulse. His religion (and there is a large amount of it in various poems) is the natural religion which is content to rest in the inactive organism of the plant or flower, not that of Paul, which burns, and glows, and feels its own life, and demands to be reckoned among the working and transforming powers in the earth.

These poems have no Saviour. Almost all their religion might have been known and described (for there is no attempt to dramatize it) by Plato himself. Here is the most observant pantheism, and the most sympathetic accordance with every frown, or smile, or look of nature. And the heaven to which the soul aspires is commonly nothing more than this earth a very little idealized; the heaven of some of Swedenborg's followers, or that of a portion of those who, so proudly and with such arrogant assumption, style themselves spiritualists. This beautifully versified passage is an illustration. It occurs in a poem entitled the "Two Graves," a most lovely painting:

> "'Tis said that when life is ended here,
> The spirit is borne to a distant sphere;
> That it visits its earthly home no more,
> Nor looks on the haunts it loved before.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> 'Tis a cruel creed, believe it not!
> Death to the good is a milder lot.
> They are here, they are here, that harmless pair,
> In the yellow sunshine and flowing air,
> In the light cloud-shadows that slowly pass,
> In the sounds that rise from the murmuring grass.
> They sit where their humble cottage stood,
> They walk by the waving edge of the wood,
> And list to the long accustomed flow
> Of the brook that wets the rocks below,"
> Patient, and peaceful, and passionless,
> As seasons on seasons swiftly press,
> They watch, and wait, and linger around,
> Till the day when their bodies shall leave the ground."
>
> Pp. 149, 150.

This may be very touching, and expressive, and really enchanting

> "To him who in the love of Nature holds
> Communion with her visible forms;"

but it is not the desire nor the language of a soul "born of God," and adopted to be the brother and servant of the Lord Jesus, whose whole heart is fired with the blessed idea of Christ's mediatorial office, and who cries with the Psalmist, "Whom have I in heaven but THEE? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides THEE." To such a one, longing to dwell in the immediate and visible presence ("the pure in heart shall *see* God") of the Creator, all the works of nature, however manifold, and in whatever excellent wisdom made, are but incentives to reach after a still more appreciable intercourse with him in personal communion; and all of God that he sees in the glorious forms of nature, is nothing more than the shadow of its mother which the child sees thrown by the lamplight on the curtains of its couch, making it long to be folded in the warm arms to the beating bosom of that mother. The real Christian, or if an abstract term is preferred, the true religionist only sees the moving shadow of God in these multiform and almost miraculous works of nature. All her divine and soul-elevating beauties are less suggestive even than shadows, and can no more satisfy his soul and fill his love, than the faintest echo of the voice of his newly married bride could satisfy the heart and soul of an enraptured bridegroom. The only reference, except in the translations, to Christ, with any distinctness, occurs in "The Conqueror's Grave" in which he is called "The Mighty Sufferer," and the "Great Master." The poem is a grand one, and thus closes in a noble strain of hopeful courage, sublime resolve, and cheering promise:

> "O gentle sleeper, from thy grave I go
> Consoled though sad, in hope and yet in fear.
> Brief is the time I know,
> The warfare scarce begun;
> Yet all may win the triumphs thou hast won.
> Still flows the fount whose waters strengthen'd thee;
> The victor's names are yet too few to fill
> Heaven's mighty roll; the glorious armory,
> That ministered to thee, is open still."—P. 322.

It may be said that Bryant is not a sacred poet, and therefore he is not bound to make any reference to this matter of a personal religion and spiritual communion with God. If this is granted, it follows that instead of striking all the keys in the great organ of the human heart, he has left untouched that which gives forth the most thrilling notes, and produces, in concert with the others, the most

exalting harmonies. But it will not do to make this admission, even while it will not cover or excuse his deficiencies. No man who pretends to be a poet has any more right to ignore "God in Christ Jesus," than he has to ignore God in nature; and if he does thus keep silence upon this dearest of all topics, then the world ought to be put on its guard against worshiping him as the perfect poet. Many will be pained to find here no religion of repentance and faith in Christ, nothing but cold communion with nature and with God through her; and there is no Jesus with his wounded flesh and unspeakable love, who appears and becomes most really appreciable to the longing soul.

On those great subjects that interest all and make men always feel them, life and death, there are some excellent descriptions and some noble moralizings. The "Hymn to Death" is sublime, wonderfully so in parts, and is highly suggestive of patient heroism, brave endurance, and lofty philosophy. Its calm and defiant waiting for a better day, and its certain faith in the steady approach of that good time, are more than heroic. And the pathos of its close, sung apparently upon the harp, with its strings broken by the rude hand that had struck down the father of the poet while he was singing, is irresistible. Yet he might have spared the last line, or at least changed the last two words, which are unworthy both the poet and his theme:

> "Shuddering I look
> On what is written, yet I blot not out
> The desultory numbers; let them stand
> The record of an idle reverie."—P. 52.

Few poems of its kind in our English tongue are finer, notwithstanding the grand doctrine of immortality does not sufficiently add its cheering strains to swell the noblest part of the chorus, an omission detracting from its real power and lasting influence. Yet listen to a few lines from it:

> "Raise then the hymn to Death. Deliverer!
> God hath anointed thee to free the oppressed
> And crush the oppressor. When the armed chief,
> The conqueror of nations, walks the world,
> And it is changed beneath his feet, and all
> Its kingdoms melt into one mighty realm,
> Thou, while his head is loftiest, and his heart
> Blasphemes, imagining his own right hand
> Almighty, thou dost set thy sudden grasp
> Upon him, and the links of that strong chain
> Which bound mankind are crumbled; thou dost break
> Scepter and crown, and beat his throne to dust.
> Then the earth shouts with gladness, and her tribes
> Gather within their ancient bounds again."—P. 48.

"Life" is rather the poetical conception of the philosopher than of the immortal saint. It is full of beauty nevertheless; and while it seems to lack the religious element of faith, it yet has the anxious tone that inquires for it. Somewhat more definite and hopeful is the desire to "know as we are known" which glows in "The Future Life."

"How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead,
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps
And perishes among the dust we tread?

"For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain
If there I meet thy gentle presence not;
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

* * * * * * * *

"The love that lived through all the stormy past,
And meekly with my harsher nature bore,
And deeper grew, and tenderer to the last,
Shall it expire with life, and be no more?

* * * * * * * *

"Yet though thou wear'st the glory of the sky,
Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,
The same fair thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,
Lovelier in heaven's sweet clime, yet the same

"Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,
The wisdom that I learned so ill in this—
The wisdom which is love—till I become
Thy fit companion in that land of bliss?"—P. 263, 264.

But these are not the subjects on which this poet is most at home. He does not ascend naturally into the dim mysterious regions of the spirit of man, and hear the voice of God's inward inspiration revealing to him the secrets of the soul's eternity, and all the deep meanings of its heart-longings after a higher life when earth has fled, a life not of languid and idle dreamings, but a higher life of doing and ripening by means of vigorous labor, every day and every hour voluntarily undertaken and resolutely gone through. He has looked upon the "visible *forms* of nature," not upon the invisible *realities* of the Spirit; and though he sees and describes a splendid significance in those *forms*, he has not yet conceived, and therefore he cannot paint the sublimity of those *realities*. He is therefore more Greek than Jew or Christian, and he has the pantheistic spirit that glows and burns, that kindles and loves when it can feel or see, but which darkens and dies, and cannot be made to burn nor adore, where its intuitions are the only light on which it must depend. He can follow logic and the senses, but not the godlike reason. Hence he is

tame here compared to what he is when abroad in the fields. With nature he is alive and genial, suggestive and ennobling; but alone with his own spirit, silent and unsocial, bashful and unsatisfactory: so in regard to the subject of Home he is Greek and not English, at least not in the sense in which Cowper and Wordsworth are English. There is no lack of allusion to the home affections, but there are few pictures of home and its heart-softening influences, and that too in the midst of poetry that riots in descriptions of nature, the beauty and suggestive power of which are so much increased by cottage-homes scattered along all her hillsides and valleys. In "The Murdered Traveler," however, is a picture of home, where all the love of wife and children are mingled with that "fond anxiety" which makes "home" one of the most foreboding, yet one of the dearest and sweetest words in the language. The whole piece is inimitable, entirely in the spirit of the old English home-poetry, and yet American in all its scenery and associations:

"When spring, to woods and wastes around,
Brought bloom and joy again,
The murder'd traveler's bones were found,
Far down a narrow glen.

* * * * * * * *

"The red-bird warbled, as he wrought
His hanging nest o'erhead,
And fearless, near the fatal spot,
Her young the partridge led.

"But there was weeping far away,
And gentle eyes for him,
With watching many an anxious day
Were sorrowful and dim.

* * * * * * * *

"But long they look'd, and fear'd, and wept,
Within his distant home;
And dream'd and started as they slept,
For joy that he had come."—Pp. 96, 97, 98.

After having made the foregoing exceptions there is nothing else to be said in disparagement of these poems, or in abatement of the highest praise that can be bestowed upon them. The topics most often touched upon, and most lovingly sung, are nature and her teachings; freedom and patriotism, with their arousing, exalting influences; human affections and their heart-soothing tendencies, and the grand movements and progressions of the race, gradually bringing on a better time for mankind. In relation to those poems that simply describe nature, and overflow with her delightful moralities, nothing can be found written in English sweeter in spirit and flow of language, or better seeing what ought to be seen, and more

admirably expressing it, nor more American in general tone and coloring. Not that Bryant is always to be distinguished from the English poets as an American. There are but few things that would mark these poems as written in America instead of England or Scotland; but there are some such things. Such is "March." No one but an American, who had loved the "sugar season," and had helped to gather the "sap," or "sugar water;" who had enjoyed "sugaring off," and been one of the party of youths who poured the delicious "wax" upon the new-fallen snow, could have written such a poem; and though not a word is said of these things, yet the poem "smells" of them, as some men's poems are said to smell of the lamp.

"The stormy March is come at last,
With wind, and cloud, and changing skies,
I hear the rushing of the blast,
That through the valley flies.

"Ah, passing few are they who speak,
Wild stormy March! in praise of thee;
Yet though the winds are loud and bleak,
Thou art a welcome month to me.

"For thou, to northern lands again
The glad and glorious sun dost bring,
And thou hast join'd the gentle train,
And wear'st the gentle name of Spring.

"And in thy reign of blast and storm,
Smiles many a long, bright, sunny day,
When the changed winds are soft and warm,
And heaven puts on the blue of May.

"Then sing aloud the gushing rills,
From Winter's durance just set free,
And, brightly leaping down the hills,
Begin their journey to the sea.

"The year's departing beauty hides
Of wintry storms the sullen threat;
But in thy sternest frown abides
A look of kindly promise yet.

"Thou bring'st the hope of those calm skies,
And that soft time of sunny showers,
When the wide bloom on earth that lies,
Seems of a brighter world than ours."—Pp. 67, 68.

Of "A Winter Piece" it may be said that while its scenery is American, it might have been written by a foreigner as well as by a native. Not so of "A Forest Hymn," which has a depth of grandeur in thought and a finish in diction truly admirable. Such a hymn could have been conceived by no one not familiar from infancy with the thick foliage and tall trunks of our primeval forests. It

would be breaking a dew-drop to quote a fragment from this universal favorite—the proper translation into words of the mysteriously murmured music which that mighty old harper, the wind, is always playing upon the branches and leaves of the ancient woods. The same love for woods, and the same joyous labor to describe them, shows itself in the "Hunter's Serenade:"

"Or wouldst thou gaze at tokens
Of ages long ago—
Our old oaks stream with mosses,
And sprout with mistletoe;
And mighty vines, like serpents climb,
The giant sycamore;
And trunks, o'erthrown for centuries,
Cumber the forest floor;
And in the great savanna,
The solitary mound,
Built by the elder world, o'erlooks
The loneliness around."—P. 162.

Among the best and most suggestive poems in the whole collection are "The Gladness of Nature," "The Death of the Flowers," "A Summer Ramble," and "To the Fringed Gentian." There is the same difficulty in quoting from these that there would be in exhibiting a single petal of a rose, or in showing the lock of hair, to prove or to exemplify the beauty of the queen of flowers or the loveliness of woman. There is a completeness and a oneness about many of these poems, that proves them to have been made at one "heat," as a smith would say, or rather born, or made as are the rain-drops, and rounded into perfection by some almost active principle of self-balancing coherence; and the high polish and finish which they display, shows how repeatedly they have been retouched. These five verses, from the opening of the "Ramble," are given as a specimen of unsurpassed description:

"The quiet August noon has come,
A slumbrous silence fills the sky,
The fields are still, the woods are dumb,
In glassy sleep the waters lie.

"And mark yon soft white clouds that rest
Above our vale, a moveless throng;
The cattle on the mountain's breast
Enjoy the grateful shadow long.

"O how unlike those merry hours,
In early June, when Earth laughs out,
When the fresh winds make love to flowers,
And woodlands sing, and waters shout;

"When in the grass sweet voices talk,
And strains of tiny music swell
From every moss-cup of the rock,
From every nameless blossom bell.

"But now a joy too deep for sound,
A peace no other season knows,
Hushes the heavens and wraps the ground,
The blessing of supreme repose."—Pp. 153, 154.

"The "Wind," however, is the thing that Bryant most loves to play with of all the sights, and sounds, and agencies of nature, and it is really wonderful how frequently and how variously he returns to it; how he makes us feel its cool breath and inhale its aerial life and divine fragrance; how he makes it talk with and inspirit us, and how familiarly he associates with it all grand and ennobling ideas and emotions. He writes about it in almost all forms of meter, and by almost all possible names, saving the Latin and Greek terms zephyr, boreas, and the like, for which he most commendably seems to have no fondness. First in order, then, we have "The West Wind," a gem of beauty in the ballad style:

"Beneath the forest's skirt I rest,
Whose branching pines rise dark and high,
And hear the breezes of the West
Among the thread-like foliage sigh.
* * * * * * *
"Thou wind of joy, and youth, and love,
Spirit of the new-awakened year!
The sun in his blue realm above
Smooths a bright path when thou art here."—P. 36.

"The Summer Wind," in blank verse, a fragment, probably of the same great design from which "Noon" is also taken, has a delightful rhythm and a pleasing movement as truly bewitching as rhyme. "After a Tempest" is in the Spenserian stanza, and paints a most lovely scene of the quiet and hopeful hereafter, when all winds and passions shall be at war no more. It describes a lovely afternoon, when the winds were laid and the rains were withdrawn; the sunlight glimmered on the rain-drops still clinging to the leaves; the birds flew abroad, and the squirrels were chattering; insects were on the wing,

"And darted up and down the butterfly,
That seem'd a living blossom of the air."

It closes with thoughts of the great peace yet to be. Then "The "Winds," is a poem in a stanza very remarkable for its easy flow, vigorous expression, and terse condensation. Its scope is exactly the opposite of "After a Tempest," and its moralizing alludes to the struggle for freedom yet to come.

"Ye winds, ye unseen currents of the air!
Softly ye played a few brief hours ago;
Ye bore the murmuring bee; ye toss'd the hair
O'er maiden cheeks, that took a fresher glow;

Ye rolled the round white cloud through depths of blue;
Ye shook from shaded flowers the lingering dew;
Before you the catalpa's blossoms flew,
Light blossoms, dropping on the grass like snow.

"How are ye changed! Ye take the cataract's sound;
Ye take the whirlwind's fury and its might;
The mountain shudders as ye sweep the ground;
The valley woods lie prone beneath your flight;
The clouds before you shoot like eagles past;
The homes of men are rocking in your blast;
Ye lift the roofs like autumn leaves, and cast
Skyward the whirling fragments out of sight.

* * * * * * * * *

"Why rage ye thus?—no strife for liberty
Has made you mad; no tyrant, strong through fear,
Has chained your pinions till ye wrench'd them free,
And rush'd in to the unmeasured atmosphere;
For ye were born in freedom where ye blow;
Free o'er the mighty deep to come and go;
Earth's solemn woods were yours, his wastes of snow,
Her isles where summer blossoms all the year."—Pp. 171, 172.

"The Hurricane" is another poem full of sublimity which cannot be quoted; and in "Lines on Revisiting the Country," we have a still more appropriate and characteristic personification:

"The mountain wind! most spiritual thing of all
The wide earth knows; when, in the sultry time,
He stoops him from the vast cerulean hall,
He seems the breath of a celestial clime!
As if from heaven's wide-open gates did flow
Health and refreshment on the world below."—Pp. 125.

Nowhere else could this have been written but in the mountains of western Massachusetts, and by nobody but by one who had spent his boyhood among the elms and maples that grow by the side of the rushing streams which pour down their slope. But above all other poems in the English tongue descriptive of winds and the thoughts which they may suggest, and better than all, is that entitled "The Evening Wind." It is in the rhyme of Italy, so skillfully woven, so beautifully checkered with every hue of language that fancy can gather and good taste approve, and so artfully using every thought of beauty and pathos that the imagination can conceive:

"Spirit that breathes through my lattice, thou
That cool'st the twilight of the sultry day,
Gratefully flows thy freshness round my brow;
Thou hast been out upon the deep at play,
Riding all day the wild blue waves till now,
Roughening their crests, and scattering high their spray,
And swelling the white sail. I welcome thee
To the scorched land, thou wanderer of the sea!

"Not I alone—a thousand bosoms round
Inhale thee in the fullness of delight;
And languid forms rise up, and pulses bound
Livelier, at coming of the wind of night;
And languishing to hear thy grateful sound,
Lies the vast inland, stretched beyond the sight.
Go forth into the gathering shade; go forth,
God's blessing breathed upon the fainting earth!

"Go, rock the little wood-bird in his nest,
Curl the still waters, bright with stars, and rouse
The wide old wood from his majestic rest,
Summoning, from the innumerable boughs,
The strange, deep harmonies that haunt his breast:
Pleasant shall be thy way where meekly bows
The shutting flower, and darkling waters pass,
And where the o'ershadowing branches sweep the grass.

"The faint old man shall lean his silver head
To feel thee; thou shalt kiss the child asleep,
And dry the moistened curls that overspread
His temples, while his breathing grows more deep:
And they who stand about the sick man's bed,
Shall joy to listen to thy distant sweep,
And softly part his curtains to allow
Thy visit, grateful to his burning brow.

"Go—but the circle of eternal change,
Which is the life of nature, shall restore,
With sounds and scents from all thy mighty range,
Thee to thy birthplace of the deep once more;
Sweet odors in the sea-air, sweet and strange,
Shall tell the home-sick mariner of the shore;
And, listening to thy murmur, he shall deem
He hears the rustling leaf and running stream."—Pp. 168–70.

Through all these descriptions of nature runs a noble, though unobtrusive vein of moralizing, so easily and naturally introduced, that the reader might readily imagine the poet's words to be but the teachings of his own heart, made better and wiser by contact with the nobler mind of the author. We find this gentle unobtrusive moralizing in "Thanatopsis," (which, with all its pantheism, cannot be easily overestimated,) in "The Yellow Violet," (an incense-breathing spring lyric,) in "A Walk at Sunset," "To a Cloud," and indeed in nearly every piece that relates to nature. It sings in "June" and "The Firmament" in magnificent rhymes. Here is an example:

"I gazed upon the glorious sky
And the green mountains round;
And thought that when I came to lie
At rest within the ground,
'Twere pleasant, in that flowery June,
When brooks send up a cheerful tune,
And groves a joyful sound,
The sexton's hand, my grave to make,
The rich green mountain turf should break.

* * * * * * * *

"There through the long, long summer hours
The golden light should lie,
And thick young herbs and groups of flowers
Stand in their beauty by.
The oriole should build and tell
His love-tale close beside my cell;
The idle butterfly
Should rest him there, and there be heard
The housewife bee and humming-bird.

* * * * * * *

"I know, I know I should not see
The season's glorious show,
Nor would its brightness shine for me,
Nor its wild music flow;
But if around my place of sleep,
The friends I love should come to weep,
They might not haste to go.
Soft airs, and song, and light, and bloom,
Should keep them lingering by my tomb."—Pp. 112–14.

"A Walk at Sunset" is in the spirit of a noble lyric composed after a summer shower, in the chambers of the sun, as he catches glimpses of the earth in her heightened beauty. But on the noble topics of freedom and patriotism, Bryant is truly American. Here he is nobler than the old Greeks, and he speaks with power and sublimity. Witness his "Sonnet to William Tell:"

"Chains may subdue the feeble spirit, but thee,
TELL, of the iron heart! they could not tame!
For thou wert of the mountains; they proclaim
The everlasting creed of liberty.
That creed is written on the untrampled snow
Thundered by torrents which no power can hold,
Save that of God when he sends forth his cold,
And breathed by winds that through the free heavens blow.
Thou, while thy prison walls were dark around,
Didst meditate the lesson Nature taught,
And to thy brief captivity was brought
A vision of Switzerland unbound,
The bitter cup they mingled, strengthened thee
For thy great work to set thy country free."—P. 160.

The poem, or rather the part of a poem, called "Antiquity of Freedom," deserves mention for its high spirit and elegant verse, though it cannot be quoted here. But there must be space to insert the spirited tribute to William Leggett, which is one of the noblest offerings of friendship to sterling worth and brave honesty yet written, and it ought to have a much wider circulation than even many others in the volume have had:

"The earth may ring from shore to shore,
With echoes of a glorious name,
But he, whose loss our tears deplore,
Has left behind him more than fame.

"For when the death-frost came to lie
On Leggett's warm and mighty heart,
And quench his bold and friendly eye,
His spirit did not all depart.

"The words of fire that from his pen
Were flung upon the fervid page
Still move, still shake the hearts of men,
Amid a cold and coward age.

"His love of truth, too warm, too strong,
For hope or fear to chain or chill,
His hate of tyranny and wrong,
Burn in the breasts he kindled still."—P. 279.

A martyr's life is not lost when his death awakes such echoes as these to reverberate forever among the literature of a nation; nor has a patriot lived in vain if his labors have prompted any one to build for him so noble a monument.

How like a pæan after a glorious victory do the ideas and cadences of that noble song, "The Battle Field," strike on the ear and thrill the soul! It is the jubilate of joy and hope, accompanied by the spirit-stirring notes of a whole orchestra. How sweet its tones, how noble its sentiments, how grand its thoughts, so hopeful of right, so defiant of wrong, so uncompromisingly ready to live in misery and disgrace, in toil and suffering, if but the true and the good triumph! The ninth verse is more quoted than almost any other verse of poetry in the language, and yet it is scarcely better than any other in the poem. It only makes a point. After four stanzas descriptive of a quiet pastoral scene, where a battle was once fought, he says:

"Soon rested those who fought; but thou
Who minglest in a harder strife
For truths which men receive not now,
Thy warfare only ends with life.

"A friendless warfare! lingering long
Through weary day and weary year.
A wild and many-weaponed throng
Hang on thy front, and flank, and rear.

"Yet nerve thy spirit to the proof,
And blench not at thy chosen lot;
The timid good may stand aloof,
The sage may frown, but faint thou not.

"Nor heed the shaft too surely cast,
The foul and hissing bolt of scorn;
For with thy side shall dwell at last,
The victory of endurance born.

"Truth crush'd to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshipers.

"Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

"Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."—Pp. 260–2.

Human affections, as has already been said, do not appear so frequently in Bryant's poetry as descriptions of natural scenery and moralizings upon them. But these are by no means overlooked. Their silent unspoken influence, and their felt presence is everywhere. "Robert of Lincoln" is the best specimen of the domestic or conjugal affection in the book. It is a beauty, and the only really good description of the very worthy and agreeable gentleman whom it describes, and who is such a favorite in all New England, and such an addition to the elegance and delights of a rural cottage or hamlet. It should be taught to all little children and repeated by all large ones till we act in spirit.

One mighty thought reigns in all these poems, as it should in all true poetry, that man, under the tuition of nature and the Spirit of God, is daily growing better. This thought is the burden of the first and longest poem in the volume, entitled "The Ages." The plan of it (for it is not a poem to quote from) is this: Observing the death of the good and the young, we naturally turn to the lengthened days of the honored sage, and call those "ages holy." But we must not despair, for death strikes the wicked too, and if we look through nature we shall see that

"Eternal Love doth keep
In his complacent arms, the earth, the air, the deep"

History teaches that mankind are better now than in darker times:

"That Error's monstrous shapes from earth are driven;
They fade, they fly, but Truth survives their flight;
Earth has no shades to quench that beam of heaven;
Each ray that shone, in early time to light
The faltering footstep in the path of right,
Each gleam of clearer brightness shed to aid
In man's maturer day his bolder sight,
All blended, like the rainbow's radiant braid,
Pour yet, and still shall pour, the blaze that cannot fade."

And so he closes with auguring a glorious day for our beloved country, which cannot fall but by the hands of her own children. Mr. Bryant manages this intractable verse (the Spenserian) with as much ease as the common doggerel of the ballad; and although its reach of melody is too long, and its rhymes too far apart, and often

too indistinct, for the delight of ordinary readers, yet it is as noble as the oratorios of Handel or Haydn. It is not likely soon to become popular. This kind of verse, like the measure of many of the hymns of Charles Wesley, needs an education to understand and appreciate it.

Mr. Bryant has written nothing in these poems that can have an impure or hurtful tendency. He has, since his almost infantile writings, scarcely attempted satire at all, and there is nothing of the broad and doubtful sort of humor or caricature in the whole collection. Not a syllable is here of which virtue herself could complain, and nothing that tends to make us laugh at or undervalue our fellow men; but much to make the soul strong in opposing error, in bravely battling for truth, and in patiently waiting the revelation of a brighter and a better day for our afflicted race. His thoughts are chaste, generally noble, never low or commonplace, always tending to improve those who read. They lead you to the pure air and grand scenery of the mountain top, not so much that you may look down upon the glorious sights of the earth beneath, as that you may be strengthened by the healthful exercise, and may get a broader view of the illimitable heaven and numberless stars above your head. His metaphors and similes are easily suggested, and actually illustrate his subject and deepen the impression on the mind, as well as add beauty to the language; and while there is no attempt to seek originality in phrase or in construction, there is such a newness and freshness about the thought as pleases more than startling antitheses or elaborate modernisms. The verses and stanzas are so harmoniously constructed that all their hinges seem to be golden, and even the blank verse often moves with as liquid a flow as some of Whittier's fiery rhymes. There is a polish about these poems that but few Englishmen have been willing to wait for. It is probably impossible to tell how much time and labor this excellent finish has cost; though we can guess it by remembering, that in fifty years almost we have less than one hundred and fifty poems, containing not much to exceed six thousand lines. Here are less than one hundred and fifty lines a year on the average, an example to be imitated by poets and prose writers as well. The words are most admirably chosen to express sweetness, grace, and elegance, or energy, patience and hopefulness, qualities for which the poems are especially distinguished. They are easy to be understood, definite in sense, and used with great precision; in sound they are musical, and admirably harmonize with the idea. They are for the most part pure English, with the least intermixture of Latin, about eleven or twelve words in the hundred being of a foreign origin, while Milton, Pope, and Addison

use in their poetry twenty-four nearly, and Burns and Bishop Heber, the most English of all our writers, use eight or ten. It has not been the purpose of this article to quote examples of the beautiful and appropriate use of words and metaphors, or to select the beauties of the volume, so much as to make clear and enforce its noble lessons of love for nature and human progress. Hence the quotations have been longer, and they are often brought in more for their high moral instruction than for their composition or versification. And yet it is believed that no injustice has been done the author on any score.

Perhaps the book should not be dismissed without one word more respecting the illustrations, which do not deserve unqualified praise, though better than most of their kind. A few of them do not illustrate the conception of the piece where they stand, yet the most of them do. There are many landscapes that are almost as much of studies and beauties as the admirable poems they accompany, and we wish for even more of them. The portrait of the author can be *read* again and again, and will not weary the reader, for its noble brow, its *thought-full* wrinkles, its sweet mouth yet firm, and its far-seeing eyes, seem to invite friendship and promise instruction, a promise not unfulfilled to him who turns over these pages either to read the text or look at the pictures.

Several of the poems in blank verse, as "The Fountain," "Noon," "An Evening Reverie," and others, we are told, are parts of a larger poem which may yet see the light. Indeed, much of this kind of poetry throughout the volume seems to be intended for such a purpose, or at least it could be readily joined into one great poem on "Nature and her Teachings." Such are "Thanatopsis," "Inscription for a Wood," "A Winter Piece," "Summer Wind," "Earth," "A Hymn of the Sea," "A Rain Dream;" all of which seem made to the same key-notes, or rather appear to be the well-wrought key-stones of arches in a magnificent temple yet to be builded. Possibly Mr. Bryant is now too busy in the great battle for free principles, bequeathed to him by his friend Leggett, to undertake, or, more truly, to finish such a work. But what a noble close of life his might be (for he is only just now sixty-three, entering upon a green and vigorous old age) if, while with one hand he wields the sword in the defense and in the propagation of freedom and truth, he would, with the other, collect these well-wrought and highly polished fragments into one grand poem, that should almost outsing Milton himself, and make for our American poet a monument, a structure built by his own genius, which should last while men admire beautiful words or grand conceptions.

Art. IV.—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

1. *Jefferson's Complete Works;* being his Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and other Writings, Original and Private, from Original Manuscripts. Nine vols. Taylor & Maury: Washington, D. C.
2. *The Life of Thomas Jefferson,* by Henry S. Randall, LL.D. Derby & Jackson.
3. *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster;* edited by Fletcher Webster. Two vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Foremost among the men of his times, and we think the best representative, on the whole, of the ideas then working among the masses, was Thomas Jefferson. We have been led, equally by his ancient reputation, and by the still prevalent authority of his name, to a special examination of his life and character, and the results we propose to embody in the present article. Of the volumes before us, we shall refer chiefly to those first on the list, because we have long held the doctrine, that nowhere else does a man reveal himself so thoroughly as in his private correspondence. These are nine in number, of some six hundred pages each, and containing many of his letters to confidential friends, written at all periods of his life. The first contains his autobiography, written at the age of seventy-seven; a fac-simile of the Declaration of Independence as he originally drafted it; his early correspondence with youthful friends, and a number of letters, private and official, to various persons, among whom are Washington, Madison, Monroe, John Adams, General Greene, Paul Jones, John Jay, Lafayette, Elbridge Gerry, and most of the distinguished men of that day. The other eight volumes are taken up with letters, addresses, his Notes on Virginia, the celebrated Anas, and shrewd comments on various subjects, from growing tobacco and raising sheep, to governing nations and solving man's destiny. His life, by Judge Randall, is to be completed in three volumes; the first only is before us, though we believe the second has also appeared. This brings Mr. Jefferson's life down to his entrance into Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State, in 1790. The work is generally well executed; but there is little of value in it which we do not find expressed in Mr. Jefferson's own words in the volumes above mentioned. For this reason, we shall probably have no occasion to refer to it, though we may make some use of its materials in working up the text. The third work needs no explanation; we shall use it for only a single, though lengthy and valuable quotation.

Mr. Jefferson was born of respectable parentage, in 1743, among the mountainous regions of Albemarle county, Virginia.

His father was a man of great strength and courage, of Scotch descent, and especially noted for all that acuteness of judgment conceded to his countrymen. "He traced his pedigree far back in England and Scotland," says Mr. Jefferson, and adds, with truly republican accent, "to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses." Thomas, the eldest son, was early put to books, for which, even then, he manifested a great fondness. At the early age of seventeen he was regularly matriculated in William and Mary College, where he subsequently graduated with honor, and soon after commenced his clerkship at law in Williamsburg, under the direction of George Wythe, then one of the most considerable lawyers in Virginia. Like other young men, he had his love affairs, which ultimately solidified into matrimony. While in Williamsburg, it appears that his attentions were about equally divided between Coke on Littleton, and Miss Rebecca Burwell, though he subsequently married a Mrs. Martha Skelton, a young widow of twenty-three. Like most men of spirit in those times, he took an ardent part in the exciting politics of the day, and in 1769, but two years after his admission to the bar, was returned to the General Assembly of Virginia. Here he soon distinguished himself as an active working member, though possessed of little oratory, for which he was physically disqualified. His voice was naturally weak, and when he spoke soon became husky; in after years he quitted the forum altogether, exchanging the tongue for the pen. Here he greatly excelled, as his voluminous papers abundantly show; indeed, as a writer he has seldom been equalled in the three great requisites of style—perspicuity, accuracy and force. His large information, his keen knowledge of mankind, his practical cast of character, and signal ability with the pen, eminently fitted him for drafting the documents issuing from the various deliberative bodies through which he successively passed. This was his sphere; he had the discernment early to perceive it, and to abandon the more showy grace of oratory for the more substantial one of composition. Lord Bacon, we believe it is, somewhere makes the remark, that there are but two ways of securing immortality, one by performing deeds worthy to be written, and the other by writing of such deeds. Jefferson did both, and, if Bacon be authority, is therefore doubly immortal. From the Colonial Legislature he passed into the Continental Congress, where he was not only a prominent but leading member, and though speaking but seldom himself, yet furnishing much of the matter for the speeches of others. As author of the Declaration of Independence, the most thorough, compact, and vigorous state paper our age has pro-

duced, his fame is secure at least for centuries, if not forever. He was now employed two years with Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Wythe, in the codification of the Laws of Virginia. This laborious and thankless work concluded, he was elected governor, next to the Legislature, and then to Congress again. Subsequently he was sent to Europe as Minister Plenipotentiary; on his return he was appointed Secretary of State under the administration of Washington, then elected vice-president under the elder Adams, and lastly became our third president for two successive terms. Afterward, when he had retired to private life, he was appointed a Visitor and Rector of the University of Virginia. With this brief *resumé* of his public services, extending through a period of sixty-one years, let us try to sketch his character.

1. He was thoroughly republican, and therefore, as we have elsewhere said, we consider him the best representative man of his times, if not of our history; for with him republicanism was a leading, intense, and controlling sentiment. It was scarcely so with any other great man of his times. Washington loved the Republic, and resolved to give it the aid of all his splendid and weighty character; in his own words, as recorded by Jefferson, he declared he "would spend the last drop of his blood"* to give it a fair trial; but, conservative by nature, even he despaired of the ability of the people to govern themselves. John Adams, of greater attainments than Jefferson, and perhaps greater genius, though of far less practical wisdom, admitted frankly his doubts of the masses and his love of an aristocracy;† while Hamilton, wise in most of his projects and great in everything, was an avowed monarchist. Hamilton went so far as to prepare the "draught of a circular letter," to be sent to various persons of consequence, soliciting their co-operation in the establishment of a monarchical government.‡ But in the teeth of such opposition, Jefferson declared his full faith in the integrity and ability of the people, proclaimed himself their defender, and baring his arm for the battle, fought like a Hercules in vindication of his cherished principles. Hear him in the utterance of those sublime propositions upon which the Revolution was staked, and fought, and also won:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that ALL men are created *equal*; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE to alter

* Vol. vi, p. 97; vol. ix, p. 96. † Vol. vi, p. 160, 254–260; vol. ix, p. 96.
‡ Vol. vii, p. 389–90; vol. ix, 26, 47, 69, 96, 122.

or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as *to them* shall seem most likely to effect *their* safety and happiness."

These sonorous sentences were bugle blasts, well calculated to arouse the nation, and the nations, and they could not and cannot but make kings and tyrants tremble on their thrones. Solemnly affirming the sovereignty of the people, they went home to the hearts and the consciences of the American colonists; they constituted their battle-cry on many a well-fought battle-field; and the future historian will recognize them as the cabalistic words from which resulted a national development already marvelous, in less than a century from the nation's genesis, and destined to become the most magnificent the world ever saw. But hear him further:

"Societies exist under three forms, sufficiently distinguishable. 1. Without government, as among our Indians. 2. Under governments, wherein the will of every one has a just influence, as is the case of England in a slight degree, and in our states in a great one. 3. Under government of force, as is the case in all other monarchies, and in most of the other republics. To have an idea of the curse of existence under these last, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep. It is a problem not clear in my mind, that the first condition is not the best; but I believe it to be inconsistent with any great degree of population. The second state has a great deal of good in it. The mass of mankind under that enjoy a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils too; the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. But weigh this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing. *Malo periculosam libertatim quam quietam servitutem.* Even this evil is productive of good. It prevents the degeneracy of government, and nourishes a general attention to the public affairs. I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary to the political world as storms in the physical."—Vol. ii, p. 105.

There is a vast deal of wisdom condensed in these rough paragraphs, indeed the results of a lifetime of observation and reflection. And again, in commenting on Hume, whom he styles "the great apostle of toryism," but who could not be otherwise than treacherous also to liberty, when he had renounced his allegiance to Christianity; Hume, in Chapter 159, in speaking of the reign of the Stuarts, says: "The commons established a principle which is noble in itself, and seems specious, but is belied by all history and experience, *that the people are the origin of all just power.*" To this Jefferson interrogates indignantly, almost fiercely:

"And where else will this degenerate son of science, this traitor to his fellow men, find the origin of *just* powers, if not in the majority of society? Will it be in the minority? or in an individual of that minority?"—Vol. vii, p. 356.

Here is a rigid statement in a nutshell of the old cause of *The People vs. Kings.* The matter in controversy could hardly be compressed into a smaller compass. It is the short argument of a

master advocate. The triad of questions winds up with a climacteric twitch, like the clinching of a well-driven rivet. He makes short work of Mr. Hume's stilted sophism.

As a natural consequence of his strong love of republicanism, he had an equally strong hatred of monarchism. At the close of the Revolution there was a large party in our country devoted to monarchy. We have already alluded to Adams and Hamilton; these were but the outspoken leaders of thousands of men, no doubt sincere in their views, but who were utterly opposed to the establishment of a republic, because of its alleged turbulence and commotions. How just these allegations were, we have elsewhere hinted; they were to be expected, when we reflect that the charges come from historians, who were generally the paid creatures of kings, and dependent on monarchy, not only for their subsistence, but also for their lives. What republics have had fair play, have ultimately been subverted by kings; through all the past, with slight exception, tyrants have had their hands at the throats of the people, or have whipped them along like dogs; and therefore, when we remember how, in every age, genius and talent have cringed at the feet of power, we repeat it is to be expected that historians would pronounce *vox populi* to be *vox diaboli*, though its divine intonations assured them that it was in reality the voice of God. The time for such false histories is past. A new era has dawned upon mankind. Freedom, with its beneficent and vivifying influences, is abroad in the earth, to extinguish error, to confound prejudice, and to rebuke despots, unclouding brains, and unshackling pens.

What Mr. Jefferson thought of monarchies, may be seen by the following passages, written by him from Europe just previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution:

"With all the defects of our constitution, whether general or particular, the comparison of our governments with those of Europe, is like a comparison of heaven and hell. England, like the earth, may be allowed to take the intermediate station. And yet I hear there are people among you who think the experience of our governments has already proved that republican governments will not answer."

And then he adds, in a keen sarcasm:

"Send those gentry here to count the blessings of monarchy!"—Vol. ii, p. 249.

Again he writes, about the same time:

"I was such an enemy to monarchies before I came to Europe. I am ten thousand times more so since I have seen what they are. There is scarcely an evil known in these countries, which may not be traced to their king as its source, nor a good which is not derived from the small fibers of republicanism existing among them. I can further say, with safety, there is not a crowned

head in Europe whose talents or merits would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America."—Vol. ii, p. 375.

Again he declares war on this wise:

"No race of kings has ever presented above one man of common sense in twenty generations. The best thing they can do is to leave things to their ministers; and what are their ministers but a committee badly chosen?" Vol. ii, p. 220.

This was in 1787, when he was Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France. Twenty-three years afterward, in his retirement at Monticello, at the age of sixty-seven, he elaborates thus:

"While in Europe, I often amused myself with contemplating the characters of the then reigning sovereigns of Europe. Louis the XVI. was a fool, of my own knowledge, and despite the answers made for him at his trial. The King of Spain was a fool, and of Naples the same. They passed their lives in hunting, and despatched two couriers a week, one thousand miles, to let each other know what game they had killed the preceding days. The King of Sardinia was a fool. All these were Bourbons. The queen of Portugal, or Braganza, was an idiot by nature. And so was the king of Denmark. The King of Prussia, successor to the great Frederic, was a mere boy in body as well as in mind. Gustavus of Sweden, and Joseph of Austria, were really crazy, and George of England, you know, was in a strait waistcoat. There remained, then, none but old Catharine, who had been too lately picked up to have lost her common sense. . . . And so endeth the book of kings, from all of whom the Lord deliver us, and have you, my friend, and all such good men and true, in his holy keeping.—Vol. v, p. 515.

In explanation of this royal degradation, he writes as follows, with equal philosophy and plainness:

"The practice of kings marrying only in the families of kings, has been that of Europe for some centuries. Now, take any race of animals, confine them in idleness and inaction, whether in a stye, a stable, or a state-room, pamper them with high diet, gratify all their sexual appetites, immerse them in sensualities, nourish their passions, let everything bend before them, and banish whatever might lead them to think, and in a few generations they become all body and no mind; and this, too, by a law of nature, by that very law by which we are in the constant practice of changing the characters and propensities of the animals we raise for our own purposes. Such is the regime for raising kings, and in this way they have gone on for centuries."—Vol. v, 514–515.

One more quotation, in which his righteous indignation seems to culminate, and we have done with this head:

"So much for the blessings of having kings, and magistrates who would be kings. From these our young republic may learn useful lessons, to guard against hereditary magistrates, and to besiege the throne of heaven with eternal prayers, to extirpate from creation this class of human lions, tigers, and mammoths, called kings; from whom, let him perish who does not say, 'Good Lord, deliver us!'"

We think, with such an ample record, Mr. Jefferson's republicanism is established beyond cavil. Such sentiments, intrinsically so valuable and so rigorously expressed, would be refreshing at any

time; they are especially so now, when many good men really fear we are drifting fast toward centralization. Religiously, we must do our first works over again, when we have lost ground; so, socially, it is of value to revive the past, when its great principles have become obscure or been departed from.

So great was Mr. Jefferson's jealousy of centralization, that he was opposed to the clause of the Constitution which permits the re-eligibility of the president. He thought the presidency should be restricted to one term. Reason and experience, he thought, assured us, that if the president *might* be re-elected he *would* be re-elected; that foreign nations would have an interest in his re-election, if his previous administration had suited them, and would promote it by money—if need be, by arms. With singular prescience he prophecies, in 1787, that in a few years the election of a president of the United States "will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe than ever the election of a king of Poland was." Therefore, he thought, as the Roman emperors, the popes, the German emperors, the king of Poland, and the deys of the Ottoman dependencies, had all once been elective, but afterforward became absolute or hereditary, so the power of removing every fourth year by the vote of the people would be a power which they could not exercise, or, if disposed to exercise it, would not be permitted. The King of Poland, he says, was removable every day by the Diet; yet they *never* removed him, nor would the European monarchs have sanctioned his removal. He winds up his objections by declaring that the president, as provided for in the Federal Constitution, "seems a bad edition of a Polish king. He *may* be elected from four years to four years for life."* This feature of the Constitution, however, has so far with us proved less serious in practice than alarming in theory. Washington held over for two terms, in obedience to the almost unanimous voice of the republic. Jefferson himself did not hesitate to do the same, when subsequently elevated to the presidency; Madison and Monroe were each eight years in the White House, as likewise Jackson; but this seems to have become the limit beyond which the popular preference will not go. Indeed, since the time of Jackson, the one term policy has so much prevailed, we should say so continually, that all parties have pretty much conceded that hereafter the principle thereof shall generally be adhered to. Mr. Jefferson's mistake lay in the assumption, that we, too, would be compelled to become a make-weight in preserving the mysterious "balance of power" in Europe. Fortunately for us, a wide ocean rolled between, unbridged as yet by steamships and

* Vol. ii, p. 316.

telegraphs. Our infancy was passed in quietude, free from their machinations and unmolested by their arms; and now, when the achievements of our times have dwindled the distance to days instead of months, we have attained to vigorous manhood, and become too strong to be effectually bullied. Whatever may have been our condition once, we certainly have nothing now to fear from foreign dictation. In our judgment the only things we have to fear hereafter, are the hostile elements already silently warring in the bosom of the Republic.

For the same reason, (his dread of centralization,) but with much greater sagacity, his opposition to the constitutional construction of the Supreme Court amounted almost to terror. In his day this tribunal had not made such advances on our liberties as it has in ours; yet its position and known proclivities, even then, were such as to fill him with terror and alarm. But his views need no preface or elaboration; let them speak for themselves.

"The judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working under ground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government, to a general and supreme one alone. This will lay all things at their feet, and they are too well versed in English law to forget the maxim, '*Boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem.*" Having found, from experience, that impeachment is an impracticable thing, a mere scare-crow, they consider themselves secure for life. An opinion is huddled up in conclave, perhaps by a majority of one, delivered as unanimous and with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates, by a crafty chief judge, who sophisticates the law to his mind, by the turn of his own reasoning."—Vol. vii, 192.

Again he speaks of the Judiciary as

"An indispensable body, working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless step, like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction, until all shall be usurped from the states, and the government of all be consolidated into one. If the states look with apathy on this silent descent of their government into the gulf which is to swallow all, we have only to weep over the human character formed uncontrollable, but by a rod of iron, and the blasphemers of man, as incapable of self-government, become his true historians."—Vol. vii, p. 216.

He goes over the whole ground more completely in a compact and studied comment, defining the evil and suggesting a remedy, in his autobiography, written in 1821, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, in his retirement at Monticello:

"In England it was a great point gained at the Revolution, (English,) that the commissions of the judges, which had hitherto been during good pleasure, should thenceforth be made during good behaviour. A judiciary dependent on the will of the king had proved itself the most oppressive of all trusts in the hands of that magistrate. Nothing, then, could be more salutary, than a change there to the tenure of good behavior, left to the vote of the simple majority in the two houses of parliament. Before the Revolution (American)

we were all good English whigs, cordial in their free principles, and in their jealousies of their executive magistrate. These jealousies are very apparent in all our state constitutions; and in the general government, in this instance, we have gone even beyond the English caution, by requiring a vote of two-thirds, in one of the houses, for removing a judge; a vote so impossible, where any defense is made,* before men of ordinary prejudices and passions, that our judges are effectually independent of the nation. But this ought not to be. I would not, indeed, make them dependent on the executive authority, as they formerly were in England;† but I deem it indispensable to the continuance of this government, that they should be submitted to some practical and impartial control; and that this, to be imparted, must be compounded of a mixture of state and federal authorities. It is not enough that honest men are appointed judges. All know the influence of interest on the mind of man, and how unconsciously his judgment is warped by that influence. To this bias add that of the *esprit du corps*, of their peculiar maxim and creed, that 'it is the office of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction,' and the absence of responsibility; and how can we expect impartial decision between the general government, of which they are themselves so eminent a part, and an individual state, from which they have nothing to hope or fear? We have seen, too, that, contrary to all correct example, they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold for future advances of power. They are then, in fact, the corps of sappers and miners, steadily working to undermine the independent rights of the states, and to consolidate all power in the hands of the government in which they have so large a freehold estate. . . . I do not charge the judges with willful and ill-intentioned error; but honest error must be arrested, where its toleration leads to public ruin. As, for the safety of society, we commit honest maniacs to Bedlam, so judges should be withdrawn from the bench, whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may, indeed, injure them in fame or fortune; but it saves the Republic, which is the first and supreme law."—Vol. i, pp. 81, 82.

We have quoted nearly the whole of this passage, though aware of its undue length, because we deem it the best *resumé* of the subject extant. We bespeak a careful, or even a second perusal of it, because we consider it pregnant with truth. If these strictures were true then, nearly half a century ago, how much more so are they now, when viewed in the light (or rather in the darkness) of the Dred Scott case? When we consider the *obiter dicta* character of the decision in this notorious case, how the court traveled widely out of the record solely to crush a formidable political party, we see a peculiar significance in his remark that, "they are in the habit of going out of the question before them, *to throw an anchor ahead, and grapple further hold* for future advances of power."

There are two corollaries to his love of republicanism. First, his

* In the impeachment of Judge Pickering, of New-Hampshire, a habitual and maniac drunkard, no defence was made. Had there been, the party vote of more than one-third of the Senate would have acquitted him.

† He says, elsewhere: "A judiciary independent of a king or executive alone, is a good thing; but independence of the will of the nation is a solecism, at least in a republican government.

hatred of ultra-conservatism. Secondly, his opposition to slavery. We daily meet with men who, not inquiring wisely concerning this, are continually affirming "the *former* times were better than *these.*" With them the past is the only thing worth remembering, and its relics the only things worth cherishing. "The golden age now gone," "the halcyon days of yore," the times of "auld lang syne,"

"The days gone by—the days gone by,"

these are the stereotype expressions subdividing all their thoughts, and pervading all their conversation. They can perceive no worth in the present times, and resist innovation as they would destruction. Now, conservatism is right and proper in its own sphere; but when it degenerates into timidity, or flusters into croakerism, it is death to all true progress. Mr. Jefferson, with his acute insight and large information, was too shrewd and philosophic not to perceive the steady though slow progress of the race Godward, and therefore waged a relentless war against what has been called in the nomenclature of the day, *fogyism.* He says, in 1816:

"Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them, like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I know that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead.... We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors."—Vol. vii, p. 15.

The right to thus "reform, alter, or abolish" institutions, is advanced with his customary originality, as well as republicanism, as follows:

"By the European tables of mortality of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period, then, a new majority is come into place, or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right *to choose for itself* the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors.... It is now (1816) forty years since the constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot own something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a

right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority."—Vol. vii. pp. 16, 17.

Secondly, Like every great and good man of his times, he was inexorably opposed to the system of African slavery. His keen philosophy and clear statesmanship impelled him to this, not less than his large sense of justice. It was to be expected of the author of the Declaration of Independence, notwithstanding that great instrument is denounced by the sophists of the present day as consisting of "sounding and glittering generalities." There was neither sound nor glitter about the great Virginia democrat; and he would have been ashamed to proclaim in general propositions what he could not support in special instances. The leading trait of his character, that which gave form and color to his life, was justice, and therefore his natural bent was to universal liberty. His great sense and practical logic revealed to him at a glance the sophisms upon which had rested the oppression of ages, and he attacked them fearlessly. If his successors had emulated his powerful and well-directed blows, we should not now be shaken by dissensions, and be compelled to rediscuss the doctrines that led to the American Revolution. His utterances upon the *quæstio vexata* of American politics were unhesitating and manly. They date from so early as 1769, when he was a member of the Colonial Legislature of Virginia, down to the hour of his death. In his Notes on Virginia, contained in Volume VIII of his Complete Works, on pages 403–4, he says:

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other; our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present; but generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends upon his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals

of the people their industry also is destroyed; for in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

He declares elsewhere, (Vol. II. p. 357 :)

"Nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the trade, but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object."

To show that this was no idle vaunt, but uttered in sincerity, we make one other quotation. In June, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, with a detachment of his army, made an incursion into the neighborhood of Monticello, for the purpose of awing the inhabitants, and, if possible, of seizing on the person of Mr. Jefferson. Failing in this last, he destroyed Mr. Jefferson's crops of corn and tobacco, burned his barns containing the crops of the previous year, consumed his cattle, sheep and hogs for the sustenance of the army, and carried off all the horses capable of service, cutting the throats of those not capable, and burning all the fences on his plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. Says Mr. Jefferson:

"He carried off, also, about thirty slaves. Had this been done to give them freedom, *he would have done* RIGHT."—Vol. ii, p. 426.

Surely, there is no sound or glitter about that, and an absence of all generality. It is, on the contrary, special and practical. It sinks from the airy regions of philosophy to the solid domains of profit. He based his opposition to the great crime of an age upon the immutable principles of justice, block by block erected the stately fabric, pushing it heavenward with all the strength of his massive character, and shrunk from no opportunity of vindicating his precepts by practical examples. Believing in the universal brotherhood of man, he was too wise to deny that Africans are participators therein, without denying their humanity; unable to do this, he boldly asserted their inalienable right to freedom, and crowned his repeated assertions by directing his executors to emancipate such of his own slaves as he deemed capable of enjoying liberty. (Vol, ix., p. 514.) This last act rendered his life complete. It would have been brilliant, indeed, without this; but this was a proper finis to a book from the beginning so nobly written.

So far we have proceeded with a full love of our subject, as well as admiration; we wish we could continue so. But we now approach a point anything but agreeable to our pen, but which cannot be ignored if we are true to our vocation. His religious views, it must be confessed, were sadly tainted by the skepticism of the times. While minister to France he mingled freely with the "small philosophers"* of that day, and imperceptibly imbibed many of their sentiments. From their grossness of life he always continued free; but their ideas colored his opinions to the last. Undoubtedly his morals were pure and upright; no man could breathe aught of calumny against him. Unfortunate in endorsing for friends, he cheerfully sacrificed thousands of dollars rather than suffer the least imputation of dishonor. He was not an atheist, neither was he a disciple of Priestly; nor is it quite fair to rank him as an infidel. His confidential correspondence with John Adams, (then retired from the presidency, at Quincy, and perhaps less orthodox in his religious opinions than Jefferson,) running through the entire volumes before us, abundantly shows that he was a devout follower of what *he believed* to be the doctrines of Christianity. He believed the Scriptures greatly corrupted by interpolations and omissions, and therefore could not accept unreservedly the doctrines which the modern Church legitimately extracts from them. Yet he thought Jesus the most incomparable being that ever appeared on earth, greatly superior to Socrates or any other philosopher before or since; clipped from the New Testament what he believed to be the passages containing his words, pasted them on the leaves of a blank-book, and named this singular synopsis the Philosophy of Jesus.

"I have made a wee-little book, which I call the Philosophy of Jesus; it is a paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book, and arranging them in the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that *I* am a *real Christian*, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus."—Vol. vi, p. 518.

Much as we may dissent from his views and lament his heresies, we must at least admire his sincerity. It is greatly to be regretted that his creed was not more orthodox; so great in most respects, and original in all, and filling so prominent a place in the early years of the Republic, his life and character are closely studied by most young men, their opinions yet unformed, and who are therefore greatly liable to be tainted by his pernicious sentiments, ere detecting their subtle poison. He was undoubtedly an earnest and honest inquirer after truth; he had read Confucius, the Vedas, the

* Cicero *De Senectute*, Cap. xxiii.

Koran, and was familiar with the doctrines of the Grecian and Roman schools; and we cannot resist the conviction, that if he had come to the study of the Scriptures with his usual vigor and thoroughness, he would have arrived at very different conclusions. But engaging in the exciting and absorbing affairs of a long political life, he neglected the investigations the importance of the subject demanded, and so failed in detecting its rich veins of gold. It is not for us to judge him: God forbid! Let it suffice, that we have not suppressed the truth, though its utterance be painful.

The best description of Mr. Jefferson's person, dress, and habits, that we have met with, is from the pen of Mr. Webster, written in the plain, untrammeled, and unpretending style of a private letter. In December, 1824, Mr. Webster, already a man of note, in company with four or five congressional friends, visited Mr. Jefferson at Monticello. On his return to Washington, at the request of some friends in Massachusetts, he committed his first impressions to writing for their perusal. We subjoin his remarks entirely from the third work at the head of this article.

"Mr. Jefferson is now between eighty-one and eighty-two, above six feet high, of an ample long frame, rather thin and spare. His head, which is not peculiar in its shape, is set rather forward on his shoulders; and his neck being long, there is, when he is walking or conversing, an habitual protrusion of it. It is still well covered with hair, which, having been once red, and now turning gray, is of an indistinct sandy color. His eyes are small, very light, and now neither brilliant nor striking. His chin is rather long, but not pointed. His nose small, regular in its outline, and the nostrils a little elevated. His mouth is well formed, and still filled with teeth; it is strongly compressed, bearing an expression of contentment and benevolence. His complexion, formerly light and freckled, now bears the marks of age and cutaneous affection. His limbs are uncommonly long, his hands and feet very large, and his wrists of an extraordinary size. His walk is not precise and military, but easy and swinging. He stoops not a little, not so much from age as from natural formation. When sitting he appears short, partly from rather a lounging habit of sitting, and partly from the disproportionate length of his limbs.

His dress when in the house is a gray surtout coat, kerseymere stuff waistcoat, with an under one faced with some material of a dingy red. His pantaloons were very large and loose, and of the same color as his coat. His stockings are woolen, either white or gray, and his shoes of the kind that bear his name. His whole dress is very much neglected, but not slovenly. He wears a common round hat. His dress, when on horseback, is a gray straight-bodied coat, and a spencer of the same material, both fastened with large pearl buttons. When we first saw him he was riding, and, in addition to the above articles of apparel, wore around his throat a knit white woolen tippet, in the place of a cravat, and black velvet gaiters under his pantaloons. His general appearance indicates an extraordinary degree of health, vivacity, and spirit. His sight is still good, for he needs glasses only in the evening. His hearing is generally good, but a number of voices in animated conversation confuses it.

"Mr. Jefferson rises in the morning as soon as he can see the hands of his clock, which is directly opposite his bed, and examines his thermometer immediately, as he keeps a regular meteorological diary. He employs himself

chiefly in writing till breakfast, which is at nine. From that time till dinner he is in his library, excepting that in fair weather he rides on horseback from seven to fourteen miles; dines at four, returns to the drawing-room at six, when coffee is brought in, and passes the evening till nine in conversation. His habit of retiring at that hour is so strong, that it has become essential to his health and comfort. His diet is simple, but he seems restrained only by his taste. His breakfast is tea and coffee, bread always fresh from the oven, of which he does not seem afraid, with sometimes a slight accompaniment of cold meat. He enjoys his dinner well, taking with his meat a large proportion of vegetables."—Vol. i., p. 364–5.

Such was Thomas Jefferson, and as such he passed to his account on the fourth of July, 1826, a day of all others the most fitting for his departure. He was one of those strong, vigorous, and uncompromising characters, in which our Revolutionary times abounded, and albeit he erred, we yet do well to reverence him. Perhaps no statesman of our history has enjoyed so wide a reputation abroad, and none, surely, has had so extensive an influence upon our domestic and foreign policy. He numbered among his correspondents the most learned men of both continents, and a political party professing his principles, however it has practiced them, has chiefly borne rule since his elevation to the presidency. The people have always regarded him as the great apostle of democracy, as he undoubtedly was, and as such his place hereafter in history is indisputably secure.

> "He is Freedom's now and Fame's,
> One of the few immortal names
> That were not born to die."

We award him great praise for his scientific as well as political achievements; we rejoice to claim him as a fellow countryman; and while we regret, deeply regret his errors, we commend him to our young men as an example well worthy of their best emulation. Informed of his errors, may they cultivate his graces, equal his virtues, and become the Jeffersons improved of their day and generation.

Art. V.—UNITAS FRATRUM—THE MORAVIANS.

The Church of the United Brethren claims an original descent from the Sclavonian branch of the Greek Church, which received the Gospel through the direct agency of the apostles and their contemporaries. St. Paul, during his missionary labors, visited Illyricum, on the borders of Italy, (Rom. xv, 19,) and he mentions Titus as having proceeded, for the same purpose, into Dalmatia, (2 Tim. iv, x.)

Both of these regions were Sclavonian provinces, and many gladly received the Gospel. But civil commotions arising at this early period, a cruel persecution against these reformers followed; many were punished with death, or imprisonment and exile. But God appeared to their succor and comfort. The bloody persecution of the Waldenses in France and Italy, led to their emigration by great numbers into Bohemia, and about 1176, they formed a union with the Christian Bohemians and Moravians. This religious connection introduced a purer and more Scriptural form of worship among them.

About the middle of the fourteenth century Pope Clement VI., aided by Charles IV., the Emperor of Germany and Bohemia, endeavored to reduce the Bohemian and Moravian Churches to the see of Rome. One of the chief means to accomplish this design was the establishment of the University at Prague. On the 6th of July, 1373, was born that early reformer and martyr, John Huss, in a small town of Bohemia, and amidst poverty. Still he entered the new university, accompanied by his pious mother, who, with prayers and tears, recommended her child to the notice of the rector. Devoting much time to the study of the sacred Scriptures, with the Greek and Latin Fathers, the young student made rapid progress in his learning; he became tutor in his twentieth year, and soon Professor of Divinity in the University. In 1409 he was chosen its Rector, six years before his martyrdom.

The Moravian was soon declared a heretic, excommunicated, and by a papal interdict all religious worship suspended in the city of Prague. Huss was tried and doomed to the flames as a heretic the next year. His books were burned before his face, and this early reformer ascended from the stake, singing, in a chariot of fire, to his reward in heaven.

The Moravian, Bohemian, or Hussite Church now had many divisions in regard to doctrines and religious ceremonies, but in 1460 they finally settled all their differences and adopted the name of "Fratres Legis Christi," *Brethren of the Law of Christ;* but it was soon exchanged for the more simple appellation of "Fratres"—*Brethren.* In after years, when their number had greatly increased, they assumed the name of "Unitas Fratrum," the *Unity of Brethren.* They were the first to give the Bible in the living tongue, having printed it in 1470, at Venice, and issued three editions of its sacred pages before the commencement of Luther's Reformation.

Some eighty-five miles from the city of Prague, near the confines of Bohemia and Silesia, along the foot of the mountains, stretched the domain of Lititz, and there, amid the shadows of feudal towers

and deep recesses, was founded the Moravian Church. At that period Michael Bradacius resided in the barony of Lititz. He was an evangelical priest, and preached the Gospel in its purity. The Moravians of Prague hearing of him, were moved in the spirit to visit the man of God, and soon a number of the Brethren sought his retreat in 1453. Strong in the faith, and bold for their Master, they turned their backs upon the city and its corruptions, and sought homes and religious freedom amid the mountains and forests. There a solemn convocation was called. This was in 1457, just four hundred years ago, and here they prayed and deliberated until their hearts were impressed with the belief that it was a duty to separate from the established and corrupt Churches of Bohemia and Moravia. They avowed themselves the followers or disciples of John Huss; their only rule of faith, practice, and discipline, the New Testament; and adopting as their model the ancient apostolical Church, they organized a communion of their own.

Michael Bradacius was chosen minister, and at subsequent convocations Gregory, Procopius, and Clenovicius, were elected elders. This is the history of the founding of the Moravian Church, four centuries since, and a regular ministry, established by ordination from a Waldensian Church, on the confines of Austria. The Waldenses have existed a long period, as a distinct body of Christians, tracing the succession of their bishops from the apostolic times. Three of the Brethren, already in priest's orders, were sent to the Waldensian bishop, Stephen, who readily ordained them bishops of the Brethren's Church. Michael Bradacius is the only one of the three whose name has been handed down to posterity. A synod was soon convoked, other presbyters were ordained, and one of them, Mathias, of Kunewolde, consecrated a bishop.

To prevent the pomp of hierarchical power, and the abuse made of the name of bishop in the Romish Church, the Moravians called their bishops *Seniors*, or *Elders*. The first four were aided in their solemn and arduous duties by ten *con-seniors*, or co-bishops, elected from the presbyters..

When it became known that the Moravians had secured an ecclesiastical constitution, severe edicts were issued against them. Michael, their first bishop, was placed in close confinement for several years, and all the prisons in Bohemia were soon crowded, and the Brethren were banished from Moravia and driven into distant lands. The more Rome opposed, however, the more *Unitas Fratrum* increased, until in the commencement of the sixteenth century, there were not less than two hundred Churches in Bohemia and Moravia, embracing all ranks of life, from the humble peasant to the ancient

nobles. There were provincial bishops in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and all united in general conventions. Particular attention was devoted to education, and the Brethren had several seminaries of learning.

They were the first to give the BIBLE in any living European language, having printed it in 1470, at Venice: afterward they established no less than three presses, one in Moravia, and two in Bohemia, and for several years nothing was issued except Bohemian Bibles. These were the blessed fruits of righteousness.

At length Ferdinand II. swayed the sceptre of the Austrian empire, to which Bohemia and Moravia now belonged. He was a religious bigot, and had solemnly sworn to extirpate heresy from his dominions. He expelled all Protestants from Bohemia, but mostly in a bloodless way, the Jesuits being his emissaries and champions. "Abjure evangelical faith, or leave the country," was the royal principle and mandate. A dark day followed, and toward the end of the seventeenth century "the Moravian Zion" no longer existed as a separate one; still it was not dead, but a living hidden seed in the hearts of the faithful.

Amos Comenius was the venerable bishop who formed the connecting link between the ancient and the renewed Churches. Wandering with his broken flock into exile, he had reached the top of the lofty mountain chain separating Moravia from Siberia. Here the aged minister of God paused to cast a farewell look upon that native land which he so dearly loved. Long did he gaze, and falling upon his knees, he beseeched the God of his fathers to preserve the good seed in those former homes of religion and truth, and to cause a new tree to grow up from it. After many years spent in exile, Comenius felt his end drawing near, and consecrated, as a last pious act, *another bishop*, so that the episcopal succession might not become extinct. A living Church thus continued to exist, amid a long night of intellectual and spiritual darkness, which neither the craft nor violence of men was permitted to destroy.

In 1522 the Moravian Brethren deputed John Horn and Michael Weiss to visit Luther, the German preacher, with the sincere congratulations of their whole brotherhood; and in 1536 they transmitted to him their Confession of Faith. With this document he was so well pleased as to have it printed at Wittemberg, with a recommendatory preface.

Luther died in 1646, and Charles V., the same year, commenced a war against the Protestants. The oldest Moravian bishop, *John Augusta* was imprisoned, fed on bread and water, scourged, and put to the rack. *George Israel*, his successor in the episcopacy,

experienced similar hard and cruel usage. Many churches were now shut up and their ministers banished. Conducted by their bishop, Mathias Lyon, a numerous body emigrated to Poland, and thence to Prussia; and in the short space of six years not less than forty congregations were collected in Great Poland, mostly by Bishop George Israel. Synods were held, at one of which a new version of the Bible in Bohemian, from the originals, was ordered; and students of divinity sent to the Universities of Wittenberg and Basle, to perfect themselves in Hebrew and Greek for the work of translating. A printing-office was established at the Castle of Kralitz, the translators spending fourteen years in completing their important task.

Next succeeded the "Thirty Years War," as it is called, from 1618 to 1648, during which the Moravian Brethren were almost exterminated, and many of their leading men beheaded. All the Protestant Churches and schools throughout Bohemia and Moravia were closed forever. Minions of the pope searched for every copy of the Bible, and, with all Protestant books, they were committed to the flames. The sacred utensils of God's house shared the same fate.

Many persons of rank in the Brethren's Church were executed, and among them *Wenceslaus*, of Budowa. He was seventy-four years old, a man of learning, and had held high offices under the Emperor Rudolph. Jesuits and Capuchin monks vainly strove for his recantation. Placing his hand on the word of God, he said, with a smile, "This paradise has never offered me sweeter fruits than it does at this moment." Upon the scaffold the venerable minister uncovered his white locks, and said: "Behold my gray hairs; what honor is conferred upon them, to be encircled with a martyr's crown." *Baron Von Kopplick* had also honorably served the state. He was almost ninety, and when ordered to execution exclaimed: "In the name of God I am ready. I have waited long enough;" and while adding, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit," his aged head was severed from his body by one blow. Such was the holy fortitude which manifested the faith and hope of the Moravian confessors, by joyfully laying down their lives for a pure Gospel. Rome, sanguinary Rome, thus tyrannizes over the consciences of men. Whole countries were depopulated by the rage of her cruel hierarchy, and this work of destruction in Bohemia and Moravia, did not cease for a long period.

Crantz, in his Brethren's history, states that not less than thirty thousand persons, about 1730, left Saltzburg for conscience' sake.

Our rapid sketch, thus far, has been confined to what may be called the *Ancient Brethren's Church*,

> That Church through ages past,
> Assail'd and rent by persecution's blast,
> Whose sons no yoke could crush, no burden tire,
> Unaw'd by dungeons, tortures, sword, or fire.
> o o o o o o o o o
> That Church, which Satan's legions thought destroy'd,
> Her name extinct, her place forever void,
> Alive once more.—MONTGOMERY.

We now come to the "Unitas Fratrum" of more modern times. *Christian David* was the principal mover and the soul of the refugees. Born at a little village of Moravia, in 1690, he was early employed in tending sheep, and afterward learned the carpenter's trade. A bigoted Roman Catholic, to use his own words, "in the performance of his devotions he crept on his knees around the images of the blessed Virgin, till his whole body burned like an oven." At twenty he had never seen a Bible; but now hearing that it was the word of God, his desire to obtain a copy was intense. At length he procured the sacred volume, when it became his favorite book; and renouncing the errors of Popery, he joined the Lutherans in Berlin. Next he enlisted in the army, and discharged from the service, he married and settled at Upper Lausatia in 1717. David made several fruitless attempts to find an asysum for his oppressed countrymen, but was directed, providentially, at last, to *Count Zinzendorf*, who promised to receive them on his estate of Bethelsdorf, near Gerlitz.

In 1722 Christian David carried to Moravia the joyful news of Zinzendorf's offer. A single family at first migrated, Christian David conducting the pilgrims across the mountains and unknown paths to the frontiers of Silesia. The refugees selected a dreary wilderness, covered with bushes, forest-trees, and swamps, for their future home. David, full of courage and faith, striking his axe into a tree, exclaimed with the Psalmist, "Here the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young; even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God."

On the 17th of June, 1722, the first tree was felled, and the building of Herrnhut commenced. This term signifies, *the watch of the Lord*, or *the object of the Lord's protection*. And Christian David observed: "You who dwell here must watch day and night, and see to it that the work of grace here begun be uninterruptedly continued." This is considered by the Brethren as the beginning of their *Renewed Church*. Other immigrants arrived

from Moravia and Saxony, and in a few years they numbered hundreds. The principles and discipline of their fathers were introduced. The episcopate continued, and their Church organization completed, which still exists with the Moravians throughout the world.

Count Zinzendorf was a very extraordinary man, a nobleman of high rank and education, with an enlarged mind and generous heart. Born at Dresden, May 27, 1700, he was sent to the academy at Halle, and grew in piety as he advanced in learning, under the tuition of the celebrated Professor Franke. With a select number of pious youths, he formed an order, called, "The Order of the Grain of Mustard-Seed," and this fact seemed to foreshadow the spirit of the man. The rules of the order were, that its members should steadfastly maintain the doctrine of Jesus, and walk worthily of it; exercise charity towards their neighbors, and more especially endeavor to promote the conversion of Jews and heathen. After six years preparation at Halle, the count entered the University of Wittenberg, where he finished his collegiate course in two years. Then he accepted a situation in the government of Saxony.

At first Zinzendorf befriended the refugees, hoping that their pious example would benefit his other tenants. In 1732 he resigned the regency of Saxony, with all expectation of riches and worldly honors, resolving to consecrate his time, talents, and influence, to the service of God and the advancement of his kingdom. He now became so intimately connected with the Moravian Brethren, that his history is a prominent part of theirs.

In 1724 a large building was erected at Herrnhut, for the education of young noblemen, and a printing-office to publish the BIBLE, with other religious books, at a cheap rate. This institution was afterward changed into an orphan-house for poor children, and the printing-office transferred to Ebersdorf, where it was usefully employed for several years.

More fully to promote true godliness among themselves, and to preserve the unity of the Spirit, in 1727 the *Statutes of the Congregation* were unanimously adopted, and *twelve elders* soon after appointed. They were not properly clerical, and four of the number consecrated, chief of elders, were confirmed by lot. George Nitschman, the oldest person in the settlement, was one. Count Zinzendorf was chosen *Warden*, and acted as *Guardian* or *Patron*, and the stated meetings of the elders were called the *Elders' Conference*. The *Congregational Council* was a more numerous convention, and consisted of the elders, the heads of families, subordin-

ate officers, with some brethren chosen by lot. This formed the *Representative Assembly* of the whole congregation.

Peace, unity, and concord followed these important transactions of the infant Church, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper sealed the whole work so happily begun. That event is regarded as the *birthday of the Renewed Brethren's Church.* On the previous Sunday, August 10, 1727, a gracious and unusual religious influence had animated the congregation at Herrnhut, continuing together in prayer, the singing of hymns, and spiritual discourses, until late at night. The public celebration of the Saviour's death took place on the following Wednesday. Crantz, referring to the auspicious occasion, writes: "On the 12th of May (1727) the dry bones were collected, and by means of various useful regulations were, in the following days, covered with sinews and skin; and on the 13th of August the Spirit of the Lord breathing upon them, infused the vital principle, and prepared them for active service in the kingdom of God, among Christians and heathen."

The children also experienced the gracious influences of that moment, which the Brethren since have commemorated as the *Children's Festival*, August 17th. At Herrnhut, the congregation, both aged and young, paid the strictest attention to the duty of *prayer*, and to keep alive the spirit of supplication, they established what was called *hourly intercession.* Some seventy members formed a plan by which the twenty-four hours of the whole day were divided in such a manner, that two or more of their number were every hour engaged in thanksgiving and prayer. They were called *Intercessors*, and were at liberty to occupy the appointed time in singing, pious meditations, or other acts of devotion. They also held a weekly meeting, at which they became better acquainted with the circumstances of the congregation, the Christian Church, and the unbelieving world.

In the Bohemian-Moravian Church the line of bishops had terminated with Amos Comenius, but the succession was still continued in the Polish branch, of which two bishops were still living. These were Daniel E. Jablonsky, at Berlin, chaplain to the King of Prussia, and Christian Sitkovius, residing at Lisza, in Poland, David Nitschman, one of the three brothers who came to Herrnhut in 1724, was consecrated by Jablonsky, at Berlin, on the 13th of March, 1735, the first bishop of the Renewed Church of the Brethren. He had accompanied the earliest missionary to St. Thomas, West Indies, and after a very useful and laborious Christian life, died, in 1772, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was buried.

After mature reflection, the Brethren resolved, with great unan-

imity, "to receive the Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession, as they were read on the 25th of June, 1530, in the German language, before the electors, princes, and deputies of cities, and delivered to his Imperial Majesty, Charles V., because they are accordant with the Holy Scriptures." This celebrated Confession, it is well known, agrees with the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, in every consistent doctrine of Christianity.

Count Zinzendorf had long thought of resigning his regency at Dresden, and devoting himself entirely to the Church; and in December, 1734, he was formally recognized as a minister of the Gospel, by the theological faculty of the University of Tubingen. In 1736 Frederic William, King of Prussia, invited him to an audience, and upon the recommendation of his majesty, Zinzendorf, the following May, was consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's Church, by the venerable Jablonsky. The king, on the following day, sent a letter of congratulation to him, and among other similar marks of esteem, was one from Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, England.

Zinzendorf, banished at one time from Saxony, for his religion, was providentially led into Wetteravia, taking up his residence in an old castle near Marienborn. It was a very desolate, poor spot, occupied by Jews and Sectarians. Christian David remarked, "We cannot remain here." Zinzendorf replied, "Christian, have you been in Greenland?" "Yes," was the reply; "but were this spot only like Greenland! Here we must perish, because it is much worse!"

In 1737 the Count was permitted to return to Herrnhut, but left again in a few months, concessions being required which he could not conscientiously make. Then he purchased lands near Budingen, and a settlement of the Brethren was made upon it, called Herrnhoog, and in a few years it numbered more citizens than Herrnhut.

Another settlement of the Brethren was also attempted at Pilgenut, in Holstein, whence missionaries might depart for their distant fields of labor. But the Danish government required the inhabitants gradually to renounce all connection with Zinzendorf, and hence they deserted the place, after a short residence of four years.

In 1736, at Marienborn, the first synod of the Renewed Church of the Brethren was convened; and one was held every four years afterward. Synodal conferences assembled more frequently, and Leonard Dober had filled the office of general elder since 1735, but resigned it in 1740. Finding it difficult to select a successor, this office was

abolished, and the brethren resolved to apply for direction to the Lord himself, by the use of the *lot*, in all cases of Church government, where the Scripture and Divine Providence did not furnish a clear rule of action. This alteration in their Church polity took place on the 13th of November, and this day continues to be commemorated annually by proper religious services.

In 1731 the Brethren commenced "The Text-Book of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren," and its publication has been continued regularly ever since. The selection is made by the elders' conference, and contains texts from the Scriptures for each day in the year. Such a publication, they found, had much influence in keeping alive the spirit of zeal and devotion. At this period the Brethren's Church were distinguished for their exertions to extend the kingdom of the world's Redeemer. Moravian settlements were established in Germany, Prussia, and England. In the spring of 1734 a company of the Brethren sailed for Georgia, to preach the Gospel among the Indians. They were sixteen in number. Another company of twenty-six Moravian settlers reached there in 1736, accompanied by Mr. Nitschman, one of their bishops. The Messrs. Wesley, Ingham, and Delamotte, were also passengers. On this voyage the English Methodists beheld Christianity in a more gentle, attractive, and consoling light than they had ever seen it before. Even insults were borne with meekness by these devout exiles; they were ever ready to render the humblest services to their fellow passengers; and amid threatening storms and gales, while others were fearing shipwreck and death, the Moravian Brethren calmly sang the praises of God. With the happy religious experience of these Christians, the Wesleys were at that time personally unacquainted. Neither of them was delivered from the fear of death; theirs was a religion of mortification and good works, rather than of holy peace and joy, produced by the abiding operation and witness of the heavenly Comforter, God's Holy Spirit.

Mr. Wesley served the colony as a minister only a year and nine months, still his mission to Georgia was of the greatest importance to himself. Although he failed in the especial object of his missionary efforts, his intercourse with the Moravian Brethren greatly aided him to discover the true nature of Christianity. On his arrival he sought the advice, relative to his own conduct, of Mr. Spangenberg, one of their venerable pastors. The man of God inquired: "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" Mr. Wesley, referring to this interview, remarks: "I was surprised, and

knew not what to answer. He observed it and asked: 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused and said, 'I know he is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he, 'but do you know he has saved you?' I answered, 'I hope he has died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do;' but I fear they were vain words."

Mr. Wesley even made a temporary residence in the house of this devout people, all living in the same room. "They were always employed," he says: "always cheerful themselves, and in good humor with one another; they had put away all anger and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking." What a beautiful picture of simple, true, evangelical Christianity.

In 1738, Peter Boehler, a learned Moravian minister, reached England, on his way to Carolina, and Mr. Wesley embraced an opportunity of conversing with him. The founder of Methodism appears to have derived more evangelical light from this pious stranger than from any other man. They met at Oxford, and the Moravian said to Mr. Wesley, "My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away!" In a few days he was clearly convinced of unbelief, in his own words, "of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved; and it immediately struck into my mind," he adds: "'Leave off preaching; how can you preach to others who have not faith yourself.' I asked Boehler whether he thought I should leave off or not. He answered, 'By no means.' I asked, 'But what can I preach?' He said, 'Preach faith till you have it; and then because you have it, you will preach faith.'"

Mr. Wesley took his cheering advice, and the first person to whom he preached the new doctrine of salvation by faith alone, was a prisoner under sentence of death, by the name of Clifford. Charles Wesley became much offended with the doctrine of free and present salvation from sin, by faith in the Saviour; but directing his prayerful attention to the subject, he was soon led to adopt it with his brother and the devout German. Charles Wesley was ill at the time, and his brother, with some friends, having spent the night in solemn prayer for the afflicted minister, one of them said, "Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities." These cheering words reached his heart, and while reading some passages of Scripture, he was enabled to trust in Christ, through faith in his atoning blood, and he received that joy, and peace, and rest, which he had vainly sought.

Three days afterward Mr. John Wesley obtained the same blessing. At a society meeting he writes: "While he was describing the change which God works in the heart, through faith in Christ,

I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

Now the two brothers were new, regenerated men. Having obtained the abiding witness of the pardoning mercy of God which they had so long unsuccessfully endeavored to seek by works of righteousness and the law, they longed to make known the great salvation thus attainable by all who earnestly seek it. Wherever they went they preached this truth, and that most extraordinary revival of primitive faith and piety followed their pious labors, and a reformation which has now spread so "sweet a savour of Christ" through so large a portion of our world.

Before he left Georgia Mr. John Wesley resolved to visit Herrnhut, and on his arrival was deeply impressed with the order and discipline of the Moravian Church, but still more did he delight in the religious discourses and experience of the Brethren. He was greatly confirmed in those views of the truth which he had received, and was preparing to preach with a publicity and effect unexampled since the apostolic days. Returning from Germany, he commenced immediately, with great diligence, to preach repentance for sin, penitential sorrow, justification by faith, with the joy, peace, and holiness which followed it.

In 1738, under the advice and encouragement of Peter Boehler, Mr. Wesley commenced, in London, his third Methodist society. The first was at Oxford, from 1729 to 1736; the second in Savannah, and discontinued when he returned to England. This last society met at Fetter-Lane, in connection with the Moravian Brethren; but in 1740 a separation took place, the father of Methodism selecting the Foundry for a place of worship, and the Moravians returning to their original house in Fetter-Lane, London. Identified as the Wesleys and the earliest Methodism were with the Moravian Brethren, this reference to them must not be thought foreign to our subject.

The Moravians did not long confine their Christian labors to the metropolis of Great Britain. In the short space of six years they occupied no less than sixteen chapels in Ireland, besides preaching at forty other places. Upon the European continent they visited almost every Protestant kingdom, forming religious settlements in Holland and Denmark, and visiting Norway, Sweden, and Prussia for the same pious purpose. Their missionaries went to Greenland, South Africa, and the West Indies, with the glad news of salvation.

The Moravians left Georgia in 1740, and Whitefield, having purchased land in Pennsylvania, he invited them there to build a large schoolhouse for the instruction of the negroes. Readily accepting the invitation, the tract was called *Nazareth*, and in a few years they purchased it. Zinzendorf joined them in the next year, with a number of his followers, when Bethlehem was commenced in 1741, and this has ever since been the Hernhutt of America. Ten years afterward a large tract was purchased in North Carolina, and named *Wachovia*. It was then a dense forest, and its first colony called Bethabara. Then soon followed more at Bethany and Salem. Congregations were formed in New-York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport, on Staten Island, and other places, while a number of missionary stations extended themselves among the Indians.

In 1755 Count Zinzendorf took up his final abode at Bethelsdorf, continuing his active labors, but with impaired health. Early on the morning of May 9, 1760, he sent for his family, and, unable to speak, he raised himself in the bed, looking upon them with a countenance filled with affection and peace, then reclining his head and closing his eyes, he gently fell asleep in his Saviour. He was sixty years old, and was buried at Hernhutt, crowds of people flocking there to share the last honors shown to this remarkable and pious man. Thus he lived and died, raised up by the Almighty, with peculiar talents for the great work which he had allotted him. He was the instrument in the hand of God to elevate the Brethren's Church from its ruins, and inspire its members with fresh zeal for the glory of the Lord and the advancement of his kingdom in the earth.

Upon the restoration of peace, after the Revolution, provincial conferences were organized at Bethlehem, and Salem, North Carolina. Bishop Spangenberg died in 1792, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. He had conducted the earliest company of Brethren to North America, in 1735, and for many years superintended these establishments. He spent a very laborious life, and was distinguished for faith in his Saviour, and fervent love and zeal to him, which traits shone with undiminished luster to the close of his pilgrimage.

The Indian tribes of North America presented a wide field of extensive usefulness to the Moravian Brethren, and here they early commenced their missionary efforts. We have noticed their visit to Georgia in 1734, but the war between Great Britain and Spain compelled them to abandon that mission in 1739. Bethlehem became the next center of their religious operations. Congress

granted to them twelve thousand acres of land in Ohio, on the Muskingum River, which they endeavored to render available for the Indian missions. To these were also added another tract in Erie County, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1791. The Gospel of the Redeemer was thus carried to these poor wandering children of the forest, not only in word but in power. Successful missions were established on the Lehigh, the Susquehanna, and the Muskingum.

Commencing with these missions in 1740, the records of the Brethren for one hundred years show that from thirteen hundred to fourteen hundred children were baptized in the Christian faith. Such were among the blessed results which followed the missionary trials and exertions of Ziesberger, Heckewelder, Senseman, Youngman, Edwards, and Young. Ziesberger was the foremost, and died in 1808, at Goshen, a missionary settlement in Canada. He reached the advanced age of eighty-seven years and seven months. Totally blind, his last illness was short, and the lamp of a long life burned mildly away. The only thing that troubled him, he said, "was the present spiritual state of his Indian people." The Indians around his dying couch replied, "My father, forgive us all we have done to grieve you. We will surrender our hearts to our Saviour, and live alone for him in the world." Blessing them fervently, the venerable man of God continued: "I am going, my people, to rest from all my labors, and be at home with the Lord." When he ceased to breathe the whole party knelt down and prayed. No other man, probably, was better acquainted with the manners, usages, and minds of the Indian tribes, than Zeisberger. His usefulness among them was very great. Had he sought power and honor for himself, his influence with the Iroquois and Delawares would have obtained it; but his only glory was that of his blessed Redeemer.

The Moravian is emphatically a Missionary Church. On every continent, and in lands whose existence was not imagined four centuries ago, the Churches of the Moravian Unity are now joining in thanksgiving and praise to God our Saviour. Numbering only about twenty thousand members at this time, they have three hundred missionaries in foreign lands, about seventy stations, and over seventy-one thousand converts. These are scattered through the West Indies, Central and South America, Greenland, Labrador, Great Britain, the continent of Europe, Russia, the confines of China, and South Africa. In our own country they have religious establishments in New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The Home Mission on the continent of Europe is called the

"*Diospora,*" and is one of the most interesting religious works of modern Church history. Persons belonging to the Diospora do not separate from the established Churches of the land, but are visited at stated times by a Moravian missionary, who goes from house to house for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures. The grand object of this noble and holy work is to increase the number of living members of Christ's universal Church. This is literally the realization of Spencer's favorite idea of *ecclesiola in ecclesia.* The Diospora now extended over Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Brunswick, East Friesland, the cities of Bremen and Hamburg, Wurtemburg, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Prussia. In this last empire, the work is very extensive, the province of Livonia alone numbering two hundred and thirty-two chapels or meeting-houses, with forty thousand members. According to the latest returns, one hundred and twenty-two missionaries belong to the Diospora. The term itself is Greek, and taken from the original, διασπορῶς, (1 Pet. i, 1,) beautifully referring to strangers, all truly religious people.

The Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, has now existed four hundred years, and the little seed planted as early as 1457, in Bohemia and Moravia, to human appearance, was destroyed in the seventeenth century; but replanted in 1722, it has become a great tree whose life-imparting branches now extend to both continents of our globe, and many of their islands. This little Zion stands forth among the militant Churches of the earth like another David, "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might;" and in the fierce contest going on in the earth between light and darkness, she has triumphed mightily over Satan and the world.

Art. VI.—STEVENS'S HISTORY OF METHODISM.

The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism, considered in its different Denominational Forms, and its Relations to British and American Protestantism. By Abel Stevens, LL. D. Vol. I, from the Origin of Methodism to the Death of Whitefield. 12mo., pp. 480. New York: Carlton & Porter. London: Alexander Heylin, 28 Paternoster Row.

This is an admirable book. It equally befits the subject, the author and the occasion. Numerous works on Methodism, in the form of histories, annals, memoirs, and the like have been written, each of which had its excellence and its use. They were intended for the most part for the Methodist community, and were rather esoteric

than exoteric in their character. They unfolded the system as seen from within, and were little calculated to exert much influence on those beyond her pale. They were well for their times.

But the state of things has now materially changed. Methodism occupies a very different position in the world from what it formerly did, commands a wider influence, and is exciting the attention of a large circle of intelligent, inquiring minds. It is time that its history were written from a different stand-point, and presented in its true aspects, not only as to what it is in itself, but also as to its relation to Christendom, and especially to the Protestantism of Great Britain and the United States. This work Dr. Stevens has performed most successfully in the volume before us, so far as he has gone, and we shall look with great solicitude for the completion of his task in the succeeding volumes.

The deficiency of previous histories of Methodism arose partly from the subject and its adjuncts, and partly from the character of the authors. Those that were true to the system did not view it as it appears in the present day. They were, of necessity, somewhat timid. They wrote, like Watson, too apologetically, and thus lost the vantage ground that we occupy. Those, on the contrary, that were intended for general readers, while they contain many valuable facts and much truth, are pervaded by a secret and not very well disguised hostility to the system. Take as an illustration Southey's Life of Wesley. While in many things it does ample justice to his character and the effect of his labors, it betrays a total lack of appreciation or even comprehension of the spiritual nature of his mission. On the other hand, Isaac Taylor, while he does seem to comprehend and appreciate the spiritual aspects of early Wesleyanism, still utterly fails to do justice to its present position and its future prospects. From both or either one sees that Wesley was a man of uncommon endowments, raised up for an extraordinary work; yet in neither nor in both does his full portrait stand before you in its genuine lineaments; while the Methodism of both, especially that of Southey, is little better than a caricature. At Isaac Taylor, too, one is sometimes amused, sometimes provoked, with his self-satisfied air of superiority, as though he looked down from his assumed supereminence with a sort of disdain on the man he condescends to patronize. Such superciliousness is fatal to the character and claims of a spiritual teacher, and should of itself throw strong doubt over his capacity to present a character like that of Wesley in its true aspects.

The work now before us is everything that one could desire. It is true to the system: it looks at it from the proper point of view;

and is equally adapted to those within its pale and those without. It is at once comprehensive, philosophic, liberal, and yet popular. The author shows wonderful ability to present a full and complete history, containing all the essential facts in the lives of his prominent personages, and in the organization of the system, in a clear, condensed, and entertaining manner. He says nothing too much, nor leaves anything unsaid that is essential to his design, while he carries one along through minute incidents, including various statistics, with a life and vivacity that does not allow you a moment to be weary. He combines the fullness of Macaulay without his mannerism, and the vivacity of D'Aubigne with more reliability. A few only of his salient points we shall be able to touch in this review.

Intending to consider Methodism in its most comprehensive relations, Dr. Stevens starts with noticing the organic form of the primitive Church. After glancing briefly at its early corruptions, and its utter degradation under the Papacy, and then at its reformation under Luther, he dwells at some length on the moral condition of Europe, especially of England in the last century. He here exhibits that rare talent of rapid, comprehensive, and condensed statement to which we have before alluded. A new religious movement was absolutely necessary to restore the forfeited power of a vital Christianity, and a fitting instrument was selected and qualified for this great end, in the Rev. John Wesley.

The father of John Wesley, the Rev. Samuel Wesley, was a man of striking peculiarities. He was of an ancient and respectable family, and seems to have inherited the best family traits, with, however, a mixture of sternness and self-will, that, when rightly directed, constitute honest and sturdy independence, but which, carried too far, or not well regulated, become harshness and obstinancy. He was a man of great learning, talents, piety, and strict conscientiousness, and, like other members of the Wesley family, was endowed with no small share of poetical ability. But the mother of the Wesleys was the bright gem of the family. In every sense she was an extraordinary woman. She was "nobly related," says our author, "being the daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, who was the son of a brother of the Earl of Anglesea." She was a beautiful and an accomplished woman, and in her air and mien bore the marks of her high descent. She possessed uncommon talent, sound judgment, deep piety, and a noble and independent character. Her whole life is a wonder: highly educated, well read in history, poetry, and philosophy, keeping up with the literature of the day; the mother of thirteen children, ten of whom attained to maturity,

whom she educated herself, the daughters entirely, and the sons till they were old enough to go to a public school; the wife of a clergyman, and sharing his trials and responsibility, this noble woman, so limited was their income, was often unable to procure comfortable clothing, and actually suffered in health for the want of it. So there was "plain living combined with high thinking." If the family had not a superfluity of apparel they had an amplitude of books, and their reading was evidently choice and varied. References are made by the different members of the family, male and female, with the air of familiar acquaintance, not only to such writers as Baxter, Law, and Pascal, but also to Milton and Cowley, Waller and Dean Swift; Butler's Hudibras is also mentioned by them. So they went "from grave to gay, from lively to severe." Of the daughters we have not room to speak. In beauty, talents, and education they resembled their mother, but were all singularly unfortunate in married life. They themselves illustrated the sentiments in a part of the stanzas written by Miss Emilia Wesley, the second daughter:

> "And that peculiar talent let me show
> Which Providence divine doth oft bestow,
> On spirits that are high, with fortunes that are low."

For the particulars we must refer to the work itself. The oldest son, the Rev. Samuel Wesley was a man of superior mind and an excellent scholar, and if he did not attain to the height of his ambition as principal of Westminster School, he enjoyed a like honorable post at the Grammar School of Tiverton, in Devonshire. He was a poet of no mean order, and wrote some of the noblest hymns in the Wesleyan Collection.

John Wesley was the tenth of this family of children who attained to maturity. A singular providence seems to have been over him. Saved most marvelously from death by fire in the burning rectory, he had almost as great an escape as his brother Charles had from being adopted by an honorable and wealthy gentleman, Mr. Garret Wesley, of Ireland, whose heir, adopted in Charles's place, became Earl of Mornington, and was grandfather to the Duke of Wellington. But God had in store for them a higher purpose and greater honor than to wear an earthly coronet. But we cannot pretend to follow our author through the history of Wesley's early days; the life at the rectory, the singular noises, so like what Bartlett in his Nile Boat relates as having occurred in Egypt, and like the Epworth noises alike unexplained;* his early scholastic training, and his life

* Mr. W. H. Bartlett, in his "Nile Boat, or Glimpses of Scenes in Egypt," gives an account of the Jinn or Genii, in which he extracts a passage from Mrs. Poole.

at the University. Dr. Stevens has shown untiring industry in gathering from a great variety of sources whatever is most interesting on these points, and has woven a condensed narrative, spirited, graphic, and highly entertaining.

Of Mr. Wesley's scholarship and standing at the University we are inclined to say a few words, chiefly because many have so formed the habit of looking at him as merely a religious devotee, and something of a fanatic withal, that they can hardly conceive of him as a scholar of first position, adorned with all the graces of academic lore. Yet such he really was.

"In his youth he was gay and sprightly," says his biographer, Mr. Watson, "with a turn for wit and humor." At seventeen he was elected from the Charter House School, where he prepared for the University, to Christ Church College, Oxford, and at twenty-one "he appeared the sensible and acute collegian; a young fellow of fine classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments."* He had commenced the study of Hebrew before he went to college, under his brother Samuel's instruction, and continued it after matriculation. After his election to a fellowship in Lincoln College, "he was appointed Greek lecturer and moderator of the classes. To his skill in logic even Mr. Southey bears honorable and candid testimony. As moderator of the classes at Lincoln College, he presided at the disputations by the students, which were held six times a week, an exercise which 'sharpened his habits of logical discrimination.' He pursued through this period a regular and systematic course of study, embracing in its round the Greek and Latin classics, Hebrew and Arabic, Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy, Logic and Ethics,

That lady relates that some evil possession so disturbed the occupants of a certain house that no family could live there long. After relating some incidents connected with this house, which her family had rented for want of another, she says: "To describe all the various noises by which we have been disturbed is impossible. Very frequently the door of the room in which we were sitting late in the evening . . . was violently knocked at many short intervals; at other times it seemed as if something heavy fell to the pavement close under one of the windows of the same room or one adjoining; and as these rooms were in the top of the house, we imagined at first that some stones or other things had been thrown by a neighbor, but we could find nothing outside after the noise. The usual sounds continued a greater part of the night, and were generally like a heavy trampling, like the walking of a person in heavy clogs, varied by knocking at the doors." "This story," Mr. Bartlett adds, "so remarkably resembles the one told by the different members of the Wesley family, that it might almost be taken for an Oriental version of it." The similarity in many features is certainly curious and striking. It is not, however, so well authenticated as the occurrences at Epworth.

* Quoted in Watson's "Life of Wesley," from the Westminster Magazine.

Oratory and Poetry, and Divinity, and chiefly composition in those arts. To mathematics also he gave considerable attention. But this branch of science was not pursued as thoroughly at that day in the schools as it is now, nor did Mr. Wesley, as we infer from what he says in after life, think it expedient for him to pursue it as he did the other branches. Mr. Southey also bears testimony to his merits as a poet. "Of Mr. Wesley's talents as a poet of high order, none can doubt who is capable of appreciating real poetic excellence." This is "*laudari a viro laudato*;" but as Providence had raised up for him so able an assistant in this department, he did not pursue it to any great extent, and Charles Wesley became "the sweet singer" of our Israel.*

In regard to Mr. Wesley as a writer, tastes may differ. But to form a just estimate of him his earlier writings should be perused; those, I mean, in which the odor of the college still hung about him, and in which he exhibited the full effect of his classic taste. The sermons preached before the University, while it cannot be said that they are marked with high adornments of imagination and excited thought, for that was not the fashion of the day in the pulpits of the Establishment, exhibit a fine classical taste, a style chaste, pure, correct, and elegant. They show more of the classical scholar, but less of the earnest, evangelical, and practical preacher, that he became when his soul was fully awake to the claims of eternal things, and he was baptized with the spirit of his heavenly mission. His mind then became too much engrossed with higher and holier aims to pay great attention to minor beauties. He now abjured "an elaborate, elegant, or oratorical dress." He had not time for such writing, nor did his object demand it. "I design plain truth for plain people. I now write as I generally speak, *ad populum*—to the bulk of mankind." And elsewhere he says: "I dare no more write in a fine style, than wear a fine coat." And yet, while not aiming at fineness in writing, where shall we find more true eloquence than in many of his writings? Take, for instance, that exquisite soliloquy in which he calls himself "a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air." The whole passage is beautiful, even sublime and thrilling, but it is too long to quote; and we apprehend our reader is familiar with it. Mr. Wesley's sermons do not show what, in point of literary excellence, he could have done, but rather what in his peculiar circumstances and under his peculiar obligations he felt called to do. Who could have done it better? And we believe very strongly that many, in attempting a more ornate style, especially in the pulpit, have done immeasurably worse. They have

* Life of Wesley, vol. i, p. 70. Note. New York, 1847.

appeared like an over-dressed fop in a funeral cortege, or like Nero fiddling when Rome was on fire. His style was eminently terse, sententious, and forcible, and not unfrequently truly eloquent. But it was eloquent in thought and feeling, not in imagination and language merely. The peroration to his sermon on Free Grace is wisely referred to as a pertinent example.

Great injustice is done to Mr. Wesley by many in regard to his appreciation of learning as well as to his scholarship. Who, on any serious inquiry, can doubt his high estimate of mental culture? Let any one read his Serious Address to the Clergy, in which he erects a standard of ministerial qualifications, and points out the lamentable deficiency of too many who were called "Masters in Israel." Let them read his Plan of Study for a Young Lady, including not only the common branches, but also logic, ethics, natural philosophy, metaphysics, history, with chronology and geography, and poetry, sacred and secular. At the same time he gives a list of authors, among whom we need only mention Locke, Malebranche, Ray, and Puffendorf; and in poetry, Spenser, Milton, Young, and Shakspeare. And these books were recommended to a lady. His own practice was conformed to his advice. There have been few more omnivorous readers, as his Journals sufficiently show. And yet during his whole life he was preaching from ten to fourteen times a week; he wrote more books than authors by profession, than Addison, Pope, or Dryden; he traveled more miles than professed travelers; and he endured the care of all the societies which he founded, organized, and superintended. He wrote, besides his numerous theological works, not less than five grammars of different languages, a system of logic, and an extended volume of natural philosophy, which, if now behind the times, was yet valuable and important in its day. These facts are sufficient, surely, to prove that Mr. Wesley placed no low estimate on the value of learning either to private persons or to ministers of the Gospel. Nor have the sentiments of Methodists really changed on these points. It is not true that Methodists as a body, whatever individuals may have done, ever despised learning in its proper place. To be sure they always considered piety in a minister more essential than learning, and so they do now, and we trust they ever will; but they always regarded the union of the two as most desirable. At the rise of Methodism there was, both in England and the United States, a disposition to magnify learning above piety. This led Methodists to take the opposite ground, and exalt piety above learning. This seemed to create an antagonism. But now that other Churches have come to give the right place to piety, Methodists can afford to give the right place to learning. For

this reason it is in part, that, since their resources have so greatly increased, they have paid and are now paying so much attention to education both among their clergy and the laity.

This strain of remark, however, though not irrelevant, is in danger of carrying us beyond due limits. We return to our more immediate object.

We should be glad to give the history of Mr. Wesley's early religious life, but our space will not permit. We must refer our reader to the work itself, where he will find it skillfully drawn out. Here, as usual, the author shows his power of interesting condensation. Every thing necessary to a clear unfolding of his mental processes is given without being in the least tedious or wearying. The foundation of Wesley's religious character and habits was laid in reading such works as Thomas à Kempis, Taylor's Holy Living, Law's Christian Perfection, and the like. These produced in him a deep sense of the importance of personal religion, and earnest cravings after a holy life, while they erected a lofty standard of practical godliness. He prayed, read the Scriptures and books of devotion, fasted, received the communion weekly, visited the sick and the prisoners in jail, practised all sorts of self-negation and asceticism in the effort to produce inward peace and satisfactory evidence of piety. But he found his efforts vain. It was not until after his acquaintance with the descendants of the martyrs of Constance, the earnest and evangelical Moravians, that he came to know the way of salvation by faith. Then he found, by a more enlightened perusal of God's word, how, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." He saw that these acts of self-denial, and even of religious duty, which, when ennobled by faith in Christ, are "holy, just, and good," without it are but *dross*. Now he found not only peace of conscience, but the secret of a Christian's power. His own heart being warmed with all the fire of heavenly love, he became a flaming messenger of God to his fellow-men. He at once began to preach the Gospel in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, and his earnestness became too great for a cold and fallen Church either to comprehend or to tolerate. He was denied the use of the pulpits, and so he had to preach wherever he could gather congregations. The author of the History well remarks, that he was excluded from the churches, not because his manner was clamorous nor in any way eccentric; nor that his doctrine was heretical, for it was clearly that of the Homilies and other standards of the Church; but it was brought out too forcibly, and presented too vividly for the state of religious life around him." As many said, "it drove the people mad." When the Bishop of

Gloucester heard of such madness, created under Mr. Whitefield's preaching, he is reported to have wished that the madness might not pass away before another Sabbath. But they had few sympathizers like this good bishop, and as each rector then, as now, claimed the right to control the preaching in his own parish, the Wesleys and their coadjutors soon found themselves shut out of the pulpits of the Establishment.

The system of Wesleyanism arose under the order of Divine Providence. It was not a development, a something that already existed drawn out and brought to view; it was a new creation, a special movement directed by God. Wesley had no plan, no ulterior design further than to restore primitive Christianity, to raise up a holy people. Beyond this he purposed nothing. Born in the pale of the Establishment, a strict and even rigid Churchman of the High Church order, so high that he refused the Eucharist to even devout men who had not been baptized by a "regularly" ordained minister, and, with his brother Charles, was reproved by the Bishop of London for his "readiness to rebaptize Dissenters;" exhorting his followers to receive the Eucharist from even ungodly clergymen, for their office' sake, he adhered punctiliously to the rubrics of the Church, and earnestly deprecated all deviation from her order. What a capital mistake was that in driving out so faithful a son from the motherly bosom! What a powerful instrument he would have been in enlarging, strengthening, and purifying the Church! Well might Macaulay regard this as one of the most fatal mistakes ever made by man, and say that had he been within the pale of the Church of Rome, she would not have failed to make her system bend in some way to afford a scope for his labors, and so have used him for the advancement of her aims. But it was a movement of Providence, and not a contrivance of man. What disinterested person could now wish it otherwise? The result has been the great enlargement of the area of Christ's kingdom on earth. Beyond question, much more has been accomplished for the spread of Christian truth and the diffusion of a holy influence, than if the founder of Methodism had been tightly bound by the rubrics, and the exultant spirit of a vital and powerful Christianity restrained by those artificial bonds.

Thus also in the establishment of the Methodist Church in these United States, Mr. Wesley would gladly have obtained episcopal ordination for the founders of this new Church; but he well knew it was hopeless to expect it. Meantime he had become fully convinced, by reading Lord King's work, that bishops and presbyters are in fact the same order, and that it was his right to ordain. Then the

case admitted no delay; there was no Established Church in America; the union with the mother country, and consequently with the English Church, had been sundered. Wesley therefore was intruding into no one's parish, running over no one's heritage; he was taking care of these lost sheep in the wilderness. Why should he not prepare a fold for them? God had in a wonderful manner used his missionaries to bring men under Christian nurture, and there were no others to feed them. In such a crisis Mr. Wesley stepped boldly forward, and did what he had for expedieney refrained from doing, but which he believed by the canons of the New Testament he had a full right to do. He chose to follow the rules of Christ and the Apostles rather than to be guided by human fabrications. And God has set his sanction to the work which he did, and who shall gainsay it?

Nothing can betray more ignorance than to represent John Wesley as an ambitious plotter, endeavoring by his own contrivances to establish a powerful sect. He had no thought of this. He had no idea what his system was to become. He was led on at every new movement by a pressure of circumstances which he had but wisely to direct. And in nearly every instance the measures and phenomena were only in accordance with what is written in the New Testament, and what occurred in early Christianity, or in other powerful religious movements. Thus the itinerant ministry was adopted from a regard to the limited attainments of his early preachers. But he found it to work so well that he made it a permanent part of his legal organization. The introduction of lay preaching was entirely adverse to all his views; yet he was almost compelled to adopt it. But it had its parallel in other religious revivals, as in Germany and Switzerland, and has been known in the Church of England since, as in the case of Rev. John Clark of Trowbridge, and is practised at this day by Mr. Brownlow North, Mr. Grant of Arndilly, and Lord Kintore, who are laboring with such good effect in Scotland. Dr. Archibald Alexander found a similar instance of lay preaching in a Baptist millwright in Virginia. The strange physical phenomena which attended the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys are only what had occurred before and elsewhere. Witness the holy ecstacies and swoonings of the devout Mrs. Edwards, wife of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, who frequently lost her strength, and would lie powerless under intense religious emotion. Similar cases occurred under Mr. Tennent, in New Jersey. But Mr. Wesley never considered them any part of religion, not at all necessary; never encouraged them, and always looked on them with some suspicion, though his views about them never seem to have been entirely settled. Sometimes

he appeared to think them demoniacal, sometimes the result of physical causes, and then again the result of a divine influence in some way affecting the body. Charles Wesley had little confidence in them, perhaps too little; and having detected some counterfeits, took a bold and decided method to try the reality of the cases, not seldom with an amusing success. One man, coming in a drunken fit from an alehouse, was pleased to fall into a fit and beat himself heartily. Wesley, instead of showing any interest, singing over him, and so forth, just left him to recover at his leisure. Once a young woman began to cry aloud; he ordered her to be carried away; her convulsions were so violent as to deprive her of the use of her limbs, till they laid her without the door and left her. She then immediately found her strength and walked off. A few hints of that sort worked wonders. Yet it is not to be supposed that these cases were all fictitious. Many of them were no doubt sincere and genuine, like those of Hester Ann Rogers and Mrs. Edwards. But it required discrimination and some courage to separate the chaff from the wheat. On one occasion, our author tells us, "before he began he gave public notice that whoever cried so as to drown his voice should, without any man's hurting or judging them, be gently carried to the farthest corner of the room." His porters had no employment during the evening; "yet," quoting Wesley's words from Jackson's Life, "yet the Lord was with us, mightily convincing of sin and righteousness." Page 189.

Among the traits in this work which please us, one, and not the least, is the liberal spirit which pervades it. While it is thoroughly Methodistic, it is not in the least captious or carping. There is in it no air of bigotry nor ultra sectarianism. It is true to Methodism without assailing others, or showing any disposition to withhold from them their due. It rejoices in truth and goodness every where, and even to see and admit them in those who do not in all things walk with us. This trait shines out continually in the history before us. Thus, while Dr. Stevens does not shrink from giving John Wesley the first position in this new movement, as he was in fact its leader and its controlling spirit, yet he brings into deserved prominence others who either directly took part with him, or in any way drank into the spirit of the revival. Thus not only the excellent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, and the active energetic Grimshaw, curate of Haworth, a place of late made famous as the residence of the Brontés, with the saintly Fletcher, of Madeley, but also those with whom he did not in all things "see eye to eye," receive due commendation. Thus we see justice done to Lady Huntingdon, the excellent Romaine, Madan, Howell Harris, and others

who took the Calvinistic side in the controversies that arose at that time. It is very delightful to see that the breach between those really kindred spirits was not so wide as it appeared to us to have been from reading the writings of some of the warm controversialists. Among other things we rejoice to see justice rendered to the eloquent Whitefield. He had been accustomed to look upon Wesley and Whitefield as almost alienated by this controversy, and in consequence we have failed to render justice to the latter. The History corrects this error. It shows that although there was a partial estrangement, it was only for a season. They soon came together again, and though to a certain extent they labored apart, yet they labored in harmony, and with mutual appreciation and confidence.

It is remarkable that men of such different mental temperament and physical organization, of such different tastes, habits, and early training, should have cherished such a high reciprocal regard, and should have labored in such close fraternal relation, especially after Mr. Whitefield's religious affinities led him to adopt a different theological, or shall we say philosophical (?) system. Both were too large hearted and liberal minded and conscientious to allow themselves to be kept asunder by secondary or tertiary things when they so entirely sympathized in all the great essentials of Christianity. They both aimed at the same thing, the winning of souls to Christ, and the reformation of a lost race. For this they labored in unity, though each in his own way. Wesley's greater learning, deeper talent, acuter logic, more far-reaching thought, and higher constructive and governing faculty; and Whitefield's more ardent and excitable nature, greater emotional susceptibility, higher histrionic talent, more vivid imagination, and quicker conceptive powers, combining to make up, with his noble voice, his wonderful oratorical capabilities, were alike laid at the foot of the cross, and each rejoiced at the achievements of the other. God was alike the Master of both, and in his service they lived, and loved, and labored.

We consider the sketch of Whitefield's life and labors by no means the least interesting of these pages. The whole story is beautifully and delightfully told. We see the little boy of the inn, in his blue apron performing his menial duties; the humble servitor at Oxford, the earnest member of the "godly club," and finally the burning, flaming herald of the cross, "the Prince of Preachers," as our author calls him, whose destiny it was to give such an exhibition of Christian oratory as these latter days of the Church, or even the former ones, have seldom or never seen. His personal history is briefly and rapidly sketched, and yet with sufficient minuteness to give it life and interest. We follow him in his

flying tours through England on his mission of mercy, in his thirteen passages across the Atlantic, in his visit to the Bermuda Isles, and in his incessant labors on our continent. The account of the close of his career at Newburyport, whence he ascended to his Father's house above, deserves to stand with Macaulay's history of the death of the patriot Christian, Hampden. It is every way as graphic, eloquent, and inspiring. We feel strongly tempted to insert some extracts from it here; but we can hardly find room for anything that would do it justice. We must refer the reader to the volume itself.

We have spoken of Dr. Stevens's liberality, and we may add that this is a fair reflection of the spirit of the system. Liberality is a trait that characterized the Methodistic movement from the beginning, and is legitimate to it always. The first platform of the society was the broadest possible that could consist with evangelic soundness. "There is only one condition previously required of one who desires admission into these societies, a desire to flee the wrath to come and to be saved from his sins." But this was to be proved sincere by a corresponding life. Thus all, of whatever private opinions, or doctrinal or ecclesiastical predilections, might be members of the society. The association was as little bound by technicalities as it is possible to conceive. Hence, from the beginning it included men of, in some respects, quite opposite sentiments. In short, Methodism is a term that did not at first designate any particular set of dogmas, but was applied to all who were in earnest in seeking the salvation of their souls, and in doing good to their fellow-creatures. In accordance with this the early Methodists were of every shade of evangelical opinions—Churchmen, Moravians, Arminians, and Calvinists. The first conferences held by the Wesleys included not only the Wesleys, but Perronet, Manning, Bateman, Grimshaw, Piers, Venn, and others, all clergymen of the Establishment, but also Howell Harris, Whitefield, and others of that class. This was, in fact, not a revival of opinions, strictly and properly considered, but of true religion, and hence the unity in action of those who sympathized in spirit. It must be confessed that the term Methodism subsequently became somewhat more restricted in its application, and more marked by its own special forms and modes of action. Yet even to this day it has, we verily believe, more freedom, more liberality, and less of what is technical and cramping, than any other denomination. It is her spirit to extend the largest charity to those who differ from her. She lays the least stress upon things non-essential. Strict and remarkably uniform in her doctrinal teachings, and therefore remarkably careful of the orthodoxy of her ministers, still she can admit into her bosom, in full

membership, men of every phase of evangelical opinion, without requiring them to square their views by any dogmatic tests. Earnest only in raising up a holy people, she does not demand as a condition of labor the enlargement of her own ecclesiastical domain. As Methodism was originally an institution intended to revive a dormant Church, so she can still pursue the spirit of this calling; and modern Methodism sent her missionaries to a nominal Christian and Protestant country purposely to infuse new life into a dead organism, but with special charge not to attempt to form a Church. Such was the mission of the Rev. George Scott to the kingdom of Sweden—a mission which, according to Dr. Baird, was chiefly instrumental in the revival now taking place in the Swedish Church. In our own country who can tell how much Methodism has fed the other Churches of our land, and supplied other pulpits with able ministers? She can afford to do it, and yet carry on her work. We believe that this liberality is worth more than all it costs, because it is a part of the true spirit of Christianity. It is not self, but Christ's cause that she seeks to build up. Methodism has ever rejoiced in seeing good done, whoever were the instruments. When she came to this continent she greeted with delight every cordial and earnest Christian laborer. Thus she entered into immediate and fervent sympathy with the excellent Barratt of Delaware, Jarratt of Virginia, the devoted Otterbein in Baltimore, and Boehm in Pennsylvania. Thus, also, the apostolic Asbury felt a deep interest in a zealous and useful Presbyterian clergyman in New Jersey, and on a visit to the town where he resided sent a special request for him to call on him. "On my departure," we have heard him say, "the bishop put his hands on my head and pronounced upon me a solemn benediction, which impressed me more than anything that I remember in all my life." This is akin to that same spirit in which Lord Dartmouth, a follower of Wesley and Whitefield, endowed and gave name to Dartmouth College, and in which Whitefield and his coadjutors originated Princeton College, to both which the Methodists of England contributed, (p. 479.) In fact the spirit of Methodism is nothing but the true spirit of Christianity, which inquires, "Is thine heart right as my heart is with thy heart? If it be give me thy hand." Such is the disposition that John Wesley teaches and enforces upon his followers in his sermon on the "Catholic Spirit."

We have alluded to the subject of lay preaching. It deserves further notice. We have said before that this was no plan or design of Wesley. He adopted it, or rather at first submitted to it, strong Churchman as he was, with sufficient reluctance. But so few

were the really evangelical teachers, and so satisfactory the proof that certain laymen were fully qualified to give such religious instruction as the people needed, and so clear the evidence that certain persons of this sort were appointed by God to the work of the ministry, that Mr. Wesley's scruples were overcome, and he yielded to the decided opinion of his sagacious mother. She said, alluding to Thomas Maxfield, "He is as surely called of God to preach as you are." Wesley heard him, saw the effect, and was convinced. Thomas Maxfield was the first of that noble army of disinterested men who have expended time, labor, and money in preaching Christ without any reward but what they found in the labor itself, and in the evidence they had of God's approbation in their work. Many sketches are given us of these early assistants of Wesley in the volume before us, written with all the interest of romance. The accounts are as racy and vivid as they are true. Here we have a life-like picture of that large-hearted, noble spirited man, John Nelson, who wrought with his trowel and hammer to sustain life, and preached the Gospel free of charge. His natural talent, energy of character, heroic spirit, cool self-possession, aptness of speech, and ready utterance, gave him such power over the mobs that assailed him that he usually came off quite victorious, and often utterly confounded and subdued his opponents. Thus in Nottingham a sergeant in the army headed a mob to attack him, but at length came to him in tears, confessed his error, begged pardon, avowing his belief that he was "a servant of the living God." "He then kissed me," says Nelson, "and went away weeping." (Page 206.) Nevertheless he was sometimes shamefully abused. He was assaulted, apprehended, and thrust into a filthy dungeon, drafted into the army, and marched about the country for three months, exhorting and preaching, however, wherever he went. At length he was released by the kind interposition of the Countess of Huntingdon.

A totally different character, yet scarcely less interesting, was the devout but ascetic Walsh. An aboriginal Irishman, a rigid Romanist, he found no peace until he came to learn the way of salvation by faith. He then became, in his better illumination, as devoted to God as in his ignorance he had been to the formularies of a fallen Church. He did not abate his rigor of life because he was "not under the law but under grace." He learned English when he was eight years old; was early instructed in Latin; after his conversion spent much time in reading the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures on his knees. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, and continued his labors until late at night, preaching constantly twice or thrice a day, besides visiting his people from house to house. His labors were too much

for him. He died in the prime of life, literally worn out. So great a mistake do good men sometimes make in trying to save moments of time that should be given to nature's needful recreations. They throw away years of life when best adapted to matured and extensive usefulness. However, this fault is so seldom committed that it hardly requires any very urgent premonition, and the error may be pardoned in view of its rarity, as well as the purity of motive and earnestness of character that occasion it. Walsh's depression of mind in his last sickness, we doubt not, was occasioned by his own error in this respect. Yet happily the cloud broke away; the sunlight beamed upon his soul, and he died exclaiming, "He is come! he is come! My beloved is mine, and I am his! his forever!"

There are many others among Wesley's lay helpers who deserve notice, but our space does not admit it.

It is remarkable how the spirit of Methodism found access to all portions of British society. While we confess, without shame or regret, that it was most influential in the lower and middle classes, it was also felt in its power by some, and not a few, of the nobly born. But Dr. Stevens has called attention to another class of beneficiaries that have not been so frequently, nor elsewhere so fully noticed in this connection; we mean the soldiery. In the days of the Puritans a man might wield a sword and pray; and subsequently Colonel Gardiner was a bright specimen of a Christian soldier; but in the days of early Methodism a praying soldier was a rarity. The rank and file of the British army were about as godless a set as could be found in the kingdom. Its commencement in the army was singular. "Methodism," says our author, "had broken out in the British army in Flanders, and was achieving in camps and battle-fields the moral miracles which it had effected among the miners of Cornwall, Kingswood, and Newcastle," and he might have added, the spinners and weavers of Spitalfields and Moorfields, scarcely less depraved than the others. John Evans, a soldier, had heard Wesley on Kennington Common, and carried in his heart the seeds of truth. They germinated, and in Flanders brought forth fruit. There were six or seven privates in the army, who held religious worship with their comrades, and several hundred were converted and formed into societies. These men were not less brave in the day of battle than conscientious in their Christian walk. The descriptions of Evans, Haime, Bond, and Staniforth are particularly piquant and spicy. Wesley seemed to take strong interest in the soldiery. "On one of his visits to Ireland he said the first call of Methodism is to the soldiers."* He

* History of Methodism, page 333, quoted from Wesley's Journal.

had good reason, for he had found them excellent friends in Cork, where they flocked to his preaching and defended him from the mob. They gathered round him at Dublin, where he found contiguity to the barracks the best safeguard against the rabble. Many of them became soldiers of Christ, and carried the spirit of piety with them into the tented field. Thus had Wesley successful helpers where a religious influence has always been too rare. The character of Lieutenant, generally called Captain Webb, is well known. Captain Scott, a descendant of an ancient and opulent family in Salop, was another instance. He entered the army as cornet, was promoted to a captaincy in the dragoons, fought in the battle of Minden, was afterward converted, and openly preached to his men, wearing his regimentals. Such a case also was that subsequently of Lieutenant Vicars, a Wesleyan, who, while stationed with his regiment in Nova Scotia, preached to his soldiers on the Sabbath, and was devoted to every good work. The Christian character of his son, Captain Headley Vicars, who fell at the head of his company during a sortie at Sebastopol, is well known. The son, unlike his father in this respect, never united himself to the Wesleyan Society, yet he was a man of like faith and of elevated piety. Thus has the spirit of Christianity extended in the British army, where of late years have appeared such men as Vicars, Hammond, the Lawrences, Havelock, Napier, Colonel Colin Campbell, and others. Similar cases have occurred in the army of the United States. So has religion, vital, evangelical religion, permeated all classes of society. We do not assert that this is directly owing to Methodism; but we do say that the Wesleys and Whitefield were, under God, the instruments of this great religious awakening which began during the last century, and which is now, through the different Churches, widening its dominion both in Europe and America, in all classes of society.

But we are in danger of extending our remarks beyond due space, and we must therefore, however reluctantly, draw to a close. We commend this volume most cordially to the reader, both for instruction and entertainment. He will find in it the completeness of an exhaustive history, without the dullness and baldness of a mere itinerary. Dates and statistics are given; even the details of conferences entered into, yet so interspersed with interesting narrative, and vivacious sketches of character and incident, as to throw a perpetual sunlight over the whole. The peculiarities of Methodism are stated, but without any labored and dry defense. The simple statement of the origin and occasion of them is sufficient in a book of history, where a series of essays would be out of place. Our author, too, from his wide range of inquiry, has gathered

together many things that we believe will be new to most of our readers.

The style of our author we have spoken of as uncommonly engaging. It is chaste, clear, and vivacious; easy and flowing, it bears you pleasantly along without labor and without tedium. It is well sustained throughout, yet not at all monotonous. It is natural; it conforms to the requirement of the ancient critic, who directs us to write plain and common thoughts in a plain and simple manner; animated thoughts in more lively language; and elevated and stirring thoughts in a style more eloquent and vivid. In short, instead of maintaining a tiresome uniformity, one should let the language always conform to the subject. Dr. Stevens neither tires you by sameness, nor disgusts you by affectation, nor fatigues you by a succession of high-flown and overstrained periods. Satisfied with uttering thoughts worth recording, he can afford to be simple. He utterly eschews the vices of modern period-makers, never thinking it necessary to hide superficial sentiments by the tinsel of fine words. To use the illustration of another: "Does he wish to speak of a large room well lighted? he does not need to say, 'an extensive apartment effectively illuminated.'" He would altogether prefer the language of the inspired volume, "Let there be light, and there was light," which Longinus cites as an illustration of the sublime in writing, to the mawkish substitute proposed by a modern, self-proposed translator: "Let light irradiate the universe; and instantly light flashed into existence!"* What would this sapient writer say to the simple Latin rendering, "*Lux fuit. Et facta est lux?*" If such a one desired to convey into intelligible English Cæsar's address to the frightened pilot in a squall, "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis, et fortunam;*" or the words of Themistocles to the enraged Eurybiades, "Strike, but hear me!" he would have spread it into several well-rounded periods. Neither does Dr. Stevens fall into that vice, now so common, of introducing new and fashionable words, quite out of place, as if for the mere purpose of showing an acquaintance with them, as some men love to mention familiarly great people with whom they have only a very casual acquaintance. An inadvertence here or there may perhaps be detected, as once or twice the word *develop*, or *development*, is used in a sense amply sustained indeed by common usage, but not by strict etymological propriety; and the words "curate" and "vicar" are used with some confusion. Thus on page 258 the Rev. William Grimshaw is styled "*curate* of Haworth," and shortly after, on page 261, he is called the "heroic *vicar*." The fact is, Haworth is a perpetual curacy within the parish

* Theol. and Bib. Review; London, 1815, page 2.

of Bradford, the vicar of Bradford and a board of trustees determining the appointment. Perpetual curates sometimes have curates, like rectors or vicars, when they require assistance in their parochial duties.

No writer is so sharp-sighted as to escape all rhetorical blemishes. Accordingly a few, and only a very few, we meet in this volume. On page 134 "the Witness of the Spirit" is called the "common privilege of *all* believers." A European would hardly use the expression "*high-bred* aristocracy," (p. 37,) or "the highest *aristocratic* rank," (p. 167,) high-bred in one case and aristocratic in the other being superfluous. Once only that very common inelegance, "in their midst," is found, instead of among them, or in the midst of them. And twice only we noticed a violation the rule that requires abstract truths and permanent facts always to be put in the present tense. Thus on page 341, when our author says that "Fletcher modestly observed that God's wisdom *was* sovereign and unsearchable," we are naturally inclined to say, And when was it not? Is it not so always? If "the Athenian orator said that action *was* eloquence," (p. 469,) then he implied that it had ceased to be so, which is far from what he intended. He said "it is eloquence" This error is frequently committed when a past tense precedes the abstract truth or permanent fact, the writer improperly assigning the same time to the two distinct and dissimilar ideas. Even Blair himself does not always avoid this error, as in the following sentence: "If any one should maintain that sugar was bitter, and tobacco was sweet, no reasonings could avail to prove it."* Others might be cited from this elegant writer. That able writer and excellent scholar, Dr. Arnold, commits the same error when, speaking of his place of residence at the time, he says: "Yet I should be very false and very ungrateful if I did not acknowledge that Rugby *was* a very dear home."† It is of frequent occurrence when one reports what another said at some former period, as, "Mr. Webster asserted that the Constitution of the United States *was* the supreme law of the land.'" But these inadvertencies are so few and small as to be hardly worth the naming. The style is characterized by more than usual accuracy, and is deserving of high commendation.

We cannot close these remarks without noticing the mechanical execution of this volume. The typography and binding are excellent, and do credit to the establishment which sends it forth. The type is clear, neat, and broad, pleasant to the eye, and easily read. The binding, of superior workmanship, is at once strong and elegant. Altogether it is a beautiful book.

* Blair's Rhetoric. Mill's edition, p. 24. † Life and Correspondence, p. 411.

Nor can we fail to direct attention to the frontispiece, a fine engraving of John Wesley. It is extremely life-like and natural. We have seen no likeness of that eminent man that gives so good an idea of the original. It is a representation of him in his later years. While it bears unequivocal marks of advanced life, it shows

> "An old age serenely bright
> And lovely as a Lapland night."

In the calm and tranquil features we see the symbols of his grave yet cheerful temper, while the keen and piercing eye denotes his quick and lively apprehension. It is a face one loves to look upon.

Since writing the above we have also seen an illustrated volume of this history, adorned with other portraits of great beauty and interest. Among them are those of the venerable father, and still more venerable grandfather of the founders of Methodism, with Lady Huntingdon and Fletcher, the heroic Nelson, and besides several others, one which we suppose is Susanna Wesley, in her grave and dignified beauty, full of life and grace.

This volume, though complete in itself, so far as it goes, is but the commencement of a history that is to be brought down to our own times. We trust the author will be spared to finish his task; for we feel that the Methodist Church, and indeed the whole Christian family, will owe him a debt of gratitude for this new treasure which his genius and industry have given us. He has gathered fragments of golden ore, melted them into a precious ingot, which shall be for the enriching of the Church's spirit. His vivid details and animating sketches will be a delight to the young, while his truthful history shall instruct the old, and its liberal and Christian spirit will embalm it in the hearts of all the wise and good.

Art. VII.—THOMAS WALSH.

WITH A PORTRAIT.

On the 8th of March, 1748, John Wesley arrived in Dublin, accompanied by Robert Swindells, one of his most useful lay preachers. It was Wesley's second visit to Ireland. He felt a profound interest for the evangelization of the island; and the time he devoted to it amounted to at least six of the most laborious years of his life. He doubtless believed that Methodism had peculiar adaptations to the wants of the country. Berkley, the good Bishop

of Cloyne, had published, in his Querist, twelve years before the first visit of Wesley, suggestions respecting the religious improvement of Ireland, almost every one of which found its correspondence in the practical system of Methodism; whether Wesley had read them or not, he traveled, preached, and planned in behalf of Ireland as if he fully comprehended its religious problem, and judging from late events and actual prospects there, his schemes are yet to be found the most effective, however delayed.

By the time of his second visit Methodism had made no small impression on the impressible Irish. As usual, however, its introduction had provoked general hostility. John Cennick, a famous lay preacher, had delivered in Dublin an advent sermon, on the "babe wrapped in swaddling clothes," etc. A Papist, (a priest some authorities say,) who knew more about the Breviary than the Bible, caught up the phrase, and went away shouting "Swaddlers! Swaddlers!" The Methodists were thenceforth called "Swaddlers" throughout Ireland. "The word," said Charles Wesley, on a subsequent visit, "sticks to us all, not excepting the clergy." "Down with the Swaddlers!" the mob now shouted throughout Dublin; the preaching-house was dilapidated, its benches and pulpit thrown into the street, and kindled into a bonfire. Shillalahs bristled on Stephen's Green at the out-door preaching; battered heads, bleeding noses, and bunged eyes were seen in almost every "open-air meeting." Methodists, policemen, and even women, were felled to the earth, and several murders occurred. The persecution spread over the island. Ireland gave to the Methodist ministry its second martyr, John M'Burney. Cork was thrown into agitation little short of civil war. Butler, a ballad-seller, gowned like a clergyman, roamed the streets, with the rabble at his heels, shouting "Five pounds for the head of a Swaddler;" the preaching-house and the dwellings of Methodists were taken by assault; John Wesley was hung in effigy, and Charles Wesley and nine others (eight of them preachers) were presented by the grand jury, in an indictment which is said still to stand on the city records as "a remarkable presentment," and which declared that, "We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his majesty's peace, and we pray that he may be transported."

Meanwhile the Methodist evangelists marched steadily forward till they conquered a universal peace, and Cork became a perilous place to Wesley's preachers, because of its Irish politeness and bountifulness toward them; he called it "the Capua of Methodism." Wesley himself was received at last with honors by the city authorities,

at the City Hall, and the people wondered at and honored him as he rode through the streets. He was, as he might well be, astonished at their Hibernian good-nature. His Journals abound with exclamations at their boundless courtesy. They were the "politest people he had ever seen." Finer "courtesy could not be found at St. James's or the Tuilleries."

For a considerable time his preachers on the island were all sent thither from England. It has been said that if Wesley was not one of the wisest, he was at least one of the most sagacious of men; he knew the importance of a *native* Methodist ministry, and hoped to see it soon appear among his societies. The most important, if not the earliest, of his Irish preachers was provided during the second visit to which we have alluded.

Robert Swindells, with whom he arrived in Dublin at this time, was soon sent abroad "itinerating" over the land; he reached Limerick, where great interest was excited by the news that one of the "Swaddlers" was to "hold forth" on the parade ground. No people enjoy more the excitement of public assemblies than the Irish; they streamed into the city and toward the public ground. While Swindells was preaching a young man, "who had been trained a strict Roman Catholic, but whose intelligent and melancholy aspect betrayed an unsettled and inquiring mind, took his stand amid the throng, attracted among them not more by the novelty of the scene than by the hope that some words appropriate to his religious anxieties might be uttered by the humble preacher. The needed word was uttered, for the text of the itinerant was: 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Twenty years later John Wesley wrote, respecting this Irish youth, that he knew a young man who was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek in the New Testament, he would tell, after a brief pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but what it meant in every place. Such a master of Biblical knowledge he says he never saw before, and never expected to see again. His name was Thomas Walsh." *

This was in 1749, about a year and a half after Wesley's first visit to the country. The name of Thomas Walsh has since been, and will be to the end of time, canonized in the history of Methodism. And yet we must premise, in entering upon a brief sketch of his remarkable career, that the records which remain respecting him relate more to his character than his ministerial achievements. The latter were of the most extraordinary kind; every allusion to them

* History of Methodism, vol. 1, p. 288.

in cotemporary publications so represents them; they are referred to throughout the Journals of Wesley, and other historical documents of early Methodism, as anomalous for their extent and success, even among the marvelous ministerial labors and successes which so much surprise us in the history of early Methodist preaching; but details are not often given. Enough, however, is obvious to justify Southey's declaration, that he contributed more than any other man to the establishment of Methodism in Ireland. Wesley himself said: "I do not remember ever to have known a preacher who, in so few years as he remained upon earth, was an instrument of converting so many sinners." The reader of the early biographies of English Methodism frequently meets with exclamations about "that wonderful man, Thomas Walsh." "That blessed man," says Wesley. "I love, admire, and honor him, and wish we had six preachers in all England of his spirit," wrote Wesley to Charles Wesley. And this was said when Fletcher, Grimshaw, Nelson, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Lee, Alexander Mather, and a host of the "giants of those days," were abroad evangelizing England. "He was a person," says Morgan, his biographer, "of a surprising greatness of soul, for which the whole circumference of created good was far, far too little." And it has justly been said, "that Wesley seemed to regard him with a sentiment which could hardly be called respect; it was reverence, if not awe. Of no other one of his cotemporaries, young or old, has he left such emphatic expressions of admiration as for this young man —a youth of hardly twenty years when he began his ministry, and but twenty-eight when he descended into the grave. All cotemporary allusions to him, found in Methodist books, express similar reverence, if not indeed wonder. Not merely his great learning, nor his talents in the pulpit, where he often seemed clothed with the ardor and majesty of a seraph, but something in his character, something of saintly dignity and moral grandeur, impressed thus his friends, and those most who were most intimate with him."

Thomas Walsh was born at Ballylinn, near Limerick, in 1730. His native language was the Irish, and he was, we suppose, the first Methodist that ever preached in that tongue. He early studied the English, and learned the Latin under the tuition of his brother, who had been designed for the Roman priesthood, but whose intelligence had broken away from the delusions of Popery. Young Walsh was strictly trained in the Roman faith. His childhood and youth were marked by much conscientiousness, and unusual moral sensibility, though he represents himself as bewildered in the darkness of Popery, and finding no rest for his aspiring and inquiring spirit. The analysis which he gives of his inner life during these years is

one of the most interesting illustrations of spiritual history on record, and shows how even Papists, imbued from youth with error, are still susceptible to the best impressions of evangelic truth, when it is presented, as it was by Swindells and the early Methodist preachers generally, in its simplicity and purity, without those dogmatic forms which provoke prejudice by provoking self-defensive discussions. During all these years Thomas Walsh was really "under conviction," as we usually say; "seeking rest but finding none." He was habitually struggling against himself. "I repeated," he writes, "I repeated my resolutions and vows against sin; but, especially, whenever I fell into any outward wickedness; and, above all, the sin that did so easily beset me: then I was as on the rack, and through extremity of anguish, have frequently struck myself against the ground, tearing the hairs from off my head." He explains his long-continued and unavailing struggles by the fact that he "had not the Bible;" he had never read it except a little at school, when about eleven years of age; and the severest thing his charitable spirit ever uttered against Popery was the bitter complaint, when he escaped his errors: "Woe to you, ye blind guides," (the Romish clergy.) "ye have taken away the key of knowledge, the word of God, from the people. It is this which unfolds the hidden treasures of his will, and free grace toward mankind. While therefore I remained ignorant of this, no wonder that I went on in error, and fought *as one that beateth the air*."

Groping thus after the truth, his brother's conversations led him to doubt his Papal faith. In his eighteenth year these conversations became frequent; he heard the Bible *read in the school of his brother*, (let the friends of common schools remember,) and these facts, says his biographer, "put him upon a diligent consideration of both sides of the question."

The result was what it could only be with such a mind. Questioning, doubting, mourning in spirit, he was walking in the fields one day, in 1748, amazed at his moral condition. "Perhaps," he said to himself, "perhaps all is not right. Peradventure I have been imposed upon. But how shall I know? How can I be certainly assured whether the priest has led me in the right way? Immediately it occurred to my mind, that on God alone I could safely venture my salvation, and that without doubt he would lead me by his counsel if I asked wisdom of him." In his anguish he cried to the unseen God, "All things are known to thee, and thou seest that I want to worship thee aright. Show me the way wherein I ought to go, nor suffer me to be deceived by men."

A man who has advanced thus far in the sore fight of the soul

with doubt and error, has gained the sure vantage ground for victory. Such an appeal to God, by the mind in its anguish, puts it in an attitude to see and seize the truth; error, however gigantic, flees before such a man. A conversation with his brother and a few friends, prolonged till midnight, over the Bible and Nelson's Feasts and Fasts of the Church, "constrained him to give way to the light." He returned to his lodgings about one o'clock in the morning, fell upon his knees, and, for the first time, prayed "only to the God of heaven." He never prayed again to saint or angel, for he now knew "*there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and men—the man Christ Jesus.*"

He forthwith renounced Popery by joining the national Church. But the charity of his large heart was such that his allusions to Papists were seldom or never resentful. "I bear them witness," he wrote, "I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God, though not according to knowledge. Many of them have justice, mercy, and truth; and may, (notwithstanding many errors in sentiment, and therefore in practice, through invincible ignorance,) be dealt with accordingly, since, as is God's majesty, so is his mercy." And he concludes the record of his terrible struggle with a pathetic and sublime prayer for them.

A proof that the change was not a sceptical revolt from old error, but an evangelical "experience," is given in the fact that his religious anxieties were only deepened by it. "My conscience," he says, "still condemned me. There was no rest in my bones by reason of my sins." In this frame of mind he fell into the crowd on the Limerick parade ground, and heard Robert Swindells cry out, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." It was as a voice from heaven unto him.

The Methodist itinerants soon penetrated to the village of Newmarket, where he resided. A "class" was formed, and Walsh joined it. "Coming," he says, "into the room where we often met together, I sat musing and meditating. My soul was looking out, and longing for Christ, as the watchman for the morning. The congregation being assembled, the servant of God (Mr. W. T.) poured out his soul in prayer. While he did this, the power of the Lord came down in the midst of us. The *windows of heaven* were opened, and the *skies poured down righteousness*. My heart melted like wax before the fire, especially at the mention of these words: *Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, traveling in the greatness of his strength?* The prayer and the hymn came with such power to my heart that I was constrained to cry

out, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name; for he hath forgiven all mine iniquity, and healed my diseases.* And now I was divinely assured that God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven me all my sins. The Spirit of God bore witness with my spirit, that I was a child of God. Yea, so great was the deliverance that I could not contain myself. I broke out into tears of joy and love. Having obtained such mercy, I could not but join with the angels to sing praises to *Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb*, who so loved me, and washed me from my sins in his own blood." A friend seated by his side was comforted in like manner at the same time.

Thus did Thomas Walsh enter into the regenerated life, and thenceforward "walked in the regeneration" till he entered into heaven.

We cannot in this article give the details of his subsequent career. For convenience we review it in respect to his character as a preacher, as a student, and as a Christian man.

I. He hesitated with awe before the responsibility of the ministry. "Lord Jesus!" he prayed in view of it, "Lord Jesus, I lay my soul at thy feet, to be taught and governed by thee. Take the vail from the mystery, and show me the truth as it is in thyself; be thou my sun and star by day and by night." When once in the ranks of the lay ministry, however, no cotemporary member of it became more eminent for zeal, labors, or sufferings. He walked thirty miles to his first appointment, which was in a barn, and amid the contradictions and mockery of some, and the tears of others, preached with an effect that demonstrated the genuineness of his mission. He proclaimed his message with remarkable power every day for some weeks at Limerick, and his awakened hearers sometimes could not be induced to leave the spot where they heard him till they received the peace of God. He went like a flame of fire through Leinster and Connaught, preaching twice and thrice a day, usually in the open air. Multitudes of all denominations attended his ministrations, and before long he was known all around the country. His command of the Irish tongue gave him great advantage with the native Papists. They flocked to hear their own rude but touching language; they wept, smote their breasts, and invoked the Virgin with sobbing voices, and declared themselves ready to follow him as a saint over the world. The beggars would gather around him as he passed, and, melting under his words, would kneel down in the streets and weep and pray. A Papist who had saved his earnings to leave to a priest or friar, for masses for his soul when he should be dead, called upon Walsh, begging him to take the

money and the responsibility of praying his soul out of purgatory. "No man can forgive your sins," said the preacher; "the gift of God cannot be purchased with money; only the blood of Christ can cleanse from sin." The astonished Romanist was deeply affected, and cried earnestly to God, while Walsh knelt by his side, and prayed for him in Irish. A native, with whom he was conversing in English, became enraged at his religious warnings, and declared that, "although he should be shot for it, he would have satisfaction," adding, with an oath, "thou shalt never deceive another, for I am resolved to be the death of thee just now." Walsh immediately reproved him in Irish. "Why didst thou not speak so to me in the beginning?" exclaimed the excited man. "The lion became a lamb," says the preacher, "while I let him know in Irish what Christ had done for sinners. He departed with a broken heart." When preaching in Irish, hearers who did not understand his speech were, nevertheless, sometimes smitten by his earnest and affecting manner, and an instance is related of a man who, hearing him in Dublin, was thus "cut to the heart." He soon became almost omnipresent in Ireland; he was mobbed often, and imprisoned several times; but nothing could obstruct his itinerating career. His name became well known among the Roman Catholic churches throughout the country. The common people would hear him, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their priests, and many were turned not only from Popery, but from flagrant vices to repentance and a holy life. All kinds of derogatory reports were spread abroad to deter them from his preaching. In Clonmel the priest assured his congregation that the eloquent itinerant had been a servant boy to a certain priest, and that having stolen his master's books, he had by that means learned to preach, and was now availing himself of his newly-acquired art for a better living. At Cork the Papists crowded to hear him, and many were converted; the priests were greatly irritated, and one of them affirmed publicly that "as for that Walsh, who had some time before turned heretic, and went about preaching, he had been dead long ago, and he who then preached in this way was the devil in his shape." Such was the only manner in which they could account to the ignorant multitude for the power of his discourses. The people, nevertheless, ran after him, and wept and cried aloud under his word as he proclaimed it on mountains and highways, in meadows, private houses, prisons, and ships. They often followed him when the sermon was concluded, begging for further instruction. They would come to his rooms to entreat his counsels and prayers, and kneeling down under his exhortations, begin to call with tears upon the Virgin and Apostles, till he could check them and teach them better."

Wesley summoned him to London, that he might preach to the neglected Irish of that city in their native tongue, for he was yet the only Methodist itinerant who could use it in public. He did so with great effect, not only in the Methodist chapels, but in Moorfields, Short's Gardens, etc. Fourteen sermons a week (two a day) were his constant task, and such was their "demonstration and power" that his biographer says it is scarcely possible to enable a stranger to conceive of the glow of his soul and the energy of his spirit on these occasions; "such a sluice of divine oratory ran through the whole of his language as is rarely to be met with." Wesley says that "wherever he preached, the word, whether in English or Irish, was sharper than a two-edged sword." Wesley ascribes to his labors in London and elsewhere a great revival, of which, five years after Walsh's death, he says: "Here I stood and looked back on the late occurrences. Before Mr. Walsh left England God began that great work which has continued ever since without any considerable intermission. During the whole time many have been convinced of sin, many justified, and many backsliders healed." Nine years did he continue this triumphant ministerial career, and death only could close it.

A posthumous volume of his sermons was published; of course they can give us no adequate idea of the preacher; but they teem with fervid thoughts; they show a thorough knowledge of both the bad and good workings of the conscience; their admonitions are startling, and their consolatary passages might thrill the most despondent heart. Sententious, rapid, and fragrant with a gracious unction, they allow not the reader to pause to criticise their literary execution.

II. Natural talents and extraordinary piety doubtless conduced much to his great success as a preacher, but with these were combined the most laborious habits of *study*—study in reference to his great work of preaching. Believing Methodism to be a reproduction of true Biblical religion, he considered the critical knowledge of holy Scripture one of the highest qualifications for his work. He consecrated himself, therefore, to this department of ministerial preparation, and persevered in it to the end with an ardor which no mere love of knowledge could have inspired. Besides the Irish, English, and Latin tongues, he became more familiar, perhaps, with Greek and Hebrew than any man of his day, especially with their Scriptural use. We have already given Wesley's assertion that he could tell how often, where, and with what significance any Greek or Hebrew term occurred in the sacred volume, and that such a master of Biblical knowledge "he never saw before and never

expected to meet again." While in London he used to meet with the Jews at their synagogues, and his familiarity with their original language enabled him to confound them by their own Scriptures. Wesley inserts in his Journal (January, 1756) a Biblical argument from Walsh on the deity of Christ; it is not a page long, but it is "mighty in the Scriptures." In a letter to a clergyman of the Establishment, he mentions, as a guarantee for a criticism on a certain Socinian work, that he had read the book over with "Thomas Walsh, the best Hebrean I ever knew; I never asked him the meaning of a Hebrew word but he would immediately tell me how often it occurred in the Bible, and what it meant in each place."

Study was a religious devotion with Walsh. The Hebrew was his delight. "O truly laudable and worthy study!" he exclaims; "O industry beyond all praise! whereby a man is enabled in the same language knowingly to converse with God, with holy angels, with patriarchs, and with prophets, and clearly to unfold to men the mind of God from the language of God." His biographer says: "His application was indeed prodigious. I have known him spend fourteen hours of the four and twenty in this study, excepting only the intervals of prayer. He often intermixed a verse of praise or petition; and then, turning his face to the wall, and lifting up his heart and countenance to heaven, with his arms clasped about his breast, he would stand for some time before the Lord in solemn recollection, and then return to his work." "It was a rare thing ever to see him but with a book in his hand, or speaking of the things of God. When in traveling he at any time stopped at an inn, as soon as he was shown to his chamber, to stay, whether for an hour or a night, he would take out his little Hebrew Psalter, or some other spiritual book, and fall immediately to his usual work, unless the time was otherwise taken up in exhorting the landlord, or servants, or, in short, any he met with. Accommodations for his body were his smallest care; and his attention to these was always, as it were, by the by. He seemed everywhere, and yet nowhere, at home in this world. He pursued his work well nigh equally at all times and in all places, unless when sickness prevented, and seemed spontaneously to tend to God. Even after preaching sometimes near an hour and a half together, he has immediately resumed his studies, (having books always with him,) and this often where several persons have been talking, or otherwise employed, as their occasions required, round about him; he still pursuing his work, as though he were retired in a closet; proceeding on the sentiment that he had no other business in this world than to pray, and preach, and study, and live in every place, and in everything, for God!"

A living concordance of the Bible, he exclaims with rapture, "Thy

word, O Lord, *I have for my inheritance forever!* It is the joy of my heart, and of more value to me than millions of worlds," and, with such a love and knowledge of divine truth, we may well credit his biographer when he says: "The Spirit of wisdom so rested upon him, that there was nothing of a divine nature which occurred to his own mind, or was proposed to him by others, respecting doctrines, experience, or practice, of which he could not speak with convincing clearness. He had a singular faculty for throwing light upon doubtful cases: and it was not unusual with him, by speaking two or three words, to set right, and entirely quiet the minds of persons perplexed before about points of doctrine or experience."

III. The personal character of Walsh as a Christian man was the basis of all his other excellence. He never would have preached, traveled, and suffered as he did in his ministry, were it not for the sanctity, the flaming piety of his great soul. Southey's cold criticism on Methodist zeal warms into a glow of admiration as he writes of Walsh. "The life of Thomas Walsh," he says, "might indeed almost convince a Catholic that saints are to be found in other communions as well as in the Church of Rome." "In reading the brief record of his life," says the "History of Methodism," "we seem to have before us a combination and impersonation of the Hebraic grandeur of the old prophets, the mystic piety of the papal saints, and the Scriptural intelligence and purity of Protestantism." He read upon his knees the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures; in great cities he walked the streets as if his thoughts were in heaven, and as unobservant of surrounding objects as if he were in the solitude of great forests. A moral sublimity seemed to envelop him, and he is described as appearing like a "man from the invisible world," as one of the holy and happy dead, who had returned to converse with devout men. "Thou knowest my desire," he wrote; "thou knowest there has never been a saint upon earth whom I do not desire to resemble, in doing and suffering thy whole will. I would walk with thee, my God, as Enoch did. I would follow thee to a land unknown, as Abraham did. I would renounce all for thee, as did Moses and Paul. I would, as did Stephen, seal thy truth with my blood!" Prostrate upon his face, kneeling, standing, walking, eating — in every posture, and in every place and condition, he was a man mighty in prayer. "In sleep itself, to my certain knowledge," says one of his associates, "his soul went out (Cant. v, 2) in groans, and sighs, and tears to God. His heart having attained such a habit of tendency to its Lord, could only give over when it ceased to beat." He is represented as sometimes lost in mental absence on his knees,

with his face heavenward, and arms clasped upon his breast, in such composure that scarcely could one hear him so much as breathe; as absorbed in God, and enjoying a calmness and transport which could not be expressed; while from the serenity, and something resembling splendor which appeared on his countenance, and in all his gestures afterward, one might easily discover that he had been on the Mount of Communion, and had descended, like Moses, with the divine glory on his brow. His public prayers were attended with such ardor, pertinence, and faith, that it appeared, says his biographer, "as though the heavens were burst open, and God himself appeared in the congregation."

He was sometimes rapt away, as from earth, in his devotions, being quite lost to himself, and insensible of everything around him, absorbed in the visions of God; and in these profound and solemn frames of mind he has remained for hours, still and motionless as a statue.

Such was Thomas Walsh. He died in 1758, in Ireland, whither he had gone for the improvement of his health. Wesley met him in Limerick, "just alive!" "O what a man," he writes, "to be snatched away in the strength of his years! Surely Thy judgments are a great deep!" His death presented an extraordinary and an instructive lesson. For weeks his soul was obscured with darkness; he desponded even of his salvation. The painful mystery spread a sensation of interest and awe throughout the Methodist communities of not only Ireland, but England, and public prayers were offered for him in the chapels of Dublin and London. He was doubtless suffering under the effects of disease on the nervous system; but good men did not then understand such phenomena as we do, with our more advanced science. "His great soul," says his biographer, "lay thus, as it were, in ruins for some considerable time, and poured out many a heavy groan and speechless tear from an oppressed heart and dying body. He sadly bewailed the absence of Him whose wonted presence had so often given him the victory over the manifold contradictions and troubles which he endured for his name's sake."

But God takes care of his own "dear children," and this his beloved and faithful servant was crowned with final and everlasting deliverance. Some Christian friends were praying about his dying bed. He requested them to retire and leave him alone, for a season of self-recollection and prayer. When they returned he exclaimed: "*He is come! he is come! my beloved is mine, and I am his!*" and died.

Art. VIII.—EXPOSITION OF THE SECOND PSALM.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *General Remarks—Contents.*

"All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," said the Apostle Paul to Timothy; and this declaration had respect to the Old Testament, inasmuch as the New Testament Scriptures were not yet published. The second psalm, therefore, as a part of this Scripture, we take to be inspired of God; we take it as inspired in its thoughts, and inspired in its words, and that David is simply the intelligent amanuensis.

Aside from this fact, this psalm has an additional interest, from its being a prophetic song, and being in fact a compend of the Gospel history from its commencement in the world down to the judgment-day. By a few strokes of the Divine pencil the whole Gospel picture, in its great outlines, is here portrayed. The opposition of heathenism and its princes; the raging of the wicked like the foaming sea; Jehovah sitting in the heavens and holding them in derision, and rebuking them in his wrath; the Gospel established; the Son having the heathen for his inheritance; the sudden destruction of his enemies, and the blessedness of his people.

Such is the substance of this psalm, being full of the fatness and marrow of the Gospel, though first sung under the twilight of the Law, a thousand years before the Saviour's advent.

§ 2. *Who was its Author?*

That David, under Divine inspiration, was its author, there can be no doubt, though there is no superscription, as is usually the case in the other psalms. The testimony of the apostles is explicit as to this point, as recorded in Acts iv, 25: "And when they [the apostles] heard *that*, [the testimony of Peter and John in regard to the healing of the lame man,] they lifted up their voice with one accord and said: Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; who, by the mouth of thy servant David, hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things?" God, then, uttered this psalm by the mouth of his servant David.

§ 3. *Is the Psalm Messianic?*

That is, is Messiah its subject? We answer, the מְשִׁיחַ of this Psalm is the Μεσσίας of the New Testament. See John i, 43; iv, 25: "He [Andrew] first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, we have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, *the Christ*," or the anointed. The woman of Samaria saith unto him, "I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ," ὁ Χριστός.

From the word מְשִׁיחַ alone nothing can be certainly determined, as it is applied in other passages to kings and priests of the Jewish nation, and in one instance to a heathen prince, Cyrus. Isaiah xlv, 1. But from its connection with the other parts of the psalm, there is no room to doubt its application to Christ.

In the first place there is peculiar appropriateness in the application of this name to Christ. As the high priest and the prince were inducted into office by the ceremony of anointing, (Exodus xxix, 29; Leviticus iv, 3,) they were often called "the Lord's anointed." So our Lord, when inducted into office by baptism, received the anointing of the Holy Spirit. Thus he was "God's anointed," מְשִׁיחוֹ; this being from מָשַׁח, to anoint, and thus he is appropriately called.

The Septuagint translated this word ὅ Χριστός. κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστόν αὐτοῦ, against Jehovah and against his Christ; χριστός being from χρίω, *I anoint*.

We observe, further, that this name מְשִׁיחַ is not only peculiarly appropriate to the Saviour, but its Greek equivalent, ὅ Χριστός, is the most common name by which he is designated in the New Testament, except Ἰησοῦς.

2. Our second reason for believing that this psalm has for its subject the Messiah, is the fact of the usage of the personal poetic pronoun third plural, מוֹ in the third verse, referring for its antecedent to יְהוָה and מְשִׁיחוֹ in the second verse. The rebellious chiefs cry out,

> "Let us break *their* bands asunder:
> Let us cast *their* cords from us."

That is, the bands and cords of Jehovah and his Anointed, of the Father and of the Son. It is hardly needful to say that the terms "bands" and "cords" are metaphorical, for government and laws; and further that it would be very puerile, as well as very impious, to refer מְשִׁיחוֹ, thus associated with Jehovah, to any merely human or Israelitish prince.

3. Our third reason for believing that this psalm is Messianic, is that the hero of the song is so significantly addressed in the seventh verse:

> Jehovah declares, "*Thou art my Son;*
> *This day I have begotten thee.*"

We are here introduced to the deep mystery of the Sonship of Messiah. He is the Son of the living God in a peculiar sense. Under the endearing relation of Son, the second person of the Trinity is here set forth. Emphatically the Father declares, "Thou art my Son." Similar to this was the language heard from the heavens on the occasion of our Saviour's baptism, and on the mount of transfiguration, "*This is my beloved Son!*" See Matthew iii, 17 and xvii, 5. The Saviour himself alludes to this high relation when he asks the Pharisees, "What think ye of Christ? whose Son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. How then doth David by inspiration call him LORD?" [if he be not also the Son of God, and thus divine.]

This emphatic language of Jehovah, therefore, *Thou art my Son*, cannot refer to any mere human being, but to Him alone who is equal with and one with the Father.

4. Our fourth reason for believing this psalm to be a prophecy of Christ, is the fact that it is referred to Christ by all the apostles in Acts iv, 23–29. We will quote the entire passage, as we regard it as conclusive of the question before us:

"And being let go, they [Peter and John] went to their own company, [namely, the apostles and the Church,] and reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that therein is; who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined to be done."

Here it is declared that the very things which God had determined should be done, and had declared by his servant David, in the second psalm, a thousand years before, should be done to Christ and his servants by Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the people of the

Jews; all was actually fulfilled in the history of Christ and the disciples.

So also the Apostle Paul, in Acts xiii, 33, declared that "God had fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he had raised up Jesus again; as it is written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." So also the same apostle testifies to the same thing in Hebrews i, 5: "To which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" The reader is left to infer that God has not made this address to any angel, but he has made it to Jesus, his Son. So also in Hebrews v, 5: "Christ glorified not himself to be made a high priest; but he that said unto him, [glorified him, saying,] Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee." And in three passages of the book of Revelation the triumph of Christ over all his foes is declared in the words of the tenth verse of this psalm: "He shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessel of the potter shall they be broken to pieces." Revelation ii, 27. "And she [the woman] brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God and his throne." Revelation xii, 5. "And out of his [Christ's] mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron." Revelation xix, 15. These Scriptures of the New Testament are perfectly conclusive that the inspired writers understood the second psalm to be a prophecy of Christ.

5. Our fifth argument for this position is that the entire internal evidence of the psalm goes to this point. Behold in it an epitome of the Book of Revelation, the coming and establishment of the kingdom of God. It is not to David, as De Wette and others would have it, that the heathen are to be given, but to a greater than David, even David's illustrious Son. The uttermost parts of the earth shall be given to *Him* alone. It is to Him that judges and kings are to bow down and pay homage, and it is He alone who is the Judge of judges, the LORD of LORDS, and the KING of KINGS. Such is the character of the hero of this psalm, a character which belongs alone to the Son of God.

It remains only to observe, that we have but reiterated the general sentiment of both the Jewish and Christian Churches. All the old Jewish interpreters agree in expounding it of Messiah, as is confessed particularly by Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, who has this remarkable passage: "Our doctors expounded this psalm of King Messiah, but that we may answer the heretics, meaning Christians, it is expedient to interpret it of David's person."

§ 4. *Can we interpret it of David's Person.*

In this connection it may be proper to discuss the question suggested by the above extract from Jarchi, that is, whether we may interpret it of David's person. This mode of interpretation was adopted by the wily Rabbi, the better to refute the Christians. But it is passing strange that even a majority of modern Protestant commentators have adopted the same or similar modes of interpretation. Calvin, for example, says, giving the contents of this psalm: "David boasteth that his kingdom, although it be assailed with huge multitude of enemies and mighty power, shall, notwithstanding, be perpetual, because it is upheld by the hand and power of God. He addeth also that it shall be enlarged even to the uttermost coasts of the earth, maugre his enemies. And therefore he exhorteth kings and other magistrates to lay down their pride, and with meek hearts to take the yoke which the Lord lays upon them, because it is in vain for them to shake it off. Nevertheless this figure containeth a prophecy concerning Christ's kingdom that was to come." That is, according to Calvin, this psalm refers primarily to David, and secondarily to Christ. It has, in fact, a double meaning, and so he proceeds to interpret it.

Very nearly coinciding with this view, is that of Mr. Benson and Dr. A. Clarke. Mr. Benson says: "Under the emblem of the kingdom of David, the Holy Ghost here foretells the opposition which should be raised by Jews and Gentiles against the kingdom of the Messiah." Dr. A. Clarke says: "In the *first* place we may suppose that this psalm was written to celebrate the taking of Jerusalem and the overthrow of all the kings and chiefs of the neighboring nations [by David]. In the *second* place we find, from the use made of this psalm by the apostles, Acts iv, 27, that David typified Jesus Christ."

This view is substantially that of Calvin, and involves the theory of the double sense. In the first place David is meant as God's anointed, and in the second place Christ is meant as God's anointed, or typified as such.

To this view we have some serious objections, which we will presently state. Mr. Wesley, with his characteristic good sense, and in his laconic style, without formally opposing the commonly received opinion, simply says: "there is nothing in this psalm which is not applicable to Christ, but some things which are not [at] all applicable to David." He then proceeds to interpret the psalm of Christ, though not exclusively so.

As an example of the interpretation given by the fathers, I would refer to Augustine. There is not a word said in all his comments about David being its subject, on the contrary he interprets it, from beginning to end, exclusively of Christ.

As an example among the moderns, I would refer to Hengstenberg, whose commentary on the Psalms is a complete thesaurus of good things, and highly evangelical. He says: "There are the clearest grounds that by 'the King,' 'the Anointed,' or 'the Son of God,' no other can be understood than the Messias." And he accordingly interprets this psalm exclusively of Christ.

We have quoted these authorities that we might not seem rash in rejecting the view of Calvin, Benson, Clarke, and many others highly respected in the Church for learning and piety. Our exegetical inquiries compel us to adopt this course. This psalm, in our judgment, is to be interpreted exclusively of Christ. The following are some of our objections to the mixed view.

1. We object to it because it involves the impropriety of attributing to this psalm a double sense. The admission of such a principle of interpretation at once places us upon the high road to the Rabbinic absurdity, that every word of Scripture has within it "mountains of sense." On such a principle the Scriptures cease to be of value. They teach everything, and nothing with certainty. Their plain and obvious meaning is tortured to suit the fancy of every interpreter, and he that is the most fanciful and imaginative is the most expert exegete.

2. We object to this mode of interpreting this psalm, because it involves the absurdity of attributing to David that which is not true. It is not true that David ever was the ruler of the heathen nations and the possessor of the uttermost parts of the earth. His dominion never extended beyond the original grant made to Abraham, "from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates." Gen. xv, 18. It was not even till the days of Solomon that it had even this limited extent. See 1 Kings iv, 21, 24. "And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river [Euphrates] unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: . . . for he had dominion over all the region on this side the river, from Tiphsah [Thapsacus] even to Azzah, [Gaza,] even over all the kings on this side of the river." Thus it appears that neither Solomon nor David reigned over the Philistines, who were heathen within thirty miles of their capital.

3. This interpretation involves the further absurdity of making David a Divine person, receiving Divine honors. The kings of the

earth are to bow down to him. "Be wise therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, [David,] lest he [David] be angry, and ye perish from the way. . . . Blessed are all they who put their trust in him, [David.]"

The folly and absurdity of such an interpretation is at once apparent. And it is among the wonders of the past that sensible men, even learned men, have lent their sanction to such folly.

4. We object to this view, finally, because David is never called "*the Son of God*," nor indeed any other man or angel, in the high and emphatic sense of this psalm. "*Thou art my Son*," says Jehovah; and hence the apostle seizes upon this expression as declarative of the *Divinity* of Jesus and of his superiority over the angels: "Unto which of the angels hath he said at any time, *Thou art my Son*, this day have I begotten thee? . . . And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." Such is this "Son of God," worshiped even by the highest angels. How absurd to make David this Son of God!

§ 5. *Its Dramatic character.*

The dramatic character of this psalm is a striking feature of it. Hence the abrupt and sententious exclamation of David in the first verse: "Why do the heathen rage!" introducing the reader at once into the battle field of the Gospel. The introduction upon the stage of God, the Father, looking out from his calm repose in the heavens upon the vain attempts of earth-worms to frustrate his purposes of glorifying his Son; his deriding them; the proclamation of the Son; and the final declaration of the Father, that the Son shall dash the nations in pieces—all gives the reader a most spirited and exciting view of the Gospel history, from its opening on the day of Pentecost till the millenial glory—till Jesus is conqueror over all his foes.

It is strikingly like the forty-fifth and the one hundreth and tenth psalms, and some of the panoramic scenes presented in the prophets and in the Book of Revelation, of the triumphs of the Son of God.

§ 6 *Translation and Notes.*

With these preliminary discussions, we now proceed to translate this psalm, and to explain such of its words and phrases as seem to call for elucidation.

SECOND PSALM—TRANSLATION.

The Psalmist speaks.

1	לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גוֹיִם	Why do the nations rage,
	וּלְאֻמִּים יֶהְגּוּ־רִיק׃	And the peoples plot a vain thing?
2	יִתְיַצְּבוּ ׀ מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ	The kings of the earth stand up,
	וְרוֹזְנִים נוֹסְדוּ־יָחַד	And the rulers take counsel together,
	עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ׃	Against Jehovah and against His Christ.
3	נְנַתְּקָה אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ	[Saying] "Let us break their bands asunder,
	וְנַשְׁלִיכָה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ׃	Let us cast from us their cords."
4	יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׂחָק	He that sits in the heavens shall laugh;
	אֲדֹנָי יִלְעַג־לָמוֹ׃	The Lord shall deride them.
5	אָז יְדַבֵּר אֲלֵימוֹ בְאַפּוֹ	Then will he speak unto them in His wrath,
	וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלֵמוֹ׃	And trouble them in His sore displeasure.

God the Father speaks to the rebels.

6	וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי	I have appointed Him [my Son] my King
	עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קָדְשִׁי׃	Upon my holy hill of Zion.

God the Son speaks to the rebels.

7	אֲסַפְּרָה אֶל־חֹק	I will proclaim the decree:
	יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אַתָּה	Jehovah hath said unto me, "Thou art my Son;
	אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ׃	This day have I begotten thee."

God the Father speaks to the Son.

8	שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי	Ask thou of me,
	וְאֶתְּנָה גוֹיִם נַחֲלָתֶךָ	And I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,
	וַאֲחֻזָּתְךָ אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ׃	And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.
9	תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל	Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
	כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם׃	Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.

The Psalmist addresses the rebels.

10	וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ	And now be wise, O ye kings;
	הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ׃	Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.
11	עִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיִרְאָה	Serve Jehovah with fear,
	וְגִילוּ בִּרְעָדָה׃	And rejoice with trembling.
12	נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר פֶּן־יֶאֱנַף ׀ וְתֹאבְדוּ דָרֶךְ	Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish [in your] way;
	כִּי־יִבְעַר כִּמְעַט אַפּוֹ	For in a little while his wrath shall burn.
	אַשְׁרֵי כָּל־חוֹסֵי בוֹ׃	Blessed is every one trusting in him.

NOTES.

Verse 1.—לָמָּה, *for what?* To what object or end does all this strife against God and his Son tend? Septuagint, Ἱνατί; Vulgate, *Quare.* גּוֹיִם, Septuagint, ἔθνη; Vulgate, *gentes, the nations,* usually meaning the heathen nations, as distinguished from the Jewish people, though here used in a general sense, including the Jews as well as the heathen. The Apostles (Acts, iv, 25) speak of Herod and Pilate as among the kings referred to. אמים, peoples. The parallelism requires this to mean the same as גּוֹיִם. רִיק adjective used as a noun, *nothing, vanity*; not an adverb, *in vain.* Septuagint, well, κενά; Vulgate, *inania,* vain things. The efforts against God and his Son are vain attempts.

Verse 2.—לָמָּה is to be repeated from the first verse, [*why do*] *the kings of the earth stand up, and* [*why do*] *the rulers take counsel together against Jehovah and against his Christ*—מְשִׁיחוֹ, *his anointed.* Septuagint, χριστοῦ; Vulgate, *Christum.* For further discussion of this word see section third of introduction.

Verse 3.—The enemies are introduced as saying:

Let us break asunder their bonds
And cast away their cords from us.

The plural suffix מוֹ has reference to Jehovah and his Anointed. *Their bands,* that is, the laws of God and his Son. עֲבֹתֵימוֹ, *their cords,* from עבת, to *interlace,* as a cord or rope. Septuagint and Vulgate, wrong, ζυγὸν, *jugum.*

Verse 4.—*He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh.* Hengstenberg remarks: "The prophet looks away from the wild turmoil of enemies, from the dangers which here below seem to threaten the kingdom of the Anointed, to the world above, and sets over against them the almightiness of God." Calvin remarks: "However high they may lift themselves they can never reach to the heavens; nay, while they seek to confound heaven and earth they do but dance like grasshoppers."

Verse 5.— *Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath,*
And vex them in his sore displeasure.

Jehovah first laughs at them with contempt; *then*—אז—the feeling of contempt is followed by that of indignation, and hence the threatenings which follow, which are stayed for the present, but are soon to burst upon the heads of the finally impenitent.

Verse 6.—*Even I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.* The vav at the beginning is emphatic, like the Greek *καὶ*=even. The *I* here, the Lord of heaven and earth, stands with peculiar emphasis in opposition to "them." The נָסַכְתִּי is rendered by Gesenius: "*I have anointed.*" This signification, however, is very feebly supported, as Proverbs viii, 23 is the only other passage thought to have this meaning. But even here it is better rendered as the English version: *I* [wisdom] *was set up*—נָסַכְתִּי—*from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the* earth was. Septuagint, *εθεμελίωσε μέ*. Vulgate, *ordinata sum*. Neither the context nor the authorities are in favor of the signification of the *anointed*. The original signification of *pouring out* probably suggested this meaning of anointing; but the secondary meaning of *casting, founding* by melted metal poured out, and hence *to form, set*, is much more probable, and is in accordance with the usage. See Isaiah xl, 19, and xliv, 10. מַלְכִּי, *my king*. Messiah is the ruler as well as the Creator and Redeemer of the world, and its final judge. All things are tending to *him*. KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS. His residence is upon Zion. He revealed himself in the sanctuary—the holy of holies—from between the cherubim. The ark had been removed by David from Kirjath-jearim to Zion. And hence this holy hill is spoken of as the seat of the Great King, and the center of the divine administration on earth. "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Isaiah ii, 3.

Verse 7. Next appears on the stage the Divine Son, proclaiming his own character and dignity before the astonished rebels:

> *I will declare the decree.*
> *Jehovah hath said unto me,* "*Thou art my Son;*
> *This day have I begotten thee.*"

Rosenmuller explains the phrase אֶל חֹק "*according to,* or *in terms of, the decree*;" "but there is no ground," as Hengstenberg remarks, "for this," as the word סִפֵּר is elsewhere coupled with the preposition אֶל, indicating the object of declaration. This is also true of the similar words שָׁמַע, דִּבֶּר, אָמַר, יָדַע. See, for examples, Isaiah xxxviii, 19; Jer. xxvii, 19; Job xlii, 7.

The decree is the fact declared, that Messiah is God's Son, and is therefore invested with the powers and prerogatives of the Father, as the ruler over the world; and the "*to-day*" is the precise time when the Saviour received his investiture as Divine King, namely, on the day of his resurrection from the dead. So also the apostle, in Acts xiii, 33, refers these words to Christ in connection with his

resurrection. Thus, as Paul says in Rom. i, 4, he is "declared to be the Son of God with power, by his resurrection from the dead." The resurrection of Christ was the key-stone of his redemption work; the starting point of his representation as the Son of God, and his establishment in the kingdom." (Hengstenberg.)

The declaration, "This day have I begotten thee," makes nothing for nor against the doctrine of the *Eternal* Sonship of Christ. It simply declares the fact of his Sonship. The great subject of the eternity of it must be left to other Scriptures to decide. The expression "Thou art my Son," implies the *dearness* of the Son to the Father, shadowed by the *nearness* of the parental and filial relation as felt among men. It does not imply a literal begetting, but a spiritual or figurative one, implying the innermost fellowship of love. This relation, we believe, had no beginning, but is essential to God, and is therefore eternal. Though shadowed and dimly set forth in some of the Old Testament Scriptures, it was reserved for the glorious resurrection and the superior light of the new dispensation to fully declare it.

Verse 8. In this verse we have the pledge of Jehovah that his Son is to have the whole earth for his possession. There is no stronger phrase in the Hebrew to express the universality of Christ's empire than אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ, *the uttermost parts of the earth.* In the twenty-second psalm, twenty-eighth verse, it is made parallel with כָּל־מִשְׁפְּחֹת גּוֹיִם, *all the families of the nations;* and in Psalm lxxii, 8, with מִיָּם עַד־יָם, *from sea to sea.* See further parallel passages, showing the universality of Messiah's kingdom: Psalm cx; Isaiah ii, 1, 2, 11; Jeremiah xxxi, 34; Romans xv; Revelation v, and xvii.

Verse 9. "*Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron.*" תְּרֹעֵם, *Thou shalt break them*, from רָעַע, and not from רעה, *to feed, to rule*, as Septuagint and Vulgate, which is both against the pointing and against the parallelism. Iron is here selected, as being the hardest metal, to indicate the strength and crushing force with which the Son would chastise the revolters.

As a potter's vessel thou shalt dash them in pieces. This shall be the end of obstinate, impenitent sinners. The judgments of Heaven will overtake them. *They* shall bow the knee. *Their* tongue shall confess, if not in this world, yet in the world to come.

Verse 10. Now the Psalmist speaks in words of strong admonition.

> "*Be wise therefore, O ye kings:*
> *Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.*"

Verse 11. *Serve Jehovah with fear.* As it is the dominion of the Divine Son which is sought, ought we not to understand the term Jehovah as referring specially to him?

Rejoice with trembling. Gesenius renders "*fear with trembling,*" and refers to Hosea x, 5, as supporting this meaning of גִּיל. But inasmuch as the Psalmist supposes the rebels to have submitted themselves to the conquering Son of God, it is better to render גִּיל by its common signification of *rejoice.*

Verse 12. *Kiss the Son,* &c. The kiss was from the earliest times the mark of respect and subjection in the East. Such a kiss was given for the most part not upon the mouth, but upon the garment, or upon the hand of the person kissed. That this custom prevailed among the Hebrews, appears from 1 Samuel x, 1, where Samuel, after he had anointed the king, as a mark of respect gave him a kiss. The presenting a kiss was also a religious usage, as appears from 1 Kings xix, 18; Hosea xiii, 2; Job xxxi, 27. (See Hengstenberg.) Hence we may render *adore, worship the Son.* We have בַּר instead of בֶּן, a son, probably for the purpose of avoiding the cacophony which must have arisen from the juxtaposition of בֶּן and בֶּן.

וְתֹאבְדוּ דָּרֶךְ *And ye perish* [*as to*] *your way,* or [*in*] *your way of wickedness.* דָּרֶךְ is an accusative of limitation, an idiom of common occurrence in the Hebrew, as well as in the classic languages. כִּמְעַט *as a little, shortly, soon. Soon will his wrath be kindled.* The time up to the beginning of the punishment, when repentance is too late, is like a short period.

Blessed are all they who trust in him. Thus the first of the Messianic psalms closes up with words of mercy to sinners, reminding them, after all their wickedness, they may trust in Messiah and find mercy. Here observe the divinity of Messiah. He, as God, is able to bless those trusting in him. But this surely could not be said of any merely human being. In this respect the forty-fifth and one hundreth and tenth psalms are still more full and explicit. Not only are divine acts attributed to him, but also divine names are given him, as "*Lord*" and "*God.*" Psalm xlv, 6; cx, 1.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Protestantism.—The Conflict of Parties in the Established Church during the last three months has been uncommonly violent. In England it has been principally the Confessional question, in Scotland that of the Real Presence, which have agitated the minds. Another clergyman of the Establishment, Rev. Mr. West, has been accused of forcing the use of private confession, in a highly indelicate manner, upon a sick woman; but a committee appointed by Bishop Wilberforce, of Oxford, to investigate the charge, has acquitted him. The Bishop of Rochester regrets not to be able to interfere with the practice of private confession and other High-Church practices at Harlow, on account of legal difficulties. The Bishop of Winchester has refused to institute the Rev. Mr. Southey to a rectorship in his diocese for having preached the High-Church doctrine on the Eucharist, and has strictly forbidden the exhibition of any floral decoration in the churches during divine service. Several other bishops have made strong declarations against the introduction of the confessional. But the Bishop of Exeter offers an asylum to those who have to suffer for their High-Church opinions elsewhere, and refuses, also, on doctrinal grounds, the institution of members of the evangelical party to benefices in his diocese. The Bishop of Aberdeen, in Scotland, has suspended Rev. Mr. Cheyne for extreme views on the Real Presence, and the Episcopal Synod, appealed to by the defendant, has affirmed this sentence. The evangelical portion of the Scottish clergy wishes the abrogation of the Scottish service, as "leading to Romish views of the Lord's Supper," and the adoption of the English instead of it, but has, in this point, not been supported by the bishops. The Missionary zeal has received a new impulse by the new openings for the propagation of Christianity in Asia. The Established Church has erected new bishoprics at Nelson and Wellington, in New Zealand, and in British Columbia, and several other bishoprics are to be formed without delay. After the completion of these arrangements, the Church will have connected with her forty-four colonial bishoprics. The London Missionary Society has collected £13,000 as a special fund for sending twenty more missionaries to India. The Wesleyans have sent three missionaries to British Columbia, and several more to India, in which latter country their schools have largely increased the number of pupils. The members and friends of The Evangelical Alliance held a well-attended meeting on October 26th and the following days, in Liverpool, in which city it was commenced thirteen years ago. The catalogue of topics and the names of the promoters, among whom are several bishops of the Established Church, assign to this conference an importance not enjoyed by any previous purely British assembly convened by the Evangelical Alliance. The Wesleyan Conference, which met in Hull, had a long discussion on the practice of reading sermons. Rev. W. Arthur expressed himself strongly against it, and the Conference, though not passing any resolution on the subject, seemed generally to share the opinion, that the practice of reading must never become the practice of Methodism. The increase of Church members during the year in Great Britain was announced as 6,996, and 22,611 on trial; and it was resolved to address memorials to the government against the desecration of the Lord's day by measures of the government, and against the policy of the government with regard to India. The autumnal session of The Congregational Union of England and Wales was held toward the close of October, at Halifax, Yorkshire, and was characterized by an entire absence of controversy. The revivals in the United States furnished the chief topic, and gave a tone to the meeting.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Journey of Cardinal Wiseman in Ireland has blessed that country, for the first time for three centuries, with the presence of a prince of the Church; and all Ireland, to use O'Connell's expression, "from Connemara to the Hill of Howth," has welcomed his presence by those demonstrations of enthusiasm which only Celts and Yankees can display. The allegiance of the people to him, and to the cause of which he stood forth the living embodiment, was indeed roused to an unwonted pitch. In the matter of the

Irish College in Paris, the Roman Propaganda has come to the conclusion that the rectorship shall be given to one of the Irish Vincentians, who, though living in community, are secular priests. The archbishops are to draw up a new body of rules for the government of the college, and one of the Irish bishops will in future visit it as delegate from the whole of the prelates.

GERMANY.

Protestantism. — The sixteenth General Assembly of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, at Leipsic, was a proof that this society is still rapidly progressing. In several parts of Germany, as in the kingdom of Saxony and the Hungarian states, there is hardly a single congregation which does not contribute to it. A new source of income has been opened to the society by a decree of the Prussian government, which orders the taking up of a collection for the benefit of the society in all the churches of the Evangelical State Church. In consequence of this, and the growing participation of the people generally, the income has risen to more than 107,000 thalers, by which three hundred and eighty poor congregations, of which two hundred and twenty-five are in Germany, have been assisted in building church or school. The Church Diet, which met this year in Hamburg, in order to be present at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rugged House of Dr. Wichern, was largely attended from all parts of Germany. Among the topics which were discussed in the usual thorough manner of the German Church Diets, we mention The Union of Civil and Ecclesiastical Offices, The Duties of Larger Cities with regard to the Poor, The Rests of Paganism in the Life and Views of the German People, and the Duty of the Church with regard to them. For the first time in its history, the Church Diet met, on the part of the city where it assembled, with a very unfriendly reception, and only two of the city churches were obtained from their trustees, with difficulty, for the holding of evening services. An Assembly of Prominent Lutherans was held on August 18th and 19th, at Rothenmoor, in Mecklenburg, under the presidency of Professor Huschke. The party finds itself in a very unfavorable position, since it has not only to contend against all the other religious denominations of Germany, for bounding off its territory and doctrine from those of other Churches by a broad boundary line, but also against various dissensions in its own midst. The Reformed Church is more successful than the Lutheran in its effort to bring about a confederacy of the several Reformed State Churches, and the last annual Reformed Conference, held at Elberfeld on June 3 and 4, witnessed a real progress in the consolidation of the Church, which now only begins to awake to a consciousness how large a portion of her territory, from want of organization, has been occupied since the beginning of this century by Lutheranism. The Society for collecting the People of God in Palestine, a mystic sect, which has some offshoots also in this country, had a gathering at Cranstadt, in Wirtemberg, and heard a report of the three deputies who had been sent on a tour of exploration to the Promised Land, whose condition they had found, however, as unsatisfactory for their purpose as the state of the finances of the society is. Many of the leaders of the Free Congregations and German Catholics, as Uhlich, Rupp, Wislicenus, Czersky, and Baltzer, met at Gotha, on September 8 and 9, in a Free Congregational Council. As in nearly every German state these congregations are struggling for a mere toleration, it is impossible to ascertain their present strength. They have no established creed, but are floating between Deism, Atheism, and Pantheism.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Catholic Associations held, this year, their General Assembly at Cologne, on September 6th and the following day In many respects this may be regarded as the most important General Assembly which the Catholic Associations have held as yet. The attendance, both of deputies from abroad and of the people of Cologne and the neighboring country, was unusually large. It was presided over by August Reichensperger, a distinguished orator of the Second Prussian Chamber, and for some time its vice-president. Among the speeches those of Peter Reichensperger, who is, like his brother, a prominent member of the Prussian Parliament, and has been recently promoted to a seat in the highest judicial court of Prussia, and of Professor Walter, of Bonn, are mentioned by the German press as being the most remarkable. The members of the General Assembly participated, as a body, in the festivities accompanying the consecration of a statue in honor of the

immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The procession held on this occasion, and in which also the mayor of the city, the city councils, the trades, and an immense crowd of people took part, is said to have been the greatest that Cologne, the German Rome, has seen for many years. The next General Assembly will be held either at Freiburg, in Baden, or at Prague, in Austria. Several Bavarian cities desired to invite the General Assembly, but the design was abandoned, because it was considered as certain that the king, who is not a friend of the Catholic associations, would refuse the permission. The Catholic Church of Austria has declared her intention to revive the regular celebration of the Provincial Synods, which, though ordered by the General Council of Trent, had fallen into disuse in Austria for nearly two hundred years. There is no doubt that the observance of this law will tie the connection of Austria with Rome closer. The Jesuits have again attracted the attention of Germany to a high degree. While there is a want of priests in most Austrian dioceses, and also in many of the religious orders, they have a large overplus of novices. Their colleges are thronged with the children of the nobility of Austria, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany. They have also continued to hold missions in the larger Protestant cities, and in many a place have had a hard struggle against the Rationalistic views which still prevail in the population of most German towns.

SWITZERLAND.

Protestantism. — The Nineteenth Assembly of the Helvetic Preachers' Association, which was held at Aarau, on August 17 and 18, occupied itself principally with the question, How far a greater union between the various State Churches is desirable, and by what means it can be brought about? It was generally conceded that "the advancement of infidelity, the extension of the sects, and the encroachments of Rome," made a greater union than exists at present desirable. Regular conferences of the State Churches, as they were held for the first time in Zurich on April 27 and 28 of the present year, were unanimously recommended as the best means for arriving at the union. But various opinions existed as to the question how far it would be desirable, for the present, to carry the idea of centralization. Some speakers advocated the organization of a Helvetic Synod as the Supreme Legislative Board for the Reformed Churches, but this seemed to the majority, at least, premature, and it was thought best to aim for the present only at obtaining for the State Church, of every canton, a Presbyterial constitution. The entire separation of Church and State had few, if any, friends among the clergy; but, on the other hand, no one contested the opinion of Professor Hagenbach, that every Protestant Church ought to have a constitution of her own, and not be entirely governed by the State, as is, for example, still the case in the canton of Basel. A proposition to change, by inviting the laity generally, the Preachers' Association into a Church Diet, after the model of that of Germany, was rejected as too radical. The Young Men's Christian Associations of the whole world, held a General Assembly at Geneva, where important questions, with regard to the condition of the youth, and the means of bringing the rising generation more effectually under the influence of Christianity, were discussed. The great religious Anniversaries at Basel had the same grand and impressive character as in former years, and the missionary society of that city has recently received a rich legacy of four hundred thousand francs. The question of an entire Separation of Church and State has been recently agitated in the cantons of Vaud and Neufchatel, and in both cases two parties, very much opposed to each other in other points, the conservative friends of the free Evangelical Churches, and the ultra radical patrons of Atheism, have united in demanding it. In neither case have they been successful, but in both they have succeeded in wrenching some concessions from the friends of a rigid State Churchism. The attitude of the cantonal governments with regard to the Independent Religious Denominations is still wavering between toleration and intolerance, but the old laws of Switzerland are generally maintained in their full rigor against the Mormons, who have succeeded in several places, as Berne and Zurich, to collect congregations.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Pius or Catholic Associations, which effected last year, after the example of Germany, a national organization, held their first General Assembly in August, at Stanz, in the canton of Unterwalden. The number of branch associations was

reported as amounting to fifty-four. The Catholic associations declared as their primary objects for the present, to raise funds for establishing Catholic Churches in Protestant countries, and for providing poor candidates of the priesthood with the means to secure a theological education, to assist the bishops in establishing *seminaria puerorum*, which are still wanting in almost all the Swiss dioceses, to circulate Catholic books, and to establish in every parish a parochial library. The number of CATHOLIC COLLEGES will soon be increased, as the institutions at Freiburg and Brieg, which, before 1847, were under the charge of the Jesuits, will soon be reopened. The Catholic college at Schwytz, which was founded a few years ago by Father Theodosius, an enterprising Capuchin monk, and the most active priest of Catholic Switzerland, counts at present seventeen professors and two hundred pupils. THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE POPE AND SEVERAL CANTONS continue. The Grand Council of Tessin has refused to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the new Bishop of Como, and the Federal government to sustain the appeal of the bishop. The canton of Aargan has wrenched from the Bishop of Solothurn and the Pope a concession in the question of mixed marriages, (between Catholics and Protestants,) the priests being now directed to publish the bans of all such marriages, even if the education of the children in the Catholic Church has not been promised. The government of Berne has resolved not to permit the Bishop of Freiburg to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the city of Berne, but to demand from the Pope the reception of the Catholic congregation of the capital into the diocese of Basel, to which the greater part of the canton of Berne belongs.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism. — The Protestant press has a right to point with pride to the almost unanimous condemnation of the INTOLERANT ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF SWEDEN by the other Protestant Churches. After the example of France, energetic declarations have been made by Belgium, England, and America. In Belgium the synod of the Evangelical Church has expressed, without a dissenting voice, its concurrence with the protests of the French Protestant Churches, and in England an address to the same effect has been numerously signed by the bishops of the Established Church, by peers, members of Parliament, and other distinguished persons. The efforts of the friends of religious liberty, and in particular of the Protestant press, have not been fruitless; but there are hopeful signs that even the government of Sweden itself begins to be ashamed of the exceptional position which, among Protestant nations, it sustains to the question of religious liberty.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church. — THE JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR through a part of France, and in particular through the Bretagne, the most Catholic of all French provinces, has given to the clergy an opportunity to rally round him in extraordinary numbers, and to overwhelm him with their ovations. However objectionable some features in the policy of Louis Napoleon may appear to them, they cannot but recognize with gratitude that the greater influence which they now exercise on large classes of the people, and especially on the schools, is mostly owing to the patronage of the government. The emperor has raised their hopes still higher by making, in a public address, the emphatic remark that France must always preserve its Catholic character. That is a more serious admission on the part of the State than the government of Louis Philippe ever made. THE LAWSUIT AGAINST COUNT MONTALEMBERT, which the government has instituted on account of a sharp criticism of the count on the Napoleonic *regime*, will not jeopardize the good harmony between the emperor and the majority of the French clergy; for Montalembert has long ceased to be looked upon as the eloquent champion of the Church, and is himself so disgusted with the political subserviency of the clergy and the present leaders of the Catholic party, that he severs every day more the ties which formerly connected him with that party. THE INTEREST IN FOREIGN MISSIONS, which characterizes the French Catholics, is continually increasing. Of the strength of this interest some idea may be formed from the fact that, during July and August, four corporations, the Seminaire des Missions Etrangères, the Congregation of Picpus, the Society of Marists, and the Order of Notre Dame de Zion, sent about seventy of their members as missionaries into foreign countries.

Protestantism. — THE SECRET SPREADING OF BAPTIST PRINCIPLES among

the clergy of the Reformed State Church, which has long occupied the attention of the Church authorities, has at length induced the consistory of Nantes to depose Pastor Robineau, of Angers, on account of his views on Pedo-Baptism. The opinions of the orthodox clergy on the expediency of this measure are greatly divided, some maintaining that the holding of Baptist views is inconsistent with the position of a clergyman of the National Reformed Church, and that it is the duty of the proper authorities to suppress them, while others think that as long as the struggle of the evangelical party of the Church against the rationalistic is not brought to a successful end, the Church ought not to deprive herself of the services of any pious evangelical minister who feels free in his conscience to remain in connection with the Reformed Church. The Persecution of Protestantism in the interior of France is far from being at an end. In some cases such affairs end satisfactorily, on appeal to the state ministry and the emperor, as in Maubeuge, where the imprisonment of the pastor, with that of his colleagues, has cost the prefect, the sub-prefect, and the mayor their places. But new cases of violence and persecution occur every month. Thus Protestant worship has been interdicted at Labaume and Saint Quentin, (Gard,) where service had been held for a long time past by the National Reformed Church.

ITALY.

Roman Catholic Church. — The Principles of the Catholic Church with regard to Religious Liberty have been recently exemplified by an extraordinary event. On June 23d, an officer of the Papal police appeared at the house of Mr. Mortara, a Jew of Bologna, to demand the surrender of one of his sons, because he had been secretly baptized by a Christian servant girl. The boy, who is eight years old, was taken to a convent of the Dominicans, where he will be educated. All the efforts of the disconsolate father to recover his child have been fruitless. Several Catholic governments of Europe have been prevailed upon to espouse the cause of the paternal rights of Jewish parents against the canonical laws of the Catholic Church, but likewise in vain. The political press of Europe has not been remiss in the defense of the sacred rights of parents, and for several weeks the Mortara affair has occupied a prominent place in their columns. But all the organs of the Catholic party (and this is an important fact worth recording) have placed themselves, as they cannot help doing in every case, on the side of the Pope, either openly vindicating to the Catholic Church the right to snatch Jewish children, who have been secretly baptized, from their parents, or observing a profound silence. The history of the Mortara affair, compared with that of the Swedish women, exiled on account of their reception into the Catholic Church is, therefore, a new striking exemplification of the relation which Catholicism and Protestantism sustain generally to the question of religious liberty. Great preparations are made by the Pope and the superiors of the monastic orders in Rome, to improve the opportunities which the recent treaty of China with the Christian powers offers to the Christian religion. New missions will be organized on a grand scale, and every Catholic country will be called upon to send its contingent of missionaries.

Protestantism. — The last annual Synod of the Waldenses took place at La Tour, from May 18 to 23. It was complained that formalism and spiritual death prevailed in many congregations, and the means were discussed by which the Christian life in the valleys might be strengthened. The Synod was attended by deputies from the Free Church of Scotland, and it was resolved to invite also the Walloon Churches of Holland, the Free Church of the canton of Vaud, and the Union of the Evangelical Churches of France, to send representatives in future. The last reports on the Evangelization of Italy are very favorable. The Waldenses receive applications for spiritual aid from all parts of Italy. The misunderstandings which for some time existed between the Waldenses and the Italian Committee of Evangelization, have been removed. The number of Protestants is especially increasing in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the persecution against them has for a while ceased. After the example of other parts of Italy, the Protestant foreigners in Sicily are beginning to be more intent upon establishing permanent Protestant congregations, and some progress has been made in this respect in Palermo and Messina.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Present Ministry of Spain, under the presidency of General O'Donnell, is considered as less favorable to the claims of the Catholic Church than its

predecessors, and as devotedly opposed to any extension of her privileges. As a majority of the newly elected Cortes sides with the ministry, it is not unlikely that new conflicts with Rome will soon take place. No stop, however, has as yet been put to the persecution of Protestantism in Spain and in the Spanish colonies. In Fernando Po, a Spanish possession in Africa, a flourishing Baptist mission has been destroyed by a proclamation of the new governor, forbidding the public exercise of any other religion than the Roman Catholic. In Portugal the AVERSION TO MONASTIC ORDERS, which animates a large class of the population, has given rise to a tumult at Lisbon. A congregation of French Sisters of Charity, having been accused of using its schools in the interest of the detested cause of Don Miguel, has been mobbed. The king has been petitioned by the liberal party to suppress this first advance of reviving monasticism, and by many friends of the incriminated congregation, among whom are several members of the royal family, to protect the victims of a fanatic infidelity. The young monarch has not yet found the courage to take a decided stand in the matter. The schools of the sisters have been closed, and a committee has been appointed, with the Patriarch of Lisbon as president, to deliberate if any reforms can be introduced in the congregation of Portuguese sisters of charity. The patriarch, however, who mistrusts the dispositions of the majority of the committee, hesitates to take part in its sittings.

Protestantism. — While the progress which Protestantism is continually making in the kingdom of Spain itself must be kept secret, from fear of new persecution, an important MOVEMENT TOWARD PROTESTANTISM is openly going on among the Spaniards who are no longer subjects of her Catholic majesty. In Gibraltar a flourishing Baptist congregation has been formed of former members of the Catholic Church, under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, by Senor Ruet, himself a convert from the Catholic Church; and in the Algerian province of Oran about one hundred Spanish colonists have joined the Protestant Church in a short time, and made the necessary preparations for establishing evangelical worship in their language.

ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, October, 1858.—1. Meshakah on Skepticism: 2. The Conflict of Trinitarianism and Unitarianism in the Ante-Nicene Age: 3. Baptism a Symbol of the Commencement of the New Life: 4. Homeric Ideas of the Soul and a Future Life: 5. Caprices and Laws of Literature: 6. The Representative System in the Constitution of Moses: 7. Sacred Traditions in the East.

II. THE NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1858.—1. James A. Hillhouse: 2. The Number Seven: 3. Translations, and their Influence upon Scholarship: 4. The Divine Love of Truth and Beauty exemplified in the Material Creation: 5. Results of the Increased Facility and Celerity of Inter-communication; 6. Art Exhibition in Yale College: 7. Rational Cosmology: 8. Dr. Cleaveland's Anniversary Sermon: 9. Self-supporting Missionary Colonization: 10. The High-School Policy of Massachusetts: 11. Dr. Thompson's Memoir of Stoddard.

III.—THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW, October, 1858.—1. The Authorship of the Epistle of Jude: 2. Yoruba Proverbs: 3. Hackett's Acts: 4. Plato on Atheism: 5. Basil an Important Witness respecting Baptism in the Fourth Century: 6. The New American Cyclopædia: 7. The Religious Element in Human Nature: 8. The Efficacy of Prayer.

IV. The Biblical Repertory, October, 1858.—1. Jonathan Edwards and the Successive Forms of New Divinity: 2. De Tocqueville and Lieber, as Writers on Political Science: 3. The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti: 4. Harrison on the Greek Prepositions: 5. Adoption of the Confession of Faith: 6. The Revised Book of Discipline.

V. The Theological and Literary Journal, October, 1858.—1. Christ the Saviour only of Mankind: 2. Thoughts on the Revival of Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-eight: 3. Notes on Scripture—Matthew ix.-xiii.: 4. The Sufferings and Death of Believers, their Disembodied Life, and their Resurrection: 5. Expositions of Portions of Scripture for the Aid of Bible Classes. The Miracles and Preaching of the Day of Pentecost: 6. Dr. Barth's Travels in Africa: 7. Dr. Rice's Objections to the Doctrine of Christ's Premillenial Advent.

VI. The Southern Presbyterian Review, October, 1858.—1. Symmetry and Beauty of God's Witnessing Church: 2. A Reasonable Answer to the Skeptic: 3. Our Domestic Missions—The True Theory of their Conduct and Management: 4. Halsey's Literary Attractions of the Bible: 5. The Conversion of the World: 6. Christianity a Disciplinary Element in an Education: 7. Stuart Robinson's Church of God.

VII. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, October, 1858.—23. Speculative and Practical Universalism: 24. The Doctrine of Necessity: 25. Universalism Revealed in the Four Gospels: 26. Dante and St. Paul: 27. The Lost Senses.

VIII. The Christian Examiner, November, 1858.—1. Sacrifice: 2. Cicero the Orator: 3. Unitarianism—Past, Present, and Future: 4. Giacomo Leopardi: 5. The Future of Turkey: 6. Modern Impudence.

IX. The Mercersburg Review, October, 1858.—1. Reformed Synods: 2. Gnosticism: 3. Evidences of Centralization: 4. The Incarnation: 5. The Interpretation of the Parable: 6. The Ascetic System: 7. The Influence of the Early Church on the Institution of Slavery: 8. Tertullian.

X. The Evangelical Review, October, 1858.—1. Illustrations of the Wisdom and Benevolence of God derived from the Science of Meteorology: 2. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 3. Schmid's Dogmatic of the Lutheran Church: 4. Liturgical Studies: 5. Educational Efforts of the Pennsylvania Synod: 6. Bacealaureate Address: 7. The Testimony of the Spirit: 8. Hermeneutical Manual.

XI. The American Quarterly Church Review, October, 1858.—1. The Present State and Hopes of Christianity: 2. Baptism tested by Scripture and History: 3. Philosophy the Handmaid of Religion: 4. Letter to Bishop Lee, of Iowa, on Western Missions: 5. The Controversy in the Scottish Church: 6. The Rev. A. B. Chapin, D. D.: 7. Mixed Societies, in Principle and in Practice: American Ecclesiastical History: The "Proposed Book," (Continued.)

XII. Brownson's Quarterly Review, October, 1858.—1. Conversations of our Club: 2. Catholicity in the Nineteenth Century: 3. Alice Sherwin, and the English Schism: 4. An Exposition of the Apocalypse: 5. Domestic Education.

XIII. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, October, 1858.—1. Characteristics of the Eloquence of the Pulpit: 2. Sir William Hamilton's Theory of Perception: 3. Life and Works of John Gerson: 4. Chronological Arrangement of Chapters 13–28 of the Acts of the Apostles: 5. The Modern Pilgrimage to Rome.

XIV. The Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review, October, 1858.—1. The Monuments of Lost Races: 2. Miss Sewell's late Domestico-Religious Novels: 3 Infant Baptism: 4. History of the United States: 5. Missions on the Voluntary Principle: 6. Literature of the Quarter: 7. Foreign Intelligence: 8. Diocesan Intelligence.

V. The Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.—1. John the Apostle, and his Writings: 2. Psychology: 3. Class-meetings: 4. Probationary Church-membership: 5. Mary, the Mother of our Lord: 6. The Unity of the Christian Church: 7. Natural Goodness.

V. The Freewill Baptist Quarterly, October, 1858.—1. The Method in Conformity to which the Idea of God is Developed in the Scriptures: 2. The Call to the Ministry—Special: 3. The Value of the Bible: 4. The Relation of Self-Knowledge to Christian Usefulness: 5. The Holy Spirit—The Ways of Quenching its Influence: 6. The Symbolical Art of the Early Christian Church: 7. Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani: 8. Mohammedan Power in India: 9. Jimeson on the Methodist Articles of Religion: 10. Christian Hope.

The article on the Methodist Articles of Religion affirms that no sect is less influenced by a doctrinal basis than the Methodists, inasmuch as action rather than faith is the characteristic of our system. Yet it affirms that our doctrinal principles are by no means inefficient, and must exert an increasing influence upon our body, and through it upon the general Church.

Up to this time we had supposed that Methodism had been the standing advocate of the doctrine of free-will as a subjective and immutable attribute of the human soul. For maintaining this doctrine the Wesleys and Fletcher were assailed by the Calvinists of their day, and *Free-willer* has been an epithet laid upon us as an opprobrium, both in England and America, through most of our past history. It is for this reason that we feel much refreshed when the present writer relieves us of this burden, and reveals to us the fact that the truest advocates of free-will are found "among the Calvinistic sects!" Our reviewer holds this view, *first*, because no Methodist author has, like Tappan, Mahan, and others, written a separate treatise on free-will; and *second*, because we hold that the depravity produced by the fall has obstructed our original and natural freedom. This fact, namely, that the inherent freedom of the will is overlaid by the effects of the fall, we understand him to deny; and thus, so far as we can see, he is on that point Pelagian. Into this position we imagine our Freewill Baptist friends are led, to our great regret, by the Pelagianizing writings of Taylor, Tappan, Mahan, etc.; for we did suppose that the Freewill Baptists of thirty years ago coincided on this point with Methodism. Methodism holds that man is, by creation and by his true nature, *free*, just as truly, firmly, and clearly as Dr. Mahan or this reviewer. But under the influence of that spiritual death, superinduced "by one man that sinned," we believe that the *will* with the other faculties has suffered. The power "to will and to do" we believe that "God works within us;" and by that gracious power it is that we must "work out our own salvation;" and upon our free refusal to do that "work" final condemnation results. Hence we believe that man is both *naturally free* and *graciously free; naturally* free by original constitution; *graciously* free by a provision overlying the bondage wrought by the fall.

His statement that Methodism has as yet furnished no separate work on the will is obviated by his previous remark, that our system has been developed less by theological production than by action. Our Theodicc, as stated by our standards, is based upon the doctrine of free-will; and we trust the time is not far distant when a separate work on this point will demonstrate the fact.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The Quarterly Review, October, 1858.—1. The Arundel Society.—Fresco Painting: 2. Horace and his Translators: 3. Wiseman's Last Four Popes: 4. James Watt: 5. The Roman at his Farm: 6. Sir Charles Napier's Career in India: 7. The Past and Present Administrations.

II. The Edinburgh Review, October, 1858.—1. The Grenville, Portland, and Perceval Administrations: 2. Criminal Precedure in Scotland and England: 3. Birch's History of Ancient Pottery: 4. M. Guizot's Historical Memoirs: 5. Binocular Vision: 6. The Earls of Kildare: 7. Mr. Gladstone's Homeric Studies: 8. Guy Livingstone: 9. The Slave Trade in 1858: 10. Mr. Froude's Reply to the Edinburgh Review.

III. The National Review, October, 1858.—1. Carlyle's Life of Frederick the Great: 2. The Relations of France and England: 3. The Sculptures from Halicarnassus in the British Museum: 4. Woman: 5. Russian Literature and Alexander Pushkin: 6. The Great Rebellion: Mr. Sanford and Mr. Forster: 7. Mr. Trollope's Novels: 8. The Zouave and kindred Languages: 9. Charles Dickens: 10. Professional Religion: 11. Note in Answer to Colonel Mure.

IV. The Christian Remembrancer, October, 1858.—1. Science and Revelation: 2. Blunt on the Early Fathers: 3. Gladstone on Homer—Historical Value of the Iliad and Odyssey: 4. Sunday Schools: 5. The Outcast and the Poor of London: 6. Fray Morgaez against the Bull *Ineffabilis*: 7. Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland: 8. Savonarola.

V. The British Quarterly Review, October, 1858.—1. Froude's History of England: 2. The Vatican Greek Testament: 3. Calendars and Old Almanacs: 4. Wycliffe—His Biographers and Critics: 5. M. Comte's Religion for Atheists: 6. Herodotus—Rawlinson: 7. Political Party since the Revolution: 8. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

VI. The London Review, October, 1858.—1. Character and Condition of the English Poor: 2. Arabian Philosophy: 3. English Dictionaries: 4. North Wales and its Scenery: 5. The Roman Alphabet applied to Eastern Languages: 6. The Last of the Alchemists: 7. Merivale's Roman History—Volume Sixth: 8. John Albert Bengel: 9. The Southern Frontier of the Russian Empire.

VII. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, October, 1858.—1. St. Augustine: 2. The Literature of the Book of Job: 3. Free Theological Inquiry: 4. Expository Remarks on 1 John v, 4–9: 5. The Exegesis of Genesis vi, 1–4: 6. A Chapter on the Church of Sweden: 7. Verification of Christian Epochs—No. 2: 8. On the Rectifications of Sacred and Profane Chronology, which the newly discovered Apis-Steles render Necessary: 9. Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels.

The article on the Book of Job suggests grave doubts of the prevalent theory of the patriarchal antiquity of that book. The Exegesis of Genesis vi, 1–4, contains a very able argument against the modern theory that the "sons of God" were the race of Seth, and maintains, with no little force, the ancient interpretation that they were angels from whose illicit intercourse with the "daughters of men" giants were born. If he does not demonstrate the old interpretation, beyond all doubt, he certainly makes it clear that philology, antiquity, and natural construction are all on that side, and nothing but the extraordinary nature of the narrative resulting from such an interpretation is against it.

Dr. William Cureton has lately published "Remains of a very Ancient Re-

cension of the Four Gospels in Syriac hitherto unknown in Europe." With the Syriac Text Dr. Cureton has furnished a translation, attaining as far as possible the literal equivalent of the Syriac words in their own order. This version Dr. Cureton holds to be perhaps the nearest approximation to the very vernacular of the Saviour and his apostles. Nay it may be in the main the original Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew!

The article on Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels is written by Rev. P N. Land, Doctor of Theology of the National Reformed Church in Holland, now employed by the Dutch goverment on the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. The Dutch doctor deals unceremoniously with his English brother. He freely admits that Dr. Cureton has furnished a very perfect copy of the Syriac Text; but there his merit ends. Dr. Cureton's scholarship and judgment in Syriac philology are impugned; his notions of the high value of the manuscript repudiated, and his translation held of little worth. In the Intelligence department of the Journal of Sacred Literature the subject is resumed, in an extract from the Literary Churchman, in which Dr. Cureton is no less sharply treated. The claim that the present Recension is identical with Matthew's original Hebrew Gospel is attacked, on the grounds that the existence of such a Hebrew original is problematical, and also on the grounds that the coincidences on which the identification is based are unsatisfactory.

VIII. The Westminster Review, October, 1858.—1. France under Louis Napoleon: 2. Indian Heroes: 3. F. W. Newman, and his Evangelical Critics: 4. Travel during the Last Half Century: 5. The Calas Tragedy: 6. Realism in Art: Recent German Fiction: 7. Outbreak of the English Revolution—1642.

The first article of this Quarterly is a very extended exposure of the wickedness of the imperial regime of Napoleon Third. There is, of course, no difficulty for a much less able hand than this reviewer to make out a dark case. But the true causes lying at the basis of Napoleon's power, and which render it questionable whether he is not the best thing in the way of a ruler of which France is capable, the reviewer has no heart to develop. France wants the moral basis for stable freedom. The dark superstition of Romanism on one hand, and the licentious skepticism of the Westminster stamp on the other hand, have abolished from the character of her people, and especially of her intellectual classes, the ethical foundations of all rational liberty. Some of her calmest thinkers, like Jouffroy, have fully realized this, and from the depths even of their own remediless skepticism have pealed forth the cry that the want of the age, without which it is lost, is the restoration of a firm religious faith. The philosophers of the Westminster Review are endeavoring to stop the melancholy conflagration by piling on fuel.

The article on Francis W. Newman endeavors, with no ordinary skill, to show three things: First, Mr. Newman's successive rejection of article after article of evangelical Christianity until he had nothing left but a pious Theism, founded mainly upon the sentiments, was the calm process of a logical mind, eliminating the false from the true, and of a pure spirit expurgating the evil from the good. Second, the counter-arguments of Mr. Newman's Christian opponents were unfair in logic and immoral in temper. Third, the residuum of Mr. Newman's creed is just as unsustainable as parts he has rejected. It is

only hypothetically and subjectively true; that is, positively and universally untrue.

The whole argument will very differently affect different minds. To us it stands a reduction of Mr. Newman *ad absurdum*. Religion, the Bible, stands in accordance, indeed, with our highest sentiments, yet based upon historical authentication. Reject that basis, and found it upon the sentiments, and you build a structure on the billows.

There is no English Quarterly whose review of current literature vies with that of the Westminster in fullness, freshness, and personal life. That section of the Review is divided into the several great departments of productive thought, and each department is placed under the charge of a thorough master, able as a writer to invest it with interest. Each department is exhaustively treated, and the progress of higher mind is thus reported, colored, indeed, with partisan views, yet traced with a master hand.

IX. Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Eine Zeitschrift für das gesammte Gebiet der Theologie, in Verbindung mit Dr. J. Müller, Dr. Nitzsch und Dr. Rothe. Herausgegeben von Dr. C. Ullmann und Dr. F. W. C. Umbreit. Jahrgang, 1858, viertes Heft. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1858. *Abhandlungen.*—1. Wolff, Versuch, die Widersprüche in den Jahrreihen der Könige Juda's und Israel's und andere Differenzen in der biblischen Chronologie auszugleichen: 2. Werner, über Ehescheidung und über den Eid auf Christlichem Standpunkt. *Gedanken und Bermeckungen.*—1. Reichel, die 70 Jahrwochen, Daniel, cap. 9. v. 24–27: 2. Tiele, Beweis, dass Lukas, der Evangelist und Verfasser der Apostelgeschichte, von Geburt ein Jude war. *Recensimen.*—1. Vierordt, Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchen in dem Grossherzogthum Baden; rec. von Holtzmann: 2. Hamberger, Oetinger's Theologie aus der Idee des Lebens abgeleitet; rec. von Köster.

Theological Studies and Critiques. Published by Drs. Ullmann and Umbreit. Gotha, 1858. *Treatises.*—1. An Attempt to Harmonize the Contradictions in the Series of Years of the Kings of Judah, Israel, and other Differences in Biblical Chronology. By O. Wolff: 2. On Divorce and Oaths from a Christian Standpoint. By M. C. G. Werner. *Thoughts and Observations.*—1. The Seventy Weeks mentioned in Daniel ix, 24–27. By H. L. Reichel: 2. Proof that Luke, the Evangelist and Writer of the Acts of the Apostles, was a Jew by Birth. By J. N. Tiele. *Reviews.*—1. Vierordt's History of the Evangelical Church in the Grand Duchy of Baden. By J. Holtzmann: 2. Oetinger's Theology derived from the Idea of Life. By Adolph Köster.

The Studien und Kritiken, with its three divisions, reminds us very forcibly of one of the old Dutch pictures with folding doors before it to hide it from vulgar eyes. When the sacristan unlocks it and opens wide the doors, behold three pictures, one in the middle and one on each door. This number manifests real German research, and every page is worthy of a close reading. The article on Biblical Chronology breathes an evangelical spirit, and it is refreshing to read such a one when we remember that this has been the theme of so many bold attacks of the Rationalists. The writer acknowledges the difficulty of his task by introducing the various conjectures as to the time of the division of the kingdom of Israel after Solomon's death. Morer dates it 933 B.C.; Von Gumpach, 937; Seyffarth, 950; Winer and Schlosser, 975; Clinton, 976; Thenius, 977; Bunsen, 978; and Ewald at 985–6. With true German pen-pluck the writer declares that the difficulties are not insurmountable—*keinesweges unüberwindlich.* In order to reconcile the Biblical accounts, he

divides his field of inquiry into three periods. 1. From the first year of the reign of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the murder of Ahaziah and Jehoram. 2. From the first year of the reign of Jehu and Athaliah to the downfall of the kingdom of Israel in the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah and the ninth of Hosea. 3. From the downfall of the kingdom of Israel to the end of the kingdom of Judah, 586 B.C. To fill up these spaces is the chief labor of the writer. The first he proves to be of 95 years duration, the second of 165, the third of 123= 383 years. Then he grants to Saul 21 years, to David 40, and to Solomon 40=101. The duration of the kingdom of Israel must therefore be 383+101= 484 years, or from 1070 B.C. to 586 B.C. The writer concludes with an effort to fix the dates of the Babylonian exile. His inference is that the exile commenced 605 B.C., and ended 535 B.C.; or, as Jeremiah had predicted, xxv. 1, 2, 9–12. The article might have been embraced in less pages, but German prolixity is tolerable when a respect for the Bible is apparent.

The essay on Divorce and Oaths is original and free from verbosity. The author undertakes to explain the teaching of Christ in both cases. He lays down two propositions. 1. That Christ permitted the right of divorce in cases of *πορνεία μοιχεία*. 2. In all other cases, for example, where mere *σκληροκαρδία* is given as excuse, he declares himself against it. The author argues that if people have a full sense of the importance of marriage, what it means and enjoins, they should never be divorced, for "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder." But many get married whom God hath not joined together. *Ergo*, man can put them asunder. But Christ only gave his *consent*. He did not *enjoin* divorce in any case. Kant held that matrimony is an institution merely founded on the laws of nature and society. A. Müller considered it a mere legal relation, and Apel (1799) degrades it to *societas hæredum quærendorum causa inita*. Fichte says: "Matrimony is a perfect union founded on sexual love." Alas, that great minds sometimes recognize no higher law than expediency! The performance of the rite of matrimony by civil authorities is objected to on the ground that it diminishes the sacredness of the obligation. Persons thus married are recommended to hasten to church at once and be married by one of God's authorities. Many mischievous and absurd opinions that have originated in France have found a lodgment in Germany, but happily the laxity with which the French regard matrimony has kept its own side of the Rhine. But it is for the future to reveal the influence of the writings of Sue, Dumas, and Balzac. They are read to an alarming extent in Protestant Germany, and the next quarter of a century may show their blighting touch upon the sanctity with which the Germans now regard the matrimonial relation. The remainder of the article treats of oaths. They are objected to in toto. The author thinks that if they were not allowed to be used in the ancient Jewish service, for example, offerings, we have no right to make use of them in court-rooms. Göshel terms oaths a necessary evil. Dr. Werner thinks them productive of more evil than good, however, and hopes earnestly, with Rothe, that all promissory oaths may be done away with.

The next article is an elucidation of the mysterious four verses that conclude the ninth chapter of Daniel. Havernich and Hengstenberg are cited as the best authorities. Truly, *tempora mutantur*, must the Straussians groan.

The paper on Luke is argumentative and satisfactory. The good Neander and Otto von Gerlach had told us that Luke was a heathen by birth, but Pastor Tiele quite unsettles us again. The arguments in favor of his being a heathen by birth have been founded on the purity of his Greek; and J. D. Michaelis affirms that he wrote a more classical Greek than any other evangelist. Notwithstanding all this, the writer adduces very many Hebraisms from the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

The next article is a laudation of *Vierordt's History of the Evangelical Church of Baden.* When the University of Heidelberg conferred the degree of D.D. on the author of this work, he was termed the Eusebius of Baden Church history. The history of the Church of Baden he divides into three periods. The first extends from 1517 to 1571 or from the entrance of the Reformation to the suppression of the Evangelical Church in Baden Baden. The second reaches to 1685, or when the Palatinate fell into Roman Catholic hands. The third extends to the present. The Grand Duchy of Baden has verily played an important *rôle* in the history of Protestantism.

A brief but most interesting sketch of Oetinger and his theology closes the number. Oetinger lived in the seventeenth century, and was an intimate friend of Bengel. It is only recently that attention has been excited toward his almost forgotten works. He was the theosophist of his age. His contemporaries called him the Magus of the South. Says he: "I have made the idea of life, which prevails in the Bible, the chief feature of my theology. The Bible treats of life. 1. God as the source of life. 2. Man as the conservatory of the breath of life. 3. Sin as the estrangement of life from God. 4. Of grace as the communication of new life. 5. The Church as the society where the spirit of life works. 6. The last things as the end and issue of life." "Magic," says the fantastic old man, "is the science of the friends of God. It is of secret wisdom. But it is the sublimest magic to separate yourself from yourself by means of the cross of Jesus Christ, and to bring the multitude of your thoughts into harmony with the love of Christ."

The *Studien und Kritiken* is always a welcome visitor to us, for it brings us good messages from the long-loved land of the Reformation. The tone of it is evangelical, though its contributors are not as often the Coryphei of German theology as we would wish. But the articles are almost invariably able and scholarly; and as such they afford strong nourishment for all students of God's word. H.

X. The North British Review, November, 1858.—1. The Present State of France: 2. Translations from Sanskrit: 3. German Church Historians: 4. Oxford Aristotelianism: 5. Aquatic Zoology—Sir John G. Dalyell: 6. Decimal Coinage: 7. Novels by the Authoress of "John Halifax:" 8. Popular Education in Great Britain and Ireland: 9. Decay of Modern Satire: 10. The Atlantic Telegraph.

The article on France gives a far more cheerful view of the condition of that nation than the first article of the Westminster.

The third article is a very able review of the principle Ecclesiastical Histories, especially produced by German scholars, Protestant and Catholic. It is pervaded by the two prevalent thoughts that England (including, doubtless, with all propriety, our own country,) has done very little in this department;

and that German ecclesiastical historians know very little of England or America. The only productions in the English worthy the subject are by Principal Campbell and Dr. Welsh. The latter of these, after having produced a single volume of a promised great work, died in his early prime. The review thinks Scotland is as likely soon to see a second Chalmers as a second Welsh.

After Mosheim, the reviewer notices and characterizes Neander, Gieseler, Guericke, Hase, and Kurtz, among Protestants; and Möhler, Ritter, Wessenberg, and Böringher, among Catholics.

Neander's great fault was his want of proportion. He was carried away with his habit of monography. Favorite historical characters are spread out at great latitude; the less fortunate dwindle into miniatures. His monographs on Bernard, Tertullian, and Chrysostom are of themselves a sufficient basis for a substantial reputation.

Gieseler's modern ecclesiastical portion is eminently Germanic:

"Passing to England, we find that Gieseler confounds the Patristic Arminianism of Laud and his school with the Remonstrant Arminianism of Hales and others. He appears to suppose that the statesman and the philosopher, Lord Shaftesbury, were the same person. Not acquainted with such works as Pearson on the 'Creed,' he speaks of England during the era of his fourth volume (1648–1814) as having produced no work of systematic theology. While the worthless name of Sterne has prominence given to it, as remarkable for pulpit eloquence (!) we have no mention of Barrow, Taylor, or South, among the Churchmen, or of Howe, Bates, and Doddridge, among the Nonconformists and Dissenters. Far inferior men among the apologetic writers of England are mentioned, but of Butler not a word. Indeed, from the silence observed upon him by others, both Romanist and Protestant, it would appear that the 'Analogy' and the 'Sermons' are quite unknown to our Teutonic friends.

"In this part of his History also, Gieseler leaves out of view the missionary efforts both of Churchmen and of Dissenters, both in England and Scotland. In the subsequent volume (1814–1850) we have indeed mention of the London Missionary Society; but the Church, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, the Free Church Missions are utterly ignored, while nearly half a dozen pages are assigned to the as yet very unproductive 'Bishopric of Jerusalem.' Again, while some space is given to English Methodism, the almost National church of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists is utterly left out of view.

"Nor has Gieseler made up for his imperfectness in the treatment of English Church History by any better acquaintance with the annals of our brethren in the United States. He says of American Christianity in general, (v. 372:) 'In business their dishonesty is so frequent as to be made the matter of universal reproach among other nations; the citizens of the northeast provinces, New York, Pennsylvania, who are most distinguished by an external piety, are also most notorious for their cheating propensities. Their religiousness shows itself in no way by benevolent actions; and, therefore, cannot be as hearty as it is loud in profession.' These sentences are of themselves enough to show that Gieseler knew little about the Home and Foreign Missionary enterprises of our transatlantic brethren. What has been done by them in India, Burmah, the South Sea Islands, is never mentioned. In respect of theological instruction, he says (p. 376) 'the measure given is very scanty.' The names of Andover and Princeton are of themselves sufficient to refute the statement. The *American Theological Reviews* also, had they been known to Gieseler, would have furnished indisputable proof of the inaccuracy of his assertion. He speaks of the Unitarians as the most numerous party among the cultivated classes, which is true only of Boston and its vicinity. Of Edwards, Dwight, Woods, as theologians; of Moses Stuart as an exegete; of Payson, Nettleton, and Spencer, as preachers and pastors; of the Abbotts, and other popular religious authors, we have not a word."

Of Hase, whose history has been translated in this country by Wing and Blumenbach, we quote the following remarks:

"Has the reader ever perused Dean Milman's work, the History of Ante-Nicene and Latin Christianity? If not, the nine volumes, except to those who, with Dr. Chalmers, shrink from 'a big book,' are well worth reading. The non-German scholar who has made himself acquainted with the Dean's history, has a good idea, not indeed of the style, but of the spirit of Hase. What Milman is on a large scale for a part of Church History, that the Jena Professor is, in a condensed form, for the whole of it. The same all-sided cultivation, the same literary power, the same pictorial treatment, and the same lowness and vagueness of theological view.

"Yet, of all Church Histories, this is the one most suited to the general reader. No one will ever weary over Hase's pages. In the least interesting periods, the felicity of his style, and the vigor of his painting, carry him triumphantly over the ground. No German writer is more difficult to translate, from the very excellences of a literary character which he uniformly displays. Though his book is only a single octavo volume of about eight hundred pages, it contains full, though condensed, information on many points which historians of much greater amplitude of narrative have passed over or treated but by the way. The work of Guericke, for example, is more than twice as large as that of Hase, but the latter will inform on not a few points, for which the former will be appealed to in vain. The Jena professor, however, is sadly deficient in the devout spirit of Guericke. The Godward aspect is ever seen in Guericke, but the manward has never been more brilliantly presented than in Hase."

Of Dr. Kurtz, Professor of Theology at Dorpat, he says:

"The compendium before us is that book on Church History which the student of German should first read. Were it translated, it ought every way to supersede Mosheim in our divinity halls. It is admirably adapted to the student's purposes, giving, in a portable form, and with great clearness of expression and vigor of touch, all that one commencing the study cares about knowing, or need, at that period of his studies, know. A comparatively slight expansion and correction of the British and American portions would thoroughly fit it for use to the candidate for the ministry in this country and the United States.

The article on the Decay of Modern Satire depreciates Mr. Bailey's late poem, "The Age," and places our J. R. Lowell at the head of satirists of the day.

"For many years past, satire seems to have died out altogether; and it is only within the last season or two that it has shown any tendency to revive. All at once we have a batch of small satirists—Mr. Bailey at their head—in England, and one really powerful satirist in America, namely, Mr. J. R. Lowell, whose 'Biglow Papers' we most gladly welcome, as being not only the best volume of satires since the anti-Jacobin, but as also the first work of real and efficient poetical genius which has reached us from the United States. We have been under the necessity of telling some unpleasant truths about American literature, from time to time; and it is with hearty pleasure that we are now able to own that the Britishers have been, for the present, utterly, and apparently hopelessly, beaten by a Yankee, in one important department of poetry. In the United States social and political evils have a breadth and tangibility which are not at present to be found in the condition of any other civilized country. The 'peculiar domestic institution,' the filibustering tendencies of the nation, the tyranny of a vulgar 'public opinion,' and the charlatanism which is the price of political power, are butts for the shafts of the satirist, which European poets may well envy Mr. Lowell. We do not pretend to affirm that the evils of European society may not be as great, in their own way, as those which afflict the credit of the United States—with the exception, of course, of slavery, which makes 'American freedom' deservedly the laughing-stock of the world—but what we do say is, that the evils in point have a boldness and simplicity about them, which our more

sophisticated follies have not; and, that a hundred years hence Mr. Lowell's Yankee satires will be perfectly intelligible to every one, whereas most of the subjects offered by European politics, are such as would require an explanatory commentary twenty years hence, just as is the case at present with the satires of Byron and Moore. The only subject in the social state of England at all rivaling in satiric capabilities any one of half a dozen subjects seized by the author of the 'Biglow Papers,' is the strange and portentous despotism which threatens, as usual, to arise from the very heart of freedom—a despotism, against which songs and assasins would be equally powerless, namely, that of the newspaper-press, which combines the two most fatal elements of tyranny, popularity and an enmity to all individual excellence. A newspaper is a trading speculation, which must rely for its success, in a very large measure, upon the skill with which it follows the prejudices of the many, while it appears to teach them.

"We cannot give a better example of the difference between true and false satire, than by appending to the diffuse and flabby verse of 'The Age,' the following four lines, which are the conclusion of Mr. Lowell's 'Pious Editor's Creed.'

'In short, I firmly du believe
In humbug generally;
For it's a thing that I perceive
To have a solid vally.'

"Satire at once so genial and good-humored, and yet so fatal as that of 'Ezekiel Biglow,' is, indeed, a relief after the weary platitudes which have recently appeared, under the name of satire, in England. Out of a volume, as full as it can hold, of good stuff, we shall take, almost at random, a few specimens, for the edification of that large proportion of our readers to whom this very remarkable work is probably unknown.

"There is no portion of 'Hudibras' itself which is, space for space, so abundant in fun and hard hits as the 'Remarks of Increase D. O'Phace, Esquire, at an extrumpery caucus in State-street,' from which these are stray sentences:

'I'm willin' a man should go tollable strong
Agin wrong in the abstract, for thet kind o' wrong
Is ollers unpop'lar an' never gits pitied,
Because it's a crime no one ever committed;
But he mus'nt be hard on partickler sins,
Coz then he'll be kickin' the people's own shins.

'Constitoounts air hendy to help a man in,
But arterwards don't weigh the heft of a pin.
Wy, the people can't all live on Uncle Sam's puss,
So they've nothin' to du with't fer better or wus;
It's the folks that air kind o' brought up to depend on't,
Thet hev any consarn in't, an' thet is the end on't.'

"The reckless fun of the following lines is more like Rabelais than any other satirist:

'We'd assumed with gret skill *a commandin' position,*
On this side or thet, no one couldn't tell wich one,
So, whutever side wipped, we'd a chance at the plunder,
And could sue fer infringin' our paytented thunder;
We were ready to vote for whoever wuz eligible,
Ef on all pints at issoo he'd stay unintelligible.
Wal, sposin' we hed to gulp down our perfessions,
We were ready to come out next mornin' with fresh ones;
Besides, ef we did, 'twas our business alone,
Fer couldn't we du wut we would with our own?
An' ef a man can, wen pervisions hev riz so,
Eat up his own words, it's a marcy it is so.'

"We wish that we had space to quote the whole description of the incident which led to Mr. Sawin's conversion to slavery doctrines, but we can only give a few lines here and there:

'Ez fer the niggers, I've ben South, an' thet hez changed my mind;
A lazier, more ungrateful set you couldn't nowers find.

* * * * * * *
I shou'der'd queen's-arm and stumped out, ah! when I come t' th' swamp,
Tworn't very long afore I gut upon the nest o' Pomp.
* * * * * * *
Wal, I jest gut 'em into a line, an' druv 'em on afore me,
The pis'nous brutes, I'd no idee o' the ill-will they bore me.
We walk'd till som'ers about noon, an' then it grew so hot
I thought it best to camp a while, so I chose out a spot,
Then I unstrapp'd my wooden leg, coz it begun to chafe,
An laid it down jest by my side, supposin' all wuz safe.'

"Pomp, however, 'snaked up behind,' and stole the leg, robbed him of his pistols, and took him prisoner to the swamp.

'And kep' me pris'ner 'bout six months, an' work'd me, tu, like sin,
Till I hed gut his corn and his Carlino taters in;
He made me larn him readin', tu, (although the crittur saw
How much it hut my morril sense to act agin the law,)
So'st he could read a Bible he'd gut; an' axed if I could pint
The North Star out; but there I put his nose some out o' jint,
For I wheeled roun' about sou'west, an' lookin' up a bit,
Pick'd out a middlin' shiny one an' tole him thet was it.
Fin'lly, he took me to the door, an' givin' me a kick,
Sez,—"Ef you know wut's best fer ye, be off now, double-quick."'"

The following two lines from Lowell shows that he is the real author of Judge Taney's famous, or rather infamous, doctrine, that the "all men" of the Declaration of Independence does not include the African race; only Lowell meant it for an absurdity, and Taney seriously means to make it reality:

"Ef I don't make his meauin' clear, perhaps in some respex I can,
I know thet 'every man' don't mean a nigger or a Mexican."

In the following paragraph the Review does the "Nothing to Wear" of Butler a flippant injustice, differing therein from the Westminster, which republished the poem entire. Whatever may be said of "Two Millions," Mr. Butler's first poem was by no means inferior to Lowell's effective but rather farcical humor.

"There are two little pieces lately published by an American, Mr. W. A. Butler, which deserve a few words from us. They are called 'Nothing to Wear,' and 'Two Millions;' and are very hastily executed satires upon the abuses of wealth by the ignorant and vulgar. They have had a considerable circulation among a certain not very select class of readers; and display a freedom in the management of verse, and an occasional sense of humor, which, if properly cultivated and applied, might make Mr. Butler's writings sought out by others than idlers at railway stations. Mr. Firkin, with

'His visible coach outside the visible Church,'

is the representative of an increasing class who are as fair marks for satire as ever existed; but we can only reget that in 'Two Millions,' as in 'The Age,' some good subjects are blown upon and spoiled. We would strongly recommend Mr. Butler and all persons who have faculties, and waste them, to reflect that they are only a worse development of of the Firkin type. Firkin abuses the stewardship of a material estate; they waste the far more potent wealth of mind."

The North British contains a book notice, by far the best critique we have yet seen, on "Buckle's History of Civilization." To this worthless work the superabundant attention of its opponents have given a factitious and temporary importance. With all his catalogue ostentation of reading, he has little learning, while blunders are detected in every section. When Gibbon published, those who disliked his colorings found it very unsafe to question his facts.

But Mr. Buckle is a young man of plentiful reading leisure, who has taken notes and made chronicle of what he has read, and shaped it into a big, careless, narrow-minded book, which will sink by its own weight into obscurity. His narrow-mindedness met us at every page; his blunders, in fact, and scanty information on topics which he treats magisterially, we much suspected, but have nowhere seen so well and so briefly exposed as by the notice of the North British. "Guizot's History of Civilization" is not superseded by this proud structure of rubbish.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*The New England Theocracy.* A History of the Congregationalists in New England to the Revivals of 1740. By H. F. Uhden. With a Preface by the late Dr. Neander. Translated from the second German Edition, by H. C. Conant, author of the English Bible," etc. (12mo., pp. 303. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1858.) The late Dr. Neander became interested in the subject of American Revivals, by reading a work of Dr. Sprague's; and he put the task of giving a delineation of them in the German language, into the hands of his pupil Uhden. Upon surveying the subject, Uhden fancied that, in order to a full development of their nature, there was *necessity* for tracing the ecclesiastical history of New England, from the peculiarities of which he imagined that American revivals sprung. This necessity was fictitious; for the ground upon which it was based, namely, the derivation of American revivals from Puritan institutes, is false; and Uhden's conception of their ground arose from his unacquaintance with the true history of revivals, and the narrow source whence Neander drew his little knowledge of the subject. American revivals no more sprung from Puritan institutes than the Atlantic Ocean sprung from the Hudson River. The "Puritan Fathers" came from Old England, an entire body of earnest Christians; and what more natural or more beautiful than the expectation that in these rough wilds they might hope to be unmolested in their purity, and here set up a millennial community, in which all should share in public rule, and all be truly and experimentally Christian? The Church was the state, and every one was to obey the laws of God and be holy. Thence Uhden is pleased to style the government a theocracy. And it is no fault of the theocracy that it does not stand until this day. The fault lay in the divergent opinions of good men who do not so accord, in our present imperfect condi-

tions as to make due harmony possible; in the incoming of foreign elements, which cannot be expelled without provoking reaction and overthrow; and in the degeneracy of later generations, to whom the strait-laced institutes of their fathers are a tedium. The first of these causes appeared in the dissent and repulsion of Roger Williams and his followers. The second appeared in the inroads of the Quakers, who just then seemed instigated by some spirit with a marvelous obstinacy to infest their community. The "Puritan Fathers" only sought the removal of the Quakers, and felt themselves justified in inflicting the extremest punishment for their contumacious return. But so persistent were the intruders in their disobedience, that the government began to see no end of bloodshed. The Fathers woke up on a somber New England morning, and found themselves—persecutors! To their honor, in due time, upon this discovery, they withheld their hand; and the arrival of the royal mandate, arresting farther execution, found it already voluntarily stayed. But the third cause, posterior degeneration, assumed a variety of forms, unnerving the tone of religion and morality, and producing indifference, skepticism, and immorality. Against these causes of decay were interposed, as obstacles, organic efforts of reform, producing public movements and theological platforms that but feebly stayed the downward progress. The other obstacle interposed was the Northampton revival, under the ministry of Edwards, which was local in its character, and perfectly powerless as an opposition to prevalent degeneracy. With a slight exception, American revivals were wholly a foreign element, superinduced upon Puritanism contrary to its genius, and opposed by its authorities and institutes, but nevertheless ultimately accepted from a foreign source by the hearts of the people.

It was the "great movement of the eighteenth century, called Methodism," that gave New England as well as America her revivals. Methodism gave them to New England, in the first place, by the ministry of Whitefield, shortly after the Northampton excitement, by which she was opportunely made possible, and partially acceptable; but so ungenial was New England to revivals that when Whitefield made his second visit he was repudiated by New England, and his ministry proved a failure. Whitefield's visitation southward warmed the hearts of the people, and prepared the way for the second great advent of Methodism, of which we may give the following account:

It is to Francis Asbury, "The Pioneer Bishop," the founder bishop of American Methodism, and to the itinerancy under his charge, more than all other human sources together, that America truly owes her revivals. With a sweep, a rapidity, and a range of which Puritanism has not even yet acquired any adequate conception, Asbury sped his course over the entire Anglo-American continent, from New England to Mississippi, from Georgia to Indiana, and from out a blaze of revivals there sprung up in America a people that were not a people, numbering its millions. The great revivals in Virginia in the time of Jarratt, the greater revivals in Kentucky, were converting their thousands, while New England Puritanism was spiritually torpid. When Methodism with her revivals invaded New England, she found a general opposition, not merely to her theology or her forms, but to her revivals as such. The very spirit and make of the New England Churches were uncon-

genial. The narrow theology, the frigid temperament, the fixed organisms, the traditional prejudices, the dread of "excitement" and "animal feeling," were adamantinely set against them. Yet there was an element of genuine piety in Puritanism, to which a warmer glow of religious feeling had an affinity. In the very contest against revivals and Methodism, pious hearts would take the holy contagion, and then whole Churches had to work for revivals in self-defense. As years have passed on, New England has relaxed her fatalistic theology, surrendered her rigid forms, and accepted the great revival element. But let her not outrage history with the scandalous pretense that these great movements flowed *from* her as an effect from inherent causes. We grant her all due credit when we say, that New England is about as much the source of American revivals as the Hudson River is the source of the Atlantic Ocean.

The basis of this book, then, is a falsification of history, unintentional, but none the less real, and none the less unjust. Nor let our Puritan friends for one moment imagine that this mistake will be allowed to pass uncontradicted and current. We rejoice to say that the true history of the case will be evolved, and one of the readiest to acknowledge his error will be Uhden.

Yet apart from this error, this work is a valuable contribution to American religious and ecclesiastical history. It gives to every inquirer a clear and concise view of the origin, progress, and decline of Puritanism in America.

(2.) "*Nature and the Supernatural*, as together constituting the one System of God. By HORACE BUSHNELL." (8vo., pp. 528. New York: C. Scribner. 1858.) The object of this work is so to establish by antecedent right reason the existence of a supernatural system accordant with that found in the Word, as to predispose the mind to accept the Word. Dr. Bushnell's argument stands in opposition to those preconceptions with which Strauss and Parker approach the Gospels, and find themselves impelled to impugn, by some critical process, their verity. His argument, therefore, frames itself into a sort of Theodice, by which the justice of the present system is explained.

Mr. Bushnell begins by defining *nature* to be the system of causes and effects; that is, essentially, the *necessitated*. Human volitions being unnecessitated rise thereby above nature, and become *supernatural*. The particular volition is uncaused, and sin has no grounds. This idea, originating, we believe, with Kant, (Philosophy of Religion,) involves the conclusion that sin is an unaccountable mystery. Human personality is, therefore, supernatural; much more the divine personality. Dr. Bushnell's Theodice is thoroughly Arminian, discarding necessitarianism and predestination, only retaining foreknowledge.

Dr. Bushnell shows how probation involves the possible existence of sin; and the infinite desirableness of probation furnishes the justification of God in admitting the possibility of sin. But sin involves terrible disorder and remediless ruin; for which a remedy is demanded,—a remedy which no self-action and no natural development of character can produce.

God being like man, supernatural, holds nature beneath him with full power to act upon it; circumscribed by no other law than the voluntary law of taking such course as will secure the ultimate end. As man acts upon nature,

and interrupts what would otherwise be a certain train of causes and effects, so God may work upon the train of causes and effects; and when he so works, interrupting visibly to man such train, making a given link, or more, different from what it would be, that is a miracle. And as neither nature, nor supernatural man, could work out the remedy of the evils produced by sin, the remedy must appear from the supernatural act of God—miracle.

Christ's own existence, person, and life are that miracle. This he proves by showing that Christ's complete character is more than human. In this part we are reminded of Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus." Christ's founding a divine kingdom is above humanity. And here we are reminded of Reinhart's "Plan of the Founder of Christianity."

Miracles, Mr. Bushnell next tells us, paradoxically, do not prove the Gospel, but burden it with necessity of stronger proof from other sources. True, we answer, miracles do not prove the Gospel history; no one ever supposed they did; but miracles, being proved, prove the divine mission of Christ and the divinity of Christianity. But that God does, by supernatural volition, touch links of the natural chain, and even commence new chains, Dr. B. maintains, is demonstrated by geology, which exhibits traces of the creation of new races of being. Finally he resorts, with characteristic boldness, to an unusual argument. We remember no philosopher since Dr. Henry More (unless it be Mr. Wesley) who has adduced modern narratives of what are called *supernatural facts* in proof of theological doctrine. Dr. Bushnell relates several narratives of this kind. He avers (what we have experienced to be the fact) that if you will investigate, such ostensibly supernatural facts are constantly occurring; and that in almost every social circle will be found an individual to whom has happened some strange, unaccountable supernaturalism, hushed up in silence, or only uttered in confidential subtone. The supernatural and the miraculous are therefore reigning over nature in past history and in present experience. They are demanded by disordered nature and ruined man. And when we open the Gospels we only find what all these views require we should find; and the Gospel system is found by anticipation true.

(3.) "*The Sabbath Hymn Book*, for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord." (New York: Mason Brothers. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1858.) This hymn book, edited by Professors Park and Phelps of Andover, and Dr. Lowell Mason of New York, has been looked for with great interest. At last it is here, and has met very generally with a hearty welcome. The public were justified in expecting from editors so accomplished, and to so great an extent free from ecclesiastical restrictions, a collection of sacred lyrical poetry, catholic in spirit and of surpassing excellence. Their expectation has not been disappointed. We have here a very remarkable collection of hymns. They are very numerous, too numerous, we think, numbering in all twelve hundred and ninety hymns. With these, however, are incorporated metrical versions of the psalms, not collected into a separate book, but, as in the Methodist hymn book, distributed under their appropriate headings. This alone is a great improvement on the old plan. A number of psalms and other passages of Scripture, together with the *Te Deum* and other ancient hymns of the Church, are

appended as chants to the hymns in meter. These hymns have been gathered from the Church Universal. Like "wise householders instructed into the kingdom of heaven," the editors "have brought forth out of their treasury things new and old." All ages of the Church contribute to this anthology; the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, and men yet living among us. Men of all creeds are here allowed to utter their voice of devotion; the Arminian Wesleys, and Calvinistic Watts, and Doddridge, and Toplady, of course, but Clemens Alexandrinus, Xavier, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Gerhard, and others as well, who knew nothing of these doctrinal distinctions. The hymns of the Latin and Greek Churches are here, with those of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church of England, the Congregational Churches of New England, and, in fact, the Churches of all names found among us. It is necessary to say no more to prove that The Sabbath Hymn Book is a veritable thesaurus of Christian song. The indexes to these treasures are very admirably made. We need only say that, in addition to the usual "Classification of Hymns," "Scripture Texts," "First lines of Hymns and Stanzas," there are forty-two pages of "Alphabetical Index of Subjects," to show how accessible any hymn must be to the preacher.

But while heartily commending the book, we have some strictures to make. First, there are too many hymns, and some unnecessary repetitions of the same hymn in different forms; for example, hymns 1253 and 1254, the former containing all the latter. The alterations and compressions are not always happy. We do not understand why the verse of Montgomery's exquisite lyric, "Forever with the Lord," commencing "While in this body pent," should have been left out, it being the most beautiful stanza of the hymn. And while gratified at the unusually large number of Wesley's productions, we must yet wonder at the omission of such hymns as

"How happy every child of grace."
"Arise my soul, arise."
"Jesus, the name high over all."
"Come, O thou traveler unknown."

But our chief objection is to some features of the classification. We think this should have been as catholic as the hymns it classifies. Why then do we find so conventional a heading as "The Perseverance of the Saints." All Christians, how diverse soever their creeds, sing very nearly the same theology, as the author of "A Convention Sermon" very well knows. A proof of this is seen in the fact that hymn 368 of the Sabbath Hymn Book is classified, in the "Index of Subjects," as teaching the "assurance of perseverance." Now the hymn is by Charles Wesley, who, it seems, sang Calvinism, which he did not believe. The headings would be an offense to some whom the hymns would greatly edify; indeed any Methodist could sing the volume through, with one or two hymns omitted, (which would be no loss to the poetry of the book) with hearty approbation, but none of us would like to be informed we were singing the Five Points.

The editors will not think us captious in these criticisms, especially since it is the belief of two of them at least, that perfection is attainable and therefore

a rightful demand, and that though it is never attained, this does not relieve from censure. But though not perfect in our eyes, we are happy to commend "The Sabbath Hymn Book" as an admirable collection of sacred lyrics, and as eminently conducive to the spirituality of "The Service of Song in the House of the Lord." T.

(4.) "*The Theology of Christian Experience*, designed as an Exposition of the Common Faith of the Church of God. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Virginia." (12mo., pp. 342. New York: C. Scribner. 1858.)

(5.) "*The Christian Doctrine of Slavery.* By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Virginia. (12mo., pp. 148. New York: Charles Scribner. 1857.) The first of the above two works is written in illustration of the fact, that within the outer circle of Christian theological doctrine upon which Christians are divided, there is a central doctrine of Christian experience in which true Christians agree. This valuable conception is developed by the author with no very extraordinary depth of thought, but with genial feeling, great clearness, and no little interest of style. It is well calculated to edify the Church and to make *Christians of infidels.*

The second volume is written to soothe the consciences of the owners of stolen property in the shape of human beings. In other words, it is a justification of the buying and selling of men, women, and children. It is well calculated to demoralize the Church, and to make *infidels of Christians.*

(6.) "*Sermons to the Churches.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND." (12mo., pp. 281. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. London: Trübner & Co. 1858.) Dr. Wayland is a true Christian realist. Other men are profound, or learned, or eloquent as an entire aim; he is profound, learned, and in his way eloquent, as means to an ulterior object. Plainly he has a purpose, and that purpose is to bring an actual and earnest Christianity into practice. He is bent on having sinful men become Christians, on inducing Christians to become an effective Church, on establishing such agencies as will, under a blessing Providence, convert mankind to the religion of Jesus Christ. It is pleasant to see how manly, suggestive, and business-like he is in the matter. And when we see the great powers he brings to this purpose, and how he estimates the value of those powers and their products by their furtherance of these ends, we say, Behold a great soul consecrated to a great object. We have described the author as he is to us in these his works, and so we have described the works themselves. To all like-minded with the author, this will appear about the most valuable of the many volumes of sermons the press of this year has produced.

(7.) "*Mizpah.* Prayer and Friendship. By LAFAYETTE C. LOOMIS, A. M.." (12mo., pp. 391. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.) This book is intended for personal, family, or academic devotions. It consists of a Scripture lesson, referred to but not inserted, and a meditation for every day in the year. The meditations are, many of them, selected, but the large

amount is original. The selections are made with good judgment. The original part is, in the general, written with much purity and beauty of style, and rich devotional feeling. Some have thought that there is a little ambitiousness in some passages; but devotional prose should be little below devotional poetry in its tone. Both should be the expression of awakened feeling. Many of the passages remind us of Bishop Hall, one of the most beautiful of our old meditative writers. We cannot doubt that the proper use of this volume would tend to add interest to the occasion of social prayer. The external finish is very neat.

(8.) "*Sermons preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton*, by the late Rev. FREDERIC W. ROBERTSON, M. A., the Incumbent. Third Series. From the second London Edition." (Pp. 324. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1858.) This elegant volume is closed with a memoir, giving a very attractive impression of the character of the departed preacher, and preceded by an engraved picture from a sculptured bust, presenting form and features of the most classical manly beauty. The sermons were extemporaneously delivered, and written the day after delivery from memory. Their style of thought and language comports with the impression of talent, grace, and intellectual power produced by both memoir and picture. Mr. Robertson was cast in nature's finest mold, a high, pure, intellectual thinker, a natural spontaneous orator, capable of swaying and elevating all classes of mind, and of touching all hearts; and especially of winning a favorite's place in the esteem of the polished circles of social life. This volume embraces, it will be observed, a *third series*. A first and a second series have been previously issued by Ticknor & Field, and a fourth series is in preparation. They are done up in the usual elegant style of that publishing house. The whole series will be well worthy the attention of all readers interested in the best pulpit literature.

(9.) "*The Harvest and the Reapers*; Home Work for all and how to do it. By Rev. HARVEY NEWCOMB." (18mo., pp. 270. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.) Our great revival has brought to the Church a large number of converts. Our own Church has herein been an abundant reaper. Well, if they be fully gathered in, and marshalled to their ranks. Our class-meetings furnish us the best spiritual police in all Protestant Christendom for conservation, and for education in the spiritual life. But are meeting, singing, talking, and praying the whole of that education? These are a true basis of their own spiritual life; but are they also educated to spiritual and benevolent activity? There is need for them to know the "Home Work for all, and how to do it." A beautiful and most practical manual is this of Mr. Newcomb's, to teach the young convert the best of all arts, the art of good doing.

(10.) "*Discourses on common Topics of Christian Faith and Practice*. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D. D." (8vo., pp. 463. New York: Charles Scribner.) The pulpit of our day is a live pulpit. It speaks not only with a thrilling vocal power from the living lips, but it pours forth at the present time a copious stream of living literature, eloquent to the eye as well as to the ear,

bearing the signatures of the highest intellect and the most finished culture. Amid all the departments of mental power, we hesitate not to say, and the pages of our Book-Table for the last year attest it, that the pulpit at the present time stands nothing behind the foremost position.

On a level with the best of our day will stand the Discourses contained in the present volume. That they contain, as delivered from his own pulpit, the manly exhibition of his own views of doctrinal truth, can be no objection. Richly evangelical in feeling, embodying massy thought, expressed in clear, chaste, forcible style, they may be freely indorsed as able specimens of the American pulpit.

(11.) "*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*" (New York: Collins & Brother.) This edition of the New Testament is in liberal type; unbroken into chapters and verses, but divided naturally into paragraphs. The indications of the old divisions are placed at the head of the page. The release of the text from the fragmentary lacerations of the old verse system, gives a new impression, both of more clearly connected meaning, and a rounder and complete style of the holy documents. We cannot but believe that the obsolete method of verse division, which makes a sacred narrative or argument look like a series of select sentences, interrupting the thought and losing the true connection, will be abandoned. The necessity of reference will oblige the retention of the numbers of chapter and verse in the margin; but the continuity of the text, divided by paragraphs, should be universally adopted.

(12.) "*The New Testament; or, the Book of the Holy Gospel of our Lord and our God, Jesus the Messiah.* A Literal Translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By JAMES MURDOCK, D.D." (8vo., pp. 515. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) The Syriac translation of the New Testament, made early after the death of the last apostle, (if, indeed, *after*,) exhibiting a near approximation to the native dialect of our Lord and his disciples, is the most valuable of all versions, and perhaps of all documents except the sacred text, both as a matter of comparison and as evidence of authenticity. Dr. Murdock was a man of no second-hand scholarship. Both from the fundamental erudition of the translator and the intrinsic interest of the work, this is an invaluable publication for the American Biblical student.

(13.) "*The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D.*, Archbishop of Glasgow. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author. By JOHN NORMAN PIERSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Table of Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects, compiled expressly for this edition." (8vo., pp. 800. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) The completest edition of Leighton ever published. The Scotch edition was deficient of some pieces, the English of others; but the present volume comprises all of both. America, therefore, through the press of the Carters, gives to the world the first entire publication of his works. Leighton's character has, of course, been long established as a sacred classic. His theology was moderately Calvinistic. His piety was much in the style of Fletcher of Madeley.

(14.) "*Devotional Exercises* for Schools and Families. New Edition, with Additions." (18mo., pp. 192. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1858.) This little manual embraces fifty devotional lessons. Each lesson is divided into three parts, namely, a short selection from the Book of Proverbs, calculated to impress lessons of practical wisdom; a selection from the Book of Psalms, to be read by teacher and pupils responsively; and a selection from the Gospels, to be read by the teacher. These are to be followed by the Lord's Prayer, or extemporaneous devotion, and the conclusion is a hymn here furnished. It seems a well-planned manual for school devotions.

(15.) *The Sheepfold and the Common;* or, the Evangelical Rambler." (12mo., pp. 530. Carter & Brothers. 1859.) This is a re-issue of a work which was published, under the title of "The Evangelical Rambler," some thirty years ago, and obtained a circulation of nearly a hundred thousand copies in England, and not much less in America. Its object is, in a series of attractive essays, narratives, and dialogues, to enforce the principles of personal piety as distinguished from mere ecclesiastical righteousness. It is a series of most appropriate tracts for the times.

(16.) "*The Pulpit and the Rostrum.* Sermons, Orations, Popular Lectures, etc. Phonographically reported by ANDREW J. GRAHAM, CHARLES B. EDLAR, and FELIX G. FONTAINE. A serial." (12mo., pp. 20. New York: E. D. Barker. November, 1848. This is the first number of a projected serial, apparently, though not professedly, a monthly. It contains a sermon on Christian Recreation and Unchristian Amusement, by Rev. T. L. Cuyler. It is a neat publication, and may be productive of public benefit.

(17.) "*Glimpses of Jesus;* or, Christ exalted in the Affections of his People. By W. P. BALFERN. From the Second London Edition." (18mo., pp. 259. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. Richmond: Wortham & Cotrell. 1858.) A series of rich meditations on particular passages of the Saviour's life.

(18.) "*Rays of Light.* Second Series." (48mo., pp. 125. Boston: Otis Clapp. 1858.) A beautiful miniature volume. It is Swedenborgian in its standpoint; but from its peculiar direction casts sometimes forcible illustration on moral truth.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(19.) "*The Impending Crisis of* 1860. By H. MATTISON." (Pp. 108. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1858.) Without committing ourselves to all its positions, we may say that in the authority of its documents, the cogency of its arguments, and the clear ring of its style, this is one of the most powerful documents of the great anti-slavery struggle.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(20.) "*The Pioneer Bishop;* or, the Life and Times of FRANCIS ASBURY, by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D., with an Introduction by Nathan Bangs, D.D." (12mo., pp. 496. New York: Carlton and Porter.) The founder bishop! The American Wesley! One of the truest successors of the chief of the Apostles since the Apostles' day. He has at length found a biographer, and may yet find his true place in history. And when that time comes, and it is not far distant, he will shine as a star of prime magnitude among the men of large plans and bold emprise in spreading the victories of the cross, and laying the broad and deep foundations of the Universal Church.

Dr. Strickland has nobly done his work. It had seemed a fatality for any man to undertake the task of portraying our founder bishop for history. Dr. S. has conquered the fatality, whether of death or failure, and has with great industry and ability collected the scattered material, traced the mighty labors and triumphs of the hero, and delineated the lineaments of the man with a true and life-like pencil. The pure Saxon simplicity of Dr. Strickland's language, his clear, direct lucidness of thought, his flexibility of style, now detailing with a minute precision, and now swelling out into a flowing exuberance of natural or moral description, aid to render this one of the most fascinating volumes of biography ever issued from our press. But so primitive, so grand, so expansive a subject! Nothing could surpass the energy of Wesley in his sphere; but there is a narrowness and geographical insularity in his scope that cramp the free play of imagination. But the mighty Asbury, with less, indeed, of trained acquirement, yet with all the same natural power to command, and ability to found, and with all the same natural spring and holy, world-embracing impulse, is let loose upon a broad continent, over which, in its rude, half-developed state, he sweeps with a true Napoleonic rapidity, and, in a far better cause, with a true Napoleonic success. "Thunder and rain, awful mountains, deep rivers, and swollen streams," in his own bold language, were obstacles with which he was familiar. Ruling first by Mr. Wesley's choice, next by a free and unanimous election, and thence through his whole life with the most earnest and almost uninterrupted unanimity of the whole Church, and with an unrivaled pre-eminency for forty round years, under his administration the little flock commencing at John-street spread its swarming myriads, and drew their conference-lines amid joyous labors and glorious revivals, covering the civilized continent, and, in less than half a century, outnumbering the largest denominations that had been for two centuries in the land. There is nothing surpasses it in the history of the Church. To talk of American revivals taking their origin from New England Puritanism, forsooth, is reduced to a folly and a laughter from this book alone.

We are brought nigher to Asbury as a living man, a beating heart, in this book than we had ever hoped. There is in him, with a natural Pauline destiny to rule, a natural magnanimity, a free unselfishness, an earnest humanity. What inimitable models of the filial are his letters to his aged parents! What delicately blended tenderness and firmness in his dealing with Mr. Wesley! What a rare power of attaching to himself the hearts of his subordinates and

associates; making himself a nucleus of firm union, and leaving his traditional impress not only on the organism, but on the tender and reverent memories of his survivors! Much has our Church lost, in the long interval before his memorials have been combined into a single portraiture, of the historic value of his character!

A few terse traditional apothegms still linger traditionally of Asbury's utterance; but it has taken Dr. Strickland's collection to bring us to the conclusion that Asbury possessed by nature a strong vein of utilitarian wit. He was undoubtedly endowed with the gift of sarcasm—a gift which is bestowed to be used. The power of exposing in strong, terse, epigrammatic phrase, the vulnerable point of culpable folly or palpable wickedness, Asbury naturally possessed and rightfully employed. It was in his hands, as it ever should be, an effective instrument of moral power. We have had of late specimens of something little short of ministerial buffoonery, petted and spread with broadcast popularity through the land, with little improvement or credit to our taste as a Church; but of the keen pungency of Asbury's wit, tempered by the dignity of the man and the bishop, little has been said. Dr. Strickland, through his work, enlivens his pages with these sparkles; but there are several brilliant flashes given forth, particularly upon American Slavery, which he has faithfully omitted. We suggest the following for his next edition:

"*South Carolina*, 1801. A Solomon Reeves let me know that he had seen the Address signed by me, and was quite confident there were no arguments to prove that slavery was repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel! What absurdities will not men defend! If the Gospel will tolerate slavery, what will it not authorize? I am strangely mistaken if this said Mr. Reeves has *more grace than is necessary, or more of Solomon than the name*"—*Asbury's Journal, p.* 15.

And again we have, as we doubt not, in the following words, the expressed feeling of many a Southern minister at the present day, condemned to live and be silent under the despot's gutta percha:

"O! to be dependent on slaveholders is in part to be a slave, and I was free born."

The following flashes out with the true old Wesleyan fire:

"Spoke to some select friends about slave-keeping, but they could not bear it; this I know, God will plead the cause of the oppressed, though it gives offense to say so here. O Lord, banish the INFERNAL SPIRIT OF SLAVERY from thy dear Zion!"

The following passage from Dr. Strickland's memoir is well worthy the study of our High Church friends:

"During this tour Asbury and M'Kendree rode together in a carriage. In the Journal it is thus described: 'We are riding in a poor thirty dollar chaise, in partnership, two bishops of us; but it must be confessed it tallies well with the weight of our purses. What bishops! Well, but we have great times; each Western, Southern, and the Virginia Conference will have a thousand souls truly converted to God, and is not this an equivalent for a light purse, and are we not well paid for starving and toil?"

We can scarce fail to recognize it as one great providential purpose in the history of American Methodism, to free an apostolic episcopacy from the oppressive figment of apostolic succession. From that terrible despotic incubus upon the elastic energies of a Church, we are blessedly emancipated. We have an episcopacy responsible, free, flexible, active, executive, and energetic. Whatever it may be to the State Church of Sweden, to us, God be thanked.

an emancipated episcopacy is an emancipated Church.* Our friends of the lesser and later, though somewhat higher Episcopal Church, abound in satin surplices, and lofty airs; but not one in a thousand of us, ministry or laity, would vote to accept their successorship gratis. Dr. Bangs, in his introduction, well remarks of Asbury:

"He was the first Protestant bishop that ever trod the American soil, and he was the only bishop that followed the example of the apostles and primitive evangelists by itinerating through the length and breadth of the land, visiting alternately the cities and villages, the older settlements, and traversing the wilderness in search of the lost sheep of the house of Israel, carrying with him the light of truth and the love of God and man wherever he went."

(21.) "*The History of Prostitution:* Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World. [Being an Official Report to the Board of Alms-House Governors of the City of New York.] By WILLIAM W. SANGER, M. D., Resident Physician, Blackwell's Island, New York," (8vo., pp. 685. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) This weighty volume, though possessed of great value for the scientific moralist, contains much to which the moralist might perhaps reasonably object. The first half, containing the literature and history of the subject, presents rather too much the sunny side of graceful and gilded guilt. One half of the volume seems calculated to produce the crime that the whole is professedly designed to prevent. Yet even in that part the author presents to view, as an imperishable and irrefutable fact of history, the powerful reverse which the rise of Christianity produced in the licentiousness of the pagan world, and the pure ideal of chastity it upheld, exaggerated indeed to monasticism, yet all the more clearly powerful from the fact of that exaggeration.

The last and most valuable half of the volume presents a full view of modern prostitution, and especially of that "peculiar institution" as it exists in the principal cities of America, particularly New York. The statistics are procured, with much apparent care, from sources as reliable as possible.

The aggregate of New York licentiousness is not so enormous as many philanthropists have imagined. The whole number of dissolute females is estimated at about six thousand, three-eighths of whom are American. The majority are between fifteen and twenty-five years of age; four years of prostitution generally terminating their career in death. Six-sevenths are intemperate, and nearly one half syphilitic. The causes of their ruin are want of employment, seduction, intemperance, bad company, and ill treatment by parents.

* The *Richmond Central Presbyterian* has the following paragraph: It is a curious fact in the history of American Episcopacy, which we do not remember to have seen in English, that when the bishops first elected in this country (Drs. Seabury and Provost) were refused ordination by the English prelates, they applied to those of Denmark, much to the surprise of the Scandinavian dignitaries, who supposed it to be well known, even in America, that their episcopate is only nominal, and lays no claim to an unbroken apostolical succession. It was not indeed the purpose of the Danish reformers to retain the title *Bishop;* but the awkward substitute which they proposed to borrow from the Germans, (*Superintendent,*) though retained in laws and formal documents, could never be naturalized in common parlance, and soon yielded to the old familiar *Bisp* or *Biskop.* As we do not pretend to be directly cognizant of these high matters, we expressly cite as our authority the Danish church-historian Helweg, in his "Danske Kirkes Historie efter Reformationen," Copenhagen, 1851, vol. 1, p. 10; vol. 2, p. 253.

Let no false delicacy prevent philanthropists from inquiring what are the remedies for this terrible evil, an evil which diffuses its taint far more widely through the veins of public health and manhood than is dreamed by chaster minds, and which, when it has poisoned the "course of nature," is, like total depravity, hereditary, and visits the iniquity of parent upon child to the third and fourth generation. Such philanthropists should give, especially, the last half of this book a careful perusal. And it would be a good work should a smaller volume be prepared by some most judicious hand, exhibiting the fearful nature of the subject, and suggesting what preventive and remedial methods can be adopted.

(22.) "*From New York to Delhi*, by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China. By Robert B. Minturn, Jr." (12mo., pp. 488. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) Mr. Minturn is not a sprightly writer. You will not continue reading him from the pure excitement of the exercise. But there is an apparent carefulness of observation and sobriety of judgment which to the inquirer afford an assurance of reliability. On the subject of Asiatic morality we have the following most instructive paragraph:

"I have now spoken of offenses against life and property, and of one crime against morality, namely lying. With respect to other offenses against morality, and, in particular, the awful forms of licentiousness which are common, I cannot speak. They are such horrors as pollute the mind of him who only hears them mentioned. Bayard Taylor says of the Chinese: "Forms of vice which, in other countries, are barely named, are, in China, so common that they excite no comment among the natives. They constitute the surface-level, and below them there are deeps on deeps of depravity so shocking and horrible that their character cannot even be hinted. There are some dark shadows in human nature which we naturally shrink from penetrating, and I made no attempt to collect information of this kind, but there was enough in the things which I could not avoid seeing and hearing—which are brought almost daily to the notice of every Chinese resident—to inspire me with a powerful aversion to the Chinese race. Their touch is pollution," etc. From this Mr. Taylor concludes that "the Chinese are morally the most debased people on the face of the earth." Had he remained stationary as long in India as he did in China, he might have found reason to modify his opinion, and he would, no doubt, without "attempting to collect information," have become aware of facts which would have induced him to give to the natives of India the evil pre-eminence which he attributes to the Chinese, and he might even have concluded, as I did, that the Chinese were a moral race in comparison. It is quite impossible, without utter violation of decency, to give a full idea of the enormities which are common in India. If the reader can suppose the horrors of Sodom to be magnified and perfected by thousands of years during which they have been practised; if he can imagine that putrifying sore not to have been utterly consumed by the hot fires of an offended God, but to have been permitted by his long-suffering to pollute the earth, and to have gone on rotting and festering to the present time, then he may form some conception of the fearful excesses now daily practised in India.

(23.) "*Self-Made Men.* By CHARLES C. B. SEYMOUR." (12mo., pp. 588. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) We cannot help thinking that the ordinary style of language in regard to "self-made men" is founded in error. No man ever made himself whom nature had not first made. No man ever became a true man who, after nature had done her part, did not perform his own. Hence every true man is both nature-made and self-made.

The ordinary use of the term self-made, in opposition to those who have enjoyed early educational advantages, has its injustice. The very fact that a youth is surrounded with abundant aids, tends to unnerve, and creates a temptation to indolence, requiring often the highest effort of self-making to overcome. And after the most lavish advantages that wealth can supply, no man ever attained true manhood who did not so use those advantages with persevering labor as truly at last to *make himself.* Hence, in the volume before us, it is with great propriety that the author includes in his list of self-made men several persons who were favored with early but well-used advantages, by which they unfolded into noble action the powers with which nature endowed them. The book is well adapted to inspire high purpose in the minds of our young America.

(24.) "*Memoir of Rev. David Tappan Stoddard*, Missionary to the Nestorians. By JOSEPH P. THOMSON, D.D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church." (12mo., pp. 422. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.) "He goes among the Churches, burning like a seraph. I call him Henry Martyn, Junior. So heavenly a spirit—one whose meat and drink it is to be a missionary—has hardly ever been seen in this country." Such were the words of Professor B. B. Edwards in regard to this young American missionary. His life was a consecrated life; his biography is well calculated to inspire the missionary zeal, and raise up in the Church consecrated spirits like himself.

(25.) "*Words that shook the World;* or, Martin Luther his own Biographer. Being Pictures of the great Reformer, sketched mainly from his own Sayings. By CHARLES ADAMS." (16mo., pp. 333. New York: Carlton & Porter.) The story of Martin Luther, old yet ever fresh and new, is here told with more than ordinary interest. It can never be too often restated, and is seldom stated better than here by the lively and impressive pen of Mr. Adams. It presents a great event in history, a great character among men, and a great lesson for mankind. With such books as this it becomes us to shape our young American mind.

(26.) "*History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., Author of the 'Apostolic Church.' From the Birth of Christ to the Reign of Constantine. A.D. 1–311." (New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.) This is the second installment of Dr. Schaff's Ecclesiastical History, a work which it is his purpose to prosecute to the present age. The present, though a second volume, is complete in itself. It has arrived too late for a detailed examination, which we may give at a future time. But on its face it presents the signatures of comprehensive thought, arranged with the *lucidus ordo.* Dr. Schaff possesses a true Teutonic erudition, which he expresses with the best Anglo-Saxon clearness; and we may add, by the way, with a Celtic vivacity and effect. We hope that our neophytes who affect Continental erudition will learn from him that haziness and Germany are not synonymous.

A glance at his chapters on the development of the episcopate enables us to characterize it, as perhaps the most clear and unpartisan summary of the ar-

gument on that question extant. The conclusion resulting is, we think, about this, that episcopacy is *apostolically sanctioned but not enjoined;* its existence in the Church is justifiable and preferable, but not obligatory. And this is the doctrine of Cranmer and many of the best divines of the Anglican Church. It is a perfectly impregnable position.

(27.) "*Memoirs, Letters, and Journal of Harriet Maria Jukes*, wife of the late Rev. Mark R. Jukes. Compiled and edited by Mrs. H. A. GILBERT." (18mo., pp. 314. New York: Carter & Brothers.) The memoir of Mrs. Jukes presents a more than ordinarily interesting phase of Christian life. Born in England, a child of the English Church, she early manifested a deep interest in spiritual things. Upon her marriage she emigrated to Canada with her husband, who subsequently took holy orders in the Episcopal Church. The remainder of her life was spent in Ohio. Her entire life seemed consecrated to the Saviour.

(28.) "*A Journey-Due North;* being notes of a Residence in Russia. By GEORGE AUGUSTUS SALA." (12mo., pp. 459. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1858.) Mr. Sala is a humorous and fluent gentleman, exhibiting the genial and hilarious side of Mr. Bull in travel. He sees things, he hears things, he does things, and he tells things. Travel with him, and you will find him pictorial, categorical, a little irreverential, and nigh unto, though a little short, of the uproarious. But in fair weather or foul, he will keep you alert, and make the trip seem short.

(29.) "*Peasant Life in Germany.* By MISS ANNA C. JOHNSON, Author of the 'Iroquois,' 'Myrtle Wreath,'" etc., etc. (12mo., pp. 420. New York: Charles Scribner.) The *naïveté* of this volume in its touches of the details of German peasant character can hardly be excelled. Give us, indeed, a lady, or what is better, a genuine woman, to pen-paint simple home and social life.

(30.) "*History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. In four volumes." (Vols. I. & II. Pp. 485, 556. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) Of this rich and truly Carlylean work we expect a full review from an able hand.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(31.) "*The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind;* being a Summary of the Conclusions announced by the highest Authorities in the several Departments of Physiology, Zoology, and Comparative Philology, in favor of the Specific Unity and Common Origin of all the Varieties of Man. By J. L. CABELL, M. D., Professor of Comparative Anatomy in the University of Virginia. With an Introductory Notice. By JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D." (12mo., pp. 344. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) Professor Cabell's work is a republication of several articles prepared by him for the Protestant Episcopal Review, and is in a great degree a direct reply to

the publication of Gliddon and others, entitled the "Types of Mankind," and "The Indigenous Races." It is a brief and very clear review of the question of human unity, of race, and origin, and indicates that this great debate is drawing to a close.

The analogy of lower animals has long been seen to indicate that a species consisting of individuals from the same parentage may, without ever crossing specific limits into another species, undergo, by climatic and other influences, changes far greater than the difference between the extremes of human varieties. Wide as the play of varieties may be between the extreme limits of the same species, the intransmutability of species ever remains an inviolate law. Professor Dana is quoted as strikingly illustrating this fact in zoology from the corresponding immutability in vegetable existence, without which the vegetable world would run into perfect confusion. And may we not add, the chemical fact of definite proportions, by which the species of inorganic nature are preserved, is but the same law regulating that part of creation. What else could prevent chaos from coming again?

But leaving the argument of animal analogy, human history affords positive instances of changes, amply sufficient for the argument, occurring in the human species. Mr. Poinsett saw in South America a fine healthy regiment of spotted men, quite peculiar enough to be held by Professor Agassiz a separate race. And why were they not? Simply because they were a known cross-breed between Spaniards and Indians. Changes as great are exhibited by the Magyars of Europe, and by the Ulster Irish, as quoted by Miller. Sir Charles Lyell was of opinion that a climatic change was already perceptible in the negro of our Southern states. Professor Cabell ably and clearly sustains the doctrine that propagability is conclusive proof of sameness of species. He denies, on good authority, that the mulatto is feebler or less prolific than either unmixed stock. He furnishes abundant proof of the barrenness of hybrids. The fact that the connection of different varieties of the human species produces a prolific progeny, is proof of oneness of species and family. This argument, sustained by facts, can hardly be considered less than demonstration.

The objection drawn from the improbability that the one race springing from a single locality, would migrate from a pleasanter to a worse region, is very completely dispatched. Ample causes, proofs, facts, and authorities are furnished to show that were mankind now reduced to a single family, only time would be wanting, even without civilization, to overspread the earth.

European man and European-American man, as all history agrees, came from Asia. Whence came our aboriginal men? As Professor Cabell shows, they came by an antipodal route from the same Asia. Pursue the investigation, and the clue of history will lead our tremulous feet to about the Mosaic cradle of man.

Ethnology, or rather Glottology, the gradually perfecting comparison of languages, is bringing us to the same point. The unscientific attempt to trace the striking analogies of languages to the mere similarity of human organs, the still more unscientific attempt of Professor Agassiz to attribute them to a transcendental mental unity in races sprung from different original localities,

look like desperation. Meanwhile, comparison is educing wonderful yet rarely demonstrative laws, and laws are guiding threads converging to unity.

Then comes the real mental unity of the universal human soul. Races differ, indeed, in mental power, as do individuals, widely, even in the same family. But there is the same programme of mental philosophy for all. The same intellect, affections, instincts, conscience, sense of superior divine power, and susceptibility of religion. For the European, the Esquimaux, the Hottentot, there is the same power in the cross of Christ.

Then comes Geology, with her wonderful demonstration of the recent origin of man. The latest attempts to adduce specimens of fossil man are examined and ruled out. Not far back of the period that our best but somewhat hypothetical calculations from Mosaic chronology would assign, Geology fixes the birth of man.

Professor Cabell, with the most perfect courtesy, runs the sophistries of Mr. Gliddon and his friends into a pitiable nothingness. His clear style and cogent logic leave little to be desiderated. He has furnished a most valuable manual for all who wish to obtain the latest utterances of science on the subject. The only defect in the formation of the book is the want of an analysis, or table of contents.

But the courtesy which Professor Cabell extends to the assailants of Christianity, he very promptly withholds from the opponents of "American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun." When Professor Cabell talks of the "wicked fanaticism" of abolitionists, including thousands quite as good, and wise, and cognizant of the subject as himself, including such men as Wesley, Jefferson, and Humboldt, we can tell him that he does himself a very great wrong.

(32.) "*A Vindication of Border Methodism*, by Rev. Samuel Huffman, of the Missouri Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church. With an Introduction by Rev. John L. Conklin." (12mo., pp. 47. St. Louis: R. P. Studley. 1858.) It is pleasant to receive a publication like this from the section which has come to be technically designated as the "Border." Pleasant especially because its bold front is not presented against its own Church in the free North. It utters no rebukes upon our anti-slaveryism, and makes no requirements of silence and prudent submission before the terrible face of an oligarchy. On the contrary, its face is aggressively southward, and its attitude and mien look very much as if its authors were purposing to lead on the peaceful victories of religion and freedom in the right direction. When such a lead is given upon our Border, it will be cheered and sustained. We repeat that the energies of the Church should, and we doubt not will, be so concentrated as to insure them efficient aid and ultimate triumph.

The purpose of this document is to refute the charges flung out from the Missouri organ of the Church, South, upon the Methodist Episcopal Church, of having violated the plan of separation. Mr. Huffman ably, courteously, and clearly demonstrates, as he was abundantly enabled by the facts, that the Church, South, was the real breaker of the covenant. His grounds are thus briefly recapitulated:

"I have shown, I think, first, that the General Conference of 1844 could not, constitutionally, divide the Church, and did not claim to do it; but, on the contrary, disclaimed any such intention. Secondly, that what they did do was wholly conditional. That the conditions failed, and that the leaders in the South continually violated the plan from the adjournment of the General Conference of 1844, until the plan was entirely destroyed. I have shown that our side kept and observed the plan strictly, until our southern brethren wholly obliterated the boundary line by their repeated infractions of the plan, and that the plan being thus rendered null and void by the action of the southern leaders themselves, we have a good right to be here in Missouri, or anywhere else that we may be called in the providence of God to go."

This document will furnish to all who may wish, a perspicuous and conclusive statement of the discussion with the Church, South, in regard to the abrogation of the "Covenant."

(33.) "*Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man*, by S. F. DUNLAP, Member of the American Oriental Society, New Haven." (8vo., pp. 404. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) This book seems to be written by a young man whose mind has run to a particular kind of reading until it has become, we fear, a little crazed. Its pages are overspread with a congeries of all the mythologies of the earth, among which the Bible is unceremoniously included; and wherever he is pleased to find a similarity, natural or far-fetched, he pronounces an identity. He has no conception of argument, and never proves anything. All his whimsies he utters as axioms; the sum total of which is, that all the religions of the world are about equally true and equally false.

Christian reasoners have recognized the strong resemblance of many of the myths of antiquity to the clear, full, explicit narrations of the Old Testament. From the higher antiquity of the Hebrew writings, and their genuine historical character, these reasoners have inferred that the Biblical account is the original, and the others the dim distorted copy. Men of Mr. Dunlap's class, on very feeble grounds, assume that the Pentateuch is of modern origin, and hence its narratives are but the parallels or derivates of Pagan myths.

Paley, in his Horæ Paulinæ, did, by a comparison of the Acts of the Apostles with Paul's Epistles, work out from the palpably undesigned coincidences of the two documents an argument surpassing even the force of the historical argument for the authenticity of the four Gospels, and placed the two documents on grounds which few, if any, scholarly skeptics at the present day impugn. We can specify one very similar undesigned internal trait in the book of Genesis, which we think few persons can examine without a deep intuitive feeling of the truth of the narrative. Let any man compare the state of Egypt as visited by Abraham with its state as visited by Joseph, and note the progress in wealth and power during the interval. The Pharaoh of Abraham appears not very greatly the patriarch's superior; and the presents he makes to Abraham are of a singularly rural character. But the Pharaoh before whom Joseph is summoned, is a magnificent monarch, whose presents are of a regal character, whose establishments are upon a munificent scale, and who requires a statesman of large views for his prime minister. And yet the differences of the two appear, not from formal description, but inferentially, by comparing groups of incidental facts. The perfect absence of all purpose, the natural keeping of each separate group, and the characteristic differences be-

tween the two, carry a force of conviction to the mind, very difficult to resist, of the genuinely historical character of the narrative.

(34.) "*The Banks of New York*, their dealings, their Clearing House, and the Panic of 1857: with a Financial Chart. By J. S. GIBBONS. Thirty illustrations by Herrick." (12mo., pp. 399. Appleton & Co. 1858.) There are many of our readers, perhaps, who know what is a *bull* or a *bear* upon the prairies, but understand not the animals of that name in Wall-street. The mysteries of that wonderful locality are here laid open with a graphic pen, accompanied with pictorial illustrations, sufficiently instructive and abundantly amusing, without the necessity of sacrificing any truth to comic effect. It could hardly be supposed that among other remarkable phenomena, Wall-street and its institutions could supply materials for a work more true than most history and more absorbing than fiction.

(35.) "*The Truth Unmasked and Error Exposed in Theology and Metaphysics, Moral Government, and Moral Agency.* By Elder H. W. MIDDLETON, Panola, Mississippi." (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1858.) What sort of metaphysics it is that Elder Middleton *unmasks*, may be fairly judged by the following passage: "It is an important truth to be understood, that it belongs to the *understanding* to determine, think, choose, *will*, etc., and not to affections, or to an *imaginary faculty* that metaphysicians have *unnecessarily figured up* and called *will*." He had better replace the mask.

(36.) "*Almanach de Gotha.* Annuaire Diplomatique et Statistique pour l'année, 1859. Quatre-vingt-seizième année." (24mo., pp. 886. Gotha: Justus Perthes.) We suppose ourselves to be indebted to our friend Westermann for this unique little annual. It is a small but compact and solid cube of information, in French, touching the calendar of the year to come, the genealogy of the royalties of Europe, the annals of the year past, and miscellanea hardly elsewhere to be found. Five miniatures of European illustrissimi adorn the earlier part. The author, L. Davanture, announces, in a style of polite gratitude, to his numerous patrons in all quarters of the globe, that on account of declining health the work will be discontinued. This is therefore to us a *primus-ultimus*.

(37.) "*Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from* 1789 *to* 1856 By the Author of the Thirty Years' View." Vol. IX. (8vo., pp. 780. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) This great national work is well entitled to the epithet of "The Benton Legacy." It will be a great standing reference for ages. The present volume extends through the administration of John Quincy Adams.

V.—*Educational.*

(38.) "*A Treatise on the Greek Prepositions, and on the cases of Nouns with which these are used.* By GESSNER HARRISON, M.D., Professor of Latin in the University of Virginia." (8vo., pp. 498. Philadelphia: Lippincott &

Co. 1858.) Professor Harrison contributes an important share, in connection with Professors Bledsoe, Holmes, and Cabell, to the honorable reputation of the University of Virginia. The present is not his first philological obligation conferred upon the scholarship of our country; and when we consider that his fundamental researches are pursued amid the pressing labors of the practical instructor in an American college, the industry is as admirable as the talent.

We owe not much ceremony to that pseudo-practicality which professes to despise the men who can "chase a particle through a library." He is a simpleton who imagines that a *preposition* is small in importance, because it is small in size. The nails and spikes of a ship are small in magnitude. But when Agib, the son of Cassim, in the "Arabian Nights," navigating too near the load-stone mountain, found his nails and spikes extracted from his ship, more neatly than a modern dentist could draw one's teeth, he discovered that nails and spikes are not so unimportant as they are minute. As the relations of things are often immensely more important than the things themselves, so relational terms in language are often more important than substantive. If we rightly remember, in "The Battle of the Books," so learnedly fought between those two stately octavos, "Stuart on Romans" and "Hodge on Romans," a large burden of the argument hinges upon the difference between ὄντως καί and καὶ ὄντως. Gibbon very well knew that there was no truthfulness in the sarcasm, that in the days of the Homoousians and the Homoiousians "the whole world was in arms about a diphthong;" for that diphthong expressed an infinite difference.

In the details of his process, Professor Harrison has not obliged himself to gather his examples, or rather his subjects, of analytical examination, from the wide-spread surface of classical literature; but has made use of such collections as the labors of others had made to his hand. To take, then, the primary and elemental idea of the particle, and trace the delicate windings and branchings, by which, without ever, perhaps, losing some trace of its original import, it attains to unexpected and difficultly-explained applications, is a process of the most exquisitely subtle logic. Such a process is not merely a mental curiosity, but a genuine utility in the matter of attaining perfection in the results of interpretation.

Take the particle ἐν, identical doubtless with our preposition *in*. It is by a very summary and uncouth method that a polemic will tell us that "in many cases it means *with*;" and refer us to the passages where it presents such meaning, and there leave it. It cannot well be believed to change from the import of *in* to *with*, without our being able, if the literature of the subject be within reach, to trace the natural route by which the conception *in* has run into the conception *with*; and then the latter conception will, in all probability, show a remainder of the former. The particle will still in a sense signify *in*. Very plainly Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ signifies in the house; the subject being supposed completely surrounded or enveloped by the container. And that is its natural, complete meaning. When, therefore, a subject is said to be baptized ἐν ὕδατι, it certainly somehow means baptized *in water*; and so we must say even *in* (ἐν) *spirit*. That is, the primary idea that the element is a *surrounder* and a *container* is not wholly lost. Whether the subject be submerged in the ele-

ment, or the element enwrap the subject, he is still *in*. If the rain drizzle or sprinkle upon him, he is *in the rain*. And then come abridgments of the element, which, however reduced, the subject is still *in*. From requiring that the subject shall be completely enclosed by the element, our preposition will allow him to be touched with the element upon your finger-tip, and still be *in*. So in the Septuagint Greek, Ezek. xvi, 9, "*I washed thee in water*, ἐν ὕδατι; if we must have complete immersion, what shall we do with the clause following: *I anointed thee* ἐν ἐλαίῳ *in oil?* The very parallel clause will show that the preposition allows the element to be applied, by abridgment, in the slightest quantity to the subject, without wholly losing its reference to its original conception of *in*.

The stately volume is done up in handsome style by Lippincott & Co.; more with a liberal purpose, we apprehend, to do honor to our native scholarship, than with the expectation of a "*great run*;" and yet we would hope our scholarly market sufficiently large to make it "*pay*."

(39.) "*First Principles of Physics*; or, Natural Philosophy. Designed for the Use of Schools and Colleges. By Benjamin Silliman, Jr., Professor in Yale College. With six hundred and seventy-seven Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 720. Philadelphia: H. C. Peck & Theo. Bliss. 1859.) This work will maintain a pre-eminent standing among our academic manuals in physical science. It embodies the latest words in that department. Its statements are clear, its illustrations copious, and the different topics are given with a fullness not usual in previous books of this class.

(40.) "*Elements of Natural Philosophy*, designed for Academies and High Schools. By Elias Loomis, Professor in the University of New York. With three hundred and sixty Illustrations." (Pp. 351. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.) This excellent manual is less full than Professor Silliman's, but the name of its author assures its value for the class who need a work of its grade.

(41.) *The Ministry of Life.* By Maria Louisa Charlesworth, Author of "Ministering Children," etc., etc. (12mo., pp. 465. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1858.) That this is a work by the authoress of "Ministering Children," is a fact that will awaken the attention of thousands of expectant readers.

(42.) "*The Hand-book of Standard or American Phonography.* In five parts. By Andrew J. Graham, Conductor of the Phonetic Academy, New York." (New York: A. J. Graham, Phonetic Depot.) This work is the production of a gentleman who is at the head of his profession as a phonographer, and has done much for the diffusion of that beautiful art. It furnishes perhaps the best aid extant for a full acquirement by easy steps and lucid explanations of the entire principles. Mr. Graham has furnished some modifications of Pitman's system, by which, as we are informed by high professional authority, the contractions are rendered more effective, and the rapidity of the reporter's performance is greatly accelerated. If we are rightly in-

formed, the improvements are practically so self-demonstrative as to secure their immediate acceptance by practical reporters.

Mr. Graham has, we are gratified to say, established a Phonetic Depot in 348 Broadway, (upper room,) at which the best furnishings for the phonographer, as blank "note books," pens, and books, can be procured.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(43.) "*The Poetical Works of* Fitz-Greene Halleck. New Edition." (12mo., pp. 235. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) We do not pretend to dispute the public concord that Bryant is prince of American poets. Even here in our own Quarterly vatican, where we are brief, official pope, as the readers of our third article will perceive, it is allowed to go as the official faith that his throne is undisputed. But then in our own beating heart, in long-cherished memory, we persist in retaining a darling heresy of our own. "I do not care who is your president," said Father Taylor some years ago in Faneuil Hall; "Daniel Webster has been my president this twenty years." We care not a demisemiquaver who is the public coronate; Fitz-Greene, the wizard, has been our laureate ever since our boyhood; ever since before our teens we accidentally pulled a nice-looking pamphlet from a lawyer's pile of literary rubbish, and began to read:

> "Fanny was younger once than she is now,
> And prettier of course,"

and our entranced soul floated along the current of facile and magic verse until we waked at the end from too brief an elysian dream, to wonder why it stopped; the laurel has been, to our mind's eye, upon that brow. We remember that Fanny was for a long time out of publication; and a friend of ours, like-spirited with ourself, imagining that the author, like the ostrich, had forgotten his offspring, sent many a mile to a college library to procure the relic, in order to copy it in manuscript and keep it as you would an antique, both for its perfection and its rarity. And the fluent language, the witty allusions, the magic power of transforming the objects of the moment into poetry, and now and then the spontaneous soar of the verse, twined themselves in our earlier memories.

There was a certain John Rodman Drake, who always appeared to our own fancy a myth; a sort of reduplication or *doppelganger*, as the Teutons call it, of Halleck himself. The genius of each seemed so peculiar, so genuinely poetic, and yet the two were so like, that it seemed to us a little fanciful to suppose that two such should live in so unpoetical an age in the same most unpoetical of countries. And then to this being, real or imaginary, Halleck addresses an elegy containing words of tenderness, running in as sweet verse as ever poet wrought:

> "Green be the turf above thee,
> Friend of my better days;
> None knew thee but to love thee,
> None named thee but to praise," etc.

It is true that there was published Drake's Culprit Fay, a fancy piece, written, one might suppose, to show that true genius could as easily shed the hues of

poetry over the sceneries of our own virgin land as could Theocritus over the plains of Arcadia. But the wonderful resemblance to the style of Halleck, and the close similarity of the very volume of his poems with that of Halleck, produced in our wits the ineradicable crotchet that they were but two volumes produced by the different sides of the same soul.

The beautiful versification of Halleck, the most delicate and dreamy imagery, the satire that wakens not a pang but a smile in its object, the power not only of creating in the reader's mind a poetic conception, but of entrancing him with a poetic frame of feeling, are surpassed by no living poet. His "Marco Bozzaris" is none the less excellent because it has so touched the popular heart as to become trite. His "The world is bright before thee," is exquisite feeling in the most inimitable language. . . . We have the heart but not the room to say more.

(44.) "*The Golden Age.* By LUTHER W. PECK, A. M." (16mo., pp. 208. New York: E. Goodenough, 122 Nassau-street. 1859.) We have here a new and promising candidate for the poetic laurel, exercising his gift, in rich and copious style, upon one of the noblest subjects. The old Anacreontic poets chanted their uproarious eulogies of wine and revel. Yet they never made the nine Muses quaff the purple stream, nor tinged the cheeks of the Graces with an alcoholic glow. The true inspiring draught from the Castalian fount was "the bright and the sparkling water." And as his theme is thus exhilarating, our young author has expanded it with perhaps something of the true inspiration of the poet. The topic is wrought into a narrative and dramatic form of no little interest.

Here is a description scarce unworthy of the poet of the Seasons:

> "Upon the evening breeze a whisper came
> That answered Nay! 'Twas but the rising storm,
> For soon an ashy cloud, that turned to black,
> O'erspread the sky. The rapid lightning sprang
> From peak to peak along the mountains blue,
> And shook his quiver in his thunder-home.
> The big drops fell, and wet with copious shower
> The blooming gardens and the sheltered lawn,
> And cooled the sultry street. The sun smiled out
> As if through tears, and on the distant mist
> A rainbow threw, one end of which did rest
> Upon the battlement of heaven. And there
> Cloud-wrapped, and gazing on the earth, appeared
> An angel being with folded wing of fire,
> Just come perchance from far Orion's suns,
> Or flaming Sirius, to pause awhile
> Within the orbit of our earth. And now
> He seemed to stand, observant of the roar
> Of river and distant cataract, and hum
> Of cities teeming with a busy life,
> Marked clearly by an angel's thrilling sense."

(45.) "*Hypatia; or, New Foes with Old Faces.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY, JUN., Rector of Evesley. Sixth Edition." (12mo., pp. 487. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1857.) In this, perhaps the most brilliant of Mr. Kingsley's productions, he maintains a triple aim; namely, to furnish the attractions of the ordinary romance in a skillful and well-managed narrative, to give a vivid

and truthful representation of a remarkable historical period, and to develop an exhibition of a great principle.

The first of these objects he attains by the display of an inventive power in the plot and incidents, by a racy dramatic life, by a vividness and burnish of style, and the most perfect mastery of all the resources of our flexile English tongue. Works like these are, in ordinary parlance, classed in the genus novel. But their species is widely divergent from that Rosa Matilda class which, with but the first of the above triple aims, rests satisfied with playing upon the fancy through the idle hours. To depict a remarkable age, and illustrate a master principle in a high-wrought fiction, is to furnish no ordinary product of intellect and no ordinary instrument of power.

The principle which Mr. Kingsley seeks to impress in this work is, that Christianity is, in its intrinsic character, truly adapted to meet the demands of our nature, and to secure a social well-being. This is precisely the reverse of the impression which the History by Gibbon, of the same period, is calculated, and was no doubt intended to produce. The heroine selected by Mr. Kingsley was not, apparently, the subject from which his lesson was most likely to be educed. Hypatia was the very queen of the Pagan Neo-Platonic philosophy, who embodied that error in all the attractions of rank, talent, and beauty, and fell a martyr to the rage of the Christian Bishop Cyril. Whether, then, so far as the due inculcation of the principle is concerned, the work is a success or, as Mr. Bayne maintains, a failure, we leave to the decision of its readers.

(46.) "*Sir Walter Raleigh and his Time.* With other papers. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Author of Hypatia," &c. (12mo., pp. 461. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.) Of Charles Kingsley, as a spirited essayist, an eloquent preacher, a brilliant novelist, and a bold doctrinary, we had occasion to speak in the Quarterly Synopsis of a former number. The present selection from his miscellanies is characterized by the striking qualities of the author's mind, and are eminently redolent of the spirit of our day. Mr. Kingsley's feelings and principles have been powerfully influenced by the writings of Carlyle and Coleridge, and the mannerism of the former, in a mitigated degree, can occasionally be traced in the style of the present productions.

With Walter Raleigh and the great spirits of the Elizabethan age, Mr. Kingsley cherishes a warm sympathy. Originally contributed to the North British Review, this article draws, with an enthusiastic pencil, a life-sketch of that hero. But to us the most attractive part of this volume is the Four Lectures on "Alexandria and her Schools." Indeed Alexandria, in the days of her intellectual renown, was a striking type of our own age. In the general commixture of nations, the meeting face to face of opposite opinions, the excitement, political and religious, the eager stretch after gain, and the confident hope of a better future, Alexandria was very much a miniature picture of our nineteenth century. From the reformed pagan philosophy of Alexandria, Coleridge & Co. have borrowed their Neo-Platonic philosophy. From the Christian philosophy of Alexandria, as held by Origen and Clement, Rev. Mr. Kingsley is inclined to import an alterative for our more Romanic orthodoxy, which may save our falling age.

(47.) "*Bitter-Sweet:* a Poem. By J. G. HOLLAND, Author of 'The Bay Path,' 'Titcomb's Letters,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 220. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858.) The author of "Bitter-Sweet" has felicitously caused the sweet to predominate in his poem; and yet not so exclusively as to pall upon the taste. We might take the liberty to differ from the author in his theological views of the position of moral evil in the *Divine plan* of the universe, yet he maintains his peculiar views with earnestness and ability. There is a healthful glow of sentiment, and a presentation of pleasant pictures of rural life, which could only have been given by one who has beheld and admired the beautiful scenes of nature. The first line of the speech of Ruth, on page 76, we think hardly in keeping with the general good taste of the book. The reader will, however, find on almost every page of "Bitter-Sweet" passages of great poetic beauty, gems of the glorious art to which the author not immodestly aspires. So many books of a doubtful or positively bad character are daily issued from the press, it is gratifying to meet occasionally with one so pure and vigorous in its tone. We predict for this book a decided success.

P.

(48.) "*The Pilgrim's Progress* from this World to that which is to come. Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream. By JOHN BUNYAN. With Twenty Illustrations, drawn by George Thomas, and engraved by W. L. Thomas." (4to., pp. 223. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) Here comes the immortal tinker of Elstow in blue and gold! His fine old Saxon words are stamped in liberal type upon the broad quarto page. His live conceptions, once "delivered under the similitude of a dream," are here delivered under the similitude of a score of colored pictorials. The Carters have had a presentiment that Christmas is ahead, and that Santa Claus may wish to come into your premises with Bunyan in his wallet.

(49.) "*New England's Chattels; or, Life in the Northern Poor-House.*" (12mo., pp. 484. New York: H. Dayton. 1858.) We understand this *not* to be a Southern retort upon the North for Uncle Tom; but a *bona fide* effort to expose real abuses in the pauper houses in New England. If such abuses exist we trust the author and his coadjutors will press their exposures until they are fully reformed. We are happily not afraid that he will be lynched for his vivid pictures or his bold invectives. No politician will make it a matter of state pride to defend the cruelties of New England's "peculiar institutions." No grave professor in a scientific treatise will, in a rabid moment, charge him with "wicked fanaticism." He will be patiently heard, and if he make out a case the evil will be reformed. If he prove incorrect, he will simply be left "solitary and alone."

(50.) "*Blonde and Brunette;* or, Gothamite Arcady." (Pp. 316. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.) A very pretty-looking novellette. What is its merit we know not, not having penetrated its interior. We judge by its title that it is a discussion of the comparative merits of two rival classes of feminine complexion; a point of physiology we prefer to leave to our juniors.

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

"*Bertram Noel.* A Story for Youth. By E. J. May." (12mo., pp. 359. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Meta Gray;* or, What makes Home Happy. By M. J. M'Intosh." (12mo., pp. 207. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Legends and Lyrics.* A Book of Verses. By Adelaide Anne Proctor." (12mo., pp. 264. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*Mensuration and Practical Geometry.* By Charles Haswell." (12mo., pp. 322. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.)

"*The Power of Prayer,* Illustrated in the wonderful Displays of Divine Grace at the Fulton-street and other meetings in New York and elsewhere in 1857 and 1858. By Samuel Irenæus Prime." (12mo., pp. 373. New York: C. Scribner. 1859.)

"*Story of Bethlehem.* A Book for the Young. By J. R. MacDuff, D.D." (18mo., pp. 202. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Night Caps.* By the author of Aunt Fanny's Christmas Stories." (18mo., pp. 171. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Jessie;* or, trying to be Somebody. By Watler Aimwell. With illustrations." (18mo., pp. 320. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.)

Of the following, notices will appear in our next number:

"*Rational Cosmology;* or, The Eternal Principles and the Necessary Laws of the Universe. By Laurens P. Hickok, D.D., Union College." (12mo., pp. 397. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

"*The Emancipation of Faith.* By the late Henry Edward Schedel, M.D., Laureate of the Hospitals of Paris, etc. Edited by George Schedel." (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 470, 482. New York: Appleton & Co. 1858.)

We are not of course expected to limit our contributors to the expression of opinions coinciding with our own, nor are we to be held responsible for all the opinions expressed by our contributors.

The place occupied by the child in the Christian Church is matter for fair and fraternal discussion. By an almost unconscious movement of sentiment we have come to a unanimity upon the principle that *all infants are saved;* but the question how saved, and what is their precise moral condition, is nearly a *casus omissus,* a blank spot, in our theology. Are they saved without justification or regeneration before death? Are they simply justified by a separation of regeneration from justification? Can they properly receive the being "born of water" without being previously "born of the spirit."

We do not think that many will agree that infant communion logically follows from infant regeneration, or from infant baptism. Baptism, like circumcision, may be a mere receptivity. But communion, like the passover, is a responsible *act,* requiring a responsible agent to "show forth the Lord's death," and to meet the other prescribed requisites in the ritual for all recipients. We think that the advocate of infant regeneration weakens his cause by appending to it the sequence of infant or childhood communion. But as the latter does not logically follow, so its deduction by a particular advocate is no legitimate argument against the former.

The article upon Jefferson furnishes the favorable view of his character. There is another phase, held as the truer one by many observers, and which will be pronounced the true one, perhaps, by the severe pen of history.

In our last Quarterly we extracted from the North British Review part of a notice of a poetic work by an unknown Canadian poet, entitled "Saul, a Drama in Three Parts." This poem is described as truly Shakspearian in its masterly development of mental nature, and its power of supernatural creativeness. We learn by the Canadian correspondent of the Zion's Herald, that this rare unknown is Mr. Heirsache, a mechanic of Montreal. He has written also "The Revolt of Tartarus," and a little volume of sonnets, both printed for private circulation only.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1859.

Art. I.—SOME ACCOUNT OF COKESBURY COLLEGE.

The General Conference of 1784, which gave to the Methodist societies in America an independent Episcopal Church, also gave to that Church her first literary institution. We have thought that a brief account of Cokesbury College might not be unacceptable to the readers of the "Quarterly," nor, we hope, altogether unprofitable. At any rate, to such as delight to look back on the early days of Methodism, to survey the infant in its cradle, and trace its progress from childhood to comparative maturity, articles of this sort will not be found wanting in interest.

The general history of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been well cared for, and may now be considered safe, at least sufficiently so to satisfy all reasonable demand for the present, and also to allay any apprehension of neglect in the future. Much credit is due to Dr. Bangs for the able and careful manner in which he has examined the stream of Methodism from its source, as far down as to 1840. Besides we have now the promise of another from a different quarter, which, taking still a wider range, and coming to us with the prestige of the well known ability of the author, will receive a cordial welcome from every Methodist, and leave but little to do for those that may come after. Local histories of places remarkable for the success of Methodism, and individual memoirs of men eminent for piety and influence in those early times, are still too few; these will continue to multiply, however, as the general subject becomes exhausted, and men continue to feel a more lively interest in things nearer home. And as for autobiographies, there are enough, we should think, to satisfy every felt want in the Church,

and even to satiate that morbid appetite which seeks its gratification mostly in whatever is curious or startling.

It is somewhat humiliating, however, to know, that while so much has been done to explore and bring to light almost everything connected with early Methodism, nothing, or next to nothing, has been attempted to place before the public, in some popular form, the normal growth of education as found in connection with the very organization of the Church. This neglect does not apply, by any means, to the founders of the college. The records which they have left us, though meager, are generally clear and authentic. They are, in greater part, preserved in the Journals of Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury, or in memoirs scarcely less to be respected. The deeds of the actors are often written in full detail. Still their history supplies no great attraction by its incidents; impressing rather with an interest more abiding in the theme than in the particulars of its illustration. The founders of the Methodist Episcopal Church were men of action. What they did was done as in the sight of God, and with a sanctified indifference as to what judgment might be passed upon their works by posterity, so that they stood approved before the Searcher of hearts. To them few vacant hours came for study, or for the use of the pen; enough, to be sure, to refresh their minds and to recruit their strength for renewed conflict, which was one, not of a day, but of a whole life. The course which they had chosen for themselves, and to which they invited others, was one of ceaseless, unmitigated toil. "Work while it is day," seemed never to have been absent from their minds. The Methodist societies originally, as reflected back at this distance, and as also compared with the quiet home comforts now so generally enjoyed, resembled a camp in the presence of an enemy, more than a flock safely folded beneath the eye of a shepherd; always on the watch, on the march, or in actual conflict with the foe. Even the victories won were but half enjoyed, by reason of the continuous contest, which brought with it but few intervals of rest. No Methodist preacher at that day, who "stuck by the stuff," counted his life dear to him in such a cause, nor did he seek to be dismissed from its hardships till death came to his relief and set him free. Unlike the ancient people of God, he had no jubilee, looked for none, till he found one in heaven that would last forever.

We are not taken, therefore, by surprise to find that our fathers wrote but little; nevertheless, like some of the early kings of England, though much unused to the pen, they made their mark broad and deep on the age in which they lived. The blame of neglect, so it seems to us, falls chiefly on those who saw the be-

ginning of Cokesbury College, and had long survived its melancholy fate—men of wisdom and of large experience, who should have spoken out while they could, and not have suffered the chronicles of our first college to die with the brains that nursed them. Others, not less criminal, who had become the depositories of documents rich in incident and abundant in illustration, parted with them forever, heedlessly committing them to the flames, under the plea that they "were in the way, and of no use to any one." Alas! for the men who had not the wit to see nor the heart to value the riches of our college birthday, and of its simple-minded days of infancy.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has most worthy and urgent motive to call upon her children that they do not suffer the memory of her first college to perish. Although not quite seventy-three years have elapsed since it began to exist, already doubts are starting up around us which threaten to unsettle the current opinion as to the very place of its location, shifting it to a distance of three hundred miles from where it originally stood. A gentleman, living within five hours' ride of the place, remarked to us, a few days since: "I thought the first Methodist college was in Abingdon, Virginia!" Thus each succeeding year brings with it more or less uncertainty with regard to many parts of our past history, especially of Cokesbury College; nor will this uncertainty be less painfully felt by putting off the labor of investigation to a more distant day. If, therefore, by any indifference, or still seeking for further delay, and idly hoping in every emergency, like one of the heroes of a modern novelist, for "something to turn up," we may not so easily free ourselves of the charge of fostering skepticism in minds otherwise disposed to be set right, when it is made to appear that we have taken no pains to remove it.

Fortunately for us, four of the students of Cokesbury College are still living, full of years and of sound mind. Two of these have furnished us with interesting facts, drawn from a personal association with the college, and from an intimate acquaintance with its professors, much of which, we are sure, will be new to many, and will go very far to clear up some points darkly hinted at by Bishop Asbury. Whatsoever relics may have come to us, we hope to speed them toward that farthest futurity to which the ambition of history aspires, not diminished by what they have brought to our hands; enlarged, rather, and made more veritable by careful arrangement.

The idea of a college, as an integral part of organic Methodism, originated with Dr. Coke, who, it appears, opened his mind to

Mr. Asbury on the subject soon after their first interview at the house of Mr. Barratt, at Dover, in Delaware, November 15th, 1784. This distinguished messenger of the Church had just arrived from England, charged with the plan from Mr. Wesley for the future government of the Methodist societies in America, and had already adopted measures for notifying the preachers from abroad of the fact, inviting them to assemble in Baltimore on the eve of our Saviour's nativity, to consider the new arrangement, in its application to the circumstances in which they found themselves providentially placed by the proclamation of peace the year before, severing all political and ecclesiastical ties between the two countries. It seems, however, that in less than a month from the time of the conversation referred to, the plan of a college had been definitely settled, and, through the joint exertions of its two projectors, one thousand pounds sterling were secured toward the erection of the building. To facilitate the movement as much as possible, rules and regulations for the government of the proposed college, together with the principles on which they were founded, had been prepared by Dr. Coke; "these," says Mr. Drew in his life of the doctor, "after having been weighed and digested by the American Conference, were introduced by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury into the newly-established seminary that was to be denominated Cokesbury College, this being a compound of both their names; a title not assumed by themselves, as has been alleged, from motives of personal vanity, but bestowed by the friends of the college as a mark of respect for its illustrious founders.

In determining the question as to where this first Methodist college should be placed, proper care would be observed, of course, in selecting the most eligible site, and still more the amount of influence which might be brought to bear upon its future prosperity. There can be no greater mistake in planting an institution of this kind, than to place it beyond the reach of its friends, under any supposed advantage arising from liberal offers of land, or anything else, where generous sympathy and direct patronage are wanting for its support, and which should always be present to cheer it on and to build it up. Mistakes of this kind, in one instance, we think, we have known, though much deplored afterward, when it was found too late to apply a remedy. No one acquainted with the relative influence and strength of the Methodist societies at the time the Church was organized, can doubt that Maryland offered the best home for Cokesbury College. Any one who will take the pains to examine the Minutes of the Conference of 1784, will readily perceive that the number of members composing all the societies in the United

States amounted to within a fraction of fifteen thousand. Of these New York had eighty-four, New Jersey nine hundred and sixty-three, Pennsylvania five hundred and sixty, Delaware nine hundred and eighty-two, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, with Georgia and Tennessee, had six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, while Maryland alone had five thousand six hundred and forty-eight. It is not surprising, therefore, that at this early date Abingdon, in Maryland, in these respects, presented stronger claims for Cokesbury than any other place on the continent, being situated in the very heart of Methodism, and surrounded by more striking and tender recollections of its early triumphs than could be found elsewhere within the same limits. All through the country, in a circumference of thirty miles, the names of the first missionaries sent over by Mr. Wesley were inexpressibly dear to the people. Those of Boardman, Pilmoor, Rankin, and Shadford, taken in connection with Strawbridge, Williams, and King, were as "ointment poured forth." Here too some of our best men were raised up and sent out to plant the Gospel in other lands; that apostolic man, Freeborn Garrettson, to Nova Scotia; Joshua Wells, George Roberts, and George Pickering, to assist Jesse Lee in New England. From this common center of Methodism went out many a strong man to the West and South, whose faithful labors soon made the "wilderness and solitary places glad for them." At a distance of five miles from Abingdon you could point to the birthplace of Freeborn Garrettson, and near to it the scenes of his conversion and of his early labors. In an opposite direction was the Deer Creek church, where the conference was held in 1777, at which the solemn parting took place between Mr. Asbury and his English brethren; and where the superintendent, Mr. Rankin, preached his last sermon before he retired within the line of the British troops then in possession of New York, and soon after left for England, never to return again to the work in America. Here too was the home of the Watterses, one of whom was the first American traveling preacher raised up among us; and lastly, the Bush Chapel, four miles off, and the second built in Maryland and America.

But apart from and independent of these considerations, Abingdon was intrinsically worthy of the distinction which was bestowed upon it. Its local scenery, to say nothing of anything else, was unsurpassed. Besides it was easy of approach, both by land and water, lying directly on the great continental road leading from the south and southwest, through Baltimore to Philadelphia and New York in the east, being equidistant nearly, at that day, from the two extremes of Methodism. Dr. Coke was so impressed with

these facts that, on a second visit to the place, after an absence of some months, he could not suppress the satisfaction which he felt in having some agency in bringing the college here. "The place," he says, "delights me more than ever. There is not, I believe, a point of it from which the eye has not a view of at least twenty miles, and in some parts the prospect extends even to fifty miles in length. The water part forms one of the most beautiful views in the United States; the Chesapeake Bay, in all its grandeur, with a fine navigable river, the Susquehanna, which empties itself into it, lying exposed to view through a great extent of country."

It was here, six months after Dr. Coke had given orders that the material should be procured for erecting the college building, that Mr. Asbury, on Sunday, June 5th, preached the foundation sermon, and of which he remarked: "I stood on the ground where the building was to be erected, warm as it was, and spoke from the seventy-eighth psalm, verses 4–8. I had liberty in speaking, and faith to believe the work would go on." Previous to the departure of Dr. Coke for England, fifteen trustees had been appointed, five of whom were from among the traveling preachers. The remaining trustees were chosen, not only for their high standing in the Church, and for their known ability for exercising the trust, but also from places sufficiently near to the college to make it convenient for them to attend the examinations of the students, which occurred "one full month" previous to the time of the annual commencement. The traveling preachers chosen to represent the college in the board of trustees were John Chalmers, Henry Willis, Nelson Reed, Richard Whatcoat, and Joseph Everett. Of the lay trustees, Judge White and James Anderson were taken from Delaware; Henry Ennalls and John Carnan, from the Eastern Shore of Maryland; William Wilkins, from Annapolis; Philip Rogers, Samuel Owings, Isaac Burneston, James M'Cannon, and Emanuel Kent, from Baltimore.

As it may be a matter of some interest to know what kind of a building Cokesbury really was, as a type of our infant literature, and over which the trustees now appointed were to exercise their paternal oversight, we have taken the liberty to transcribe a full description of it in the words of one who saw it in September, 1789: "The college," says Rev. John Dickins, "is one hundred and eight feet in length from east to west, and forty feet in breadth from north to south, and stands on the summit and center of six acres of land, with an equal descent and proportion of ground on each side. The whole building is well painted on the outside, and the windows completely glazed. The house is divided into rooms

as follows: at the west end are two rooms on the lower floor, each twenty-five feet by twenty; the second and third stories the same. At the east end are two rooms, each twenty-five feet by twenty; the second and third stories are the same. In the middle of the lower floor is the college hall, forty feet square, and over that, on the second floor, two school-rooms, and on the third floor two bed-chambers. At the end of the hall are square spaces for four sets of stair-cases, two at the north and two at the south end, with proper doors opening on the stair-cases. The carpenters' work on the first and second floor, with one stair-case, is almost completed. The plastering and painting of four rooms at the west are nearly finished; the school-rooms are also chiefly done, and one room at the west end partly plastered." Thus we have seen the progress made in the college building after nearly three years of unremitting effort on the part of its friends to bring it toward a final completion; having within its halls thirty students, ten of them wholly or partially supported on charity, several of whom were maintained, clothed, and educated gratis.

We now turn to the internal affairs of the college, to notice its professors, in connection with the important duties assigned them, and what amount of success or of defeat marked their labors in carrying out the design of its founders. It appears that about the time the building was under roof, a preparatory school was opened with fifteen scholars, in charge of Mr. Truman Marsh, (a Quaker,) who had the reputation of being a good Latin scholar and an excellent disciplinarian. At the same time steps had already been taken to procure a suitable person to act as president. An appeal was made through Dr. Coke and others to Mr. Wesley to interest himself in the case, and finally a Mr. Heath was selected, as one altogether qualified for the place. As this gentleman's connection with the college was but of short continuance, and involved much at the time that was painful to his own feelings, as well as embarrassing to the institution, and also as creating a doubt with regard to the clearness of Mr. Wesley's judgment in recommending him for the place, we deem it but just to the parties interested, to give all the facts as they have come to us, leaving it to others to form their own opinion as to where the blame rests.

Mr. Wesley says in his Journal of March 22, 1787: "I had seen Mr. Heath before, a middle-aged clergyman, who is going over to Cokesbury College, and is, I believe, thoroughly qualified to preside there. I met his wife and two daughters here, who are quite willing to bear him company; and I think their tempers and manners, 'so winning soft, so amiably mild,' will do him honor wherever they

come." Mr. Heath, it seems, left for America the latter part of the summer of this year. In the Journal of Mr. Wesley, of August 5th, dated Birmingham, he says: "I took a tender leave of Mrs. Heath and her lovely daughters, about to embark with Mr. Heath for America, whom I hardly expect to see any more till we meet in Abraham's bosom." September, 1787, the first examination of the pupils under Mr. Marsh took place, in the presence of Bishop Asbury and other friends of the college; and in December the institution was formally opened by the installation of Mr. Heath as president, and the appointment of Mr. M'Claskey and Mr. Marsh as professors, the number of students being twenty-five. The occasion was signalized for three days by religious exercises, Bishop Asbury preaching a discourse each day: on the first from Psalm xxxvii, 3, "Trust in the Lord and do good;" on the second (Sunday) from 2 Kings iv, 40, "O thou man of God, there is death in the pot;" and on the third from Isa. lxv, 23, "They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them."

Cokesbury College being now fairly begun, with its three instructors and twenty-five students, we hear of nothing material to its interest, except now and then complaints from Bishop Asbury of the difficulty of collecting funds for its support, until the autumn of the following year. It appears that the bishop had gone to the Bath Springs in Virginia for the benefit of his health, and while there had received letters from Abingdon respecting the college, the purport of which he gives in his usual ambiguous way. In his Journal of August 10th he says: "To-day I received heavy tidings from Cokesbury; two of our teachers have left, one from incompetency and the other to pursue riches and honors; had they cost us nothing, the mistake we made in employing them might be the less regretted." Who the teachers were that left, and what were the facts on which the good bishop based his opinion of the "incompetency" of the one, and of "the pursuit of riches and honors" on the part of the other, might have remained to this day a profound secret, had not a gentleman, who was himself a student in the college at the time, and one of the actors in the scene, politely furnished us with all the facts. It may not, therefore, be out of place to give a full history of the transaction, inasmuch as it violates no pledge of secresy, nor can the disclosure, by any possibility, have an injurious effect upon the memories of the parties concerned in it.

It appears that Mr. Marsh, who had charge of the higher classes in Latin, had gone to visit some friends in the country, leaving it to the president, as a matter of course, to attend to the classes;

and it was remarked that his attention was engrossed exclusively by the junior Latin classes, such as "Cornelius Nepos," etc. It happened about this time, that Mr. Wesley sent over, for the use of the college, a work entitled "Selectæ Profanis, Scriptoribus Historia." This work fell to the lot of a young man from Philadelphia, and finding that his lesson was composed of certain passages too difficult for him to construe, made it necessary for him to apply for help; and as there was no one within his reach but the president that could afford the relief required, he made application to him, and was directed to study a while longer. Upon a second application, without affording him any satisfaction, he was put off until after the college exercises should be dismissed, but it seems the president never came near him. When the Latin teacher, Mr. Marsh, returned, the young man related to him what had taken place, when the affair was soon made public, and became the general theme of conversation throughout the college. Whereupon the president sent in his resignation. This excellent clergyman, for so he was esteemed by all that knew him, became rector of Joppa parish, which included Abingdon, and continued there for about three years, preaching with great zeal and usefulness, until some of his parishioners, thinking him too much of a Methodist, made his situation unpleasant to him, when he left for a parish at Port Tobacco, in the lower part of Maryland, where he remained for some time, and then removed to Virginia, where we lose sight of him altogether. Mr. Wesley, as a token of friendship, left Mr. Heath, in his last will and testament, sixty pounds. One of his "lovely daughters," Maria, resided in Charlestown, Virginia, for upward of twenty years, where she died, some years since, in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church, loved and respected by all who knew her. Mr. M'Claskey, the person referred to by Bishop Asbury as having left to "pursue riches and honors," purchased a farm on Gunpowder River, near Abingdon, where he settled, and soon after died. Mr. Marsh also retired, for what reason we are not informed.

Cokesbury being now deprived of its entire corps of professors, the first thing to be done was to supply the vacancies. Abingdon by this time had become somewhat of a place. So important indeed was it, mainly on account of the college being there, that it now claimed to share with Baltimore, in whole or in part, the privilege of entertaining the Conference, the first session being held here in July, 1787, and although much crowded, nevertheless the preachers were made comfortable. Mr. Toy, it is said, lodged twelve of the elders. The practice then was to commence the Conference first in

Baltimore, and adjourn over to Cokesbury to finish the business. In the Minutes for 1788, it was ordered that the Conference shall meet at Baltimore, Monday, May 4th; at Cokesbury, Saturday, May 9th: and in the Minutes for 1789, Baltimore, Monday, September 6th; at Cokesbury, Saturday, September 11th.

Merchants and mechanics found it to be their interest to settle here; besides, a number of gentlemen had come to reside in the place, some of them possessed of talents and influence, for the purpose of educating their sons. Among these was a Dr. Jacob Hall, who was prevailed on to accept the presidency. To Dr. Hall were added the Rev. John Hargrove, Rev. Joseph Toy, and a Mr. Tait from Georgia. In a year or two after, a teacher of French was brought from near Edenton, North Carolina. The new president, Dr. Hall, came into office with a fine reputation as a general scholar, particularly for a knowledge of Greek and Latin. Besides he was well known throughout the county, being a native of the state, and connected with some of its most influential families. Mr. Hargrove was an Englishman. He had been a traveling preacher for a year or two. During his connection with the college he changed his views of Methodism by embracing the opinions of Swedenborg, when he resigned his situation, and went to Baltimore, where he built the first "New Jerusalem Church" in that city. Mr. Toy was originally from New Jersey, where he was converted and became a local preacher. He was induced to move to Abingdon at the instance of Bishop Asbury, and was elected to Cokesbury on account of his knowledge of mathematics and English literature. Mr. Toy was a first cousin to the late Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was one of the purest men and soundest preachers known to early Methodism. Mr. Tate resided in the college building with his family. They had charge of the young men who were placed on the "charity foundation." He continued his connection with the college until its close, when he left for his native state, entered into politics, and was elected to the Senate of the United States. To this list of officials we must add still another, the Rev. Joseph Everett. Mr. Everett was stationed at Abingdon, and discharged the duties of chaplain to the college. He was one of the most remarkable men of his day in the Methodist Church. In his stronger points he resembled very much our excellent friend in the West, Dr. Cartwright. Mr. Everett is described by his biographers "as a flame of fire proclaiming the thunders of Sinai against the wicked, and the terrors of the Lord against the ungodly." He was bold and undaunted in the discharge of his duties: he feared the face of no man, but sought the good of all. He seemed to be the

personation of law armed at every point; "a terror to evil doers, and the praise of all them that do well." Many are the amusing anecdotes told of Mr. Everett while watching over the boys (so called) at Cokesbury College. Often, as the hour drew nigh for the Sunday sermon in the hall, it would be whispered round among those who had felt the smart of his rebuke: "Come, let us go and hear the old chaplain swear," alluding to his habit sometimes, while preaching to a promiscuous crowd, of characterizing sinners and in denouncing their notorious conduct, calling them "a hell-fired set."

Mr. Hargrove's preaching they could not endure. Two hours would weary the patience of a saint, and must have been no little punishment to students. "Simple-hearted Daniel Ruff," as Bishop Asbury called him, was the universal favorite. His sermons were always short, affectionate, and to the point. Nothing of special interest marked the first year of Dr. Hall's administration of the college, except an attempt to burn it, by putting fire into one of the closets, which was discovered by the students, and extinguished without doing any harm. Bishop Asbury, at this time, speaks of the young men as being promising for learning, but some of them wanting in religion. In the month of May, 1789, there is a gracious revival of religion among the students. Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury speak of it with much satisfaction. It appears, on the morning of Saturday, May the 9th, Dr. Coke examined all the classes in private, and found that many of the students had made a considerable proficiency in the various branches of learning. And with their progress so well were he and Bishop Asbury satisfied, that on the afternoon of the same day they had a public exhibition of their respective improvements and talents.

"Two young men," he observes, "displayed great strength of memory and great propriety of pronunciation, in the repetition of two chapters of Sheridan on Elocution, and were rewarded by Bishop Asbury, as a small testimony of our approbation, with a dollar each. One little boy, a son of Mr. Dallam, a neighboring gentleman, delivered MEMORITER, a fine speech of Livy, with such a heroic spirit, and such graceful propriety, that I presented him with a little piece of gold. Three other boys so excelled in gardening, that Bishop Asbury rewarded them with a dollar each. But what is best of all, many of them are truly awakened. However, we were obliged to undertake the painful task, in the presence of the trustees, masters, and students, of solemnly expelling a lad, fifteen years of age, to whose learning we had no objection, but whose trifling, irreligious conduct, and open ridicule, among the students, of experimental religion, we could not pass over, as we were determined to have a college in which religion and learning should go hand in hand together, or to have none at all. But nothing relating to the institution, perhaps, has given me greater pleasure than to find that we are already enabled to support four students fully, and two in part, preachers' sons and orphans, on the charitable foundation."

In the year 1792 Cokesbury College had acquired such a degree of importance as to admit upward of seventy students within its walls. In addition to this, its reputation had excited so much attention, that several young gentlemen from the Southern states repaired thither to finish their education. To give it legalized respectability, some principal persons in the state informed its founders that the legislature were willing to grant an act of incorporation, that should enable them, under certain limitations, to confer degrees on the deserving. Accordingly a petition was sent the ensuing year to the General Assembly at Annapolis, which received the favorable consideration of that body, and an act was passed bearing date January 26th, 1794, "for incorporating the trustees of Cokesbury College." The charter sets forth, first, that the trustees may hold real estate to a limited amount; second, may have a common seal; third, may confer degrees, such as are "common to England and America;" fourth, the salaries of the professors shall not be taxed; fifth, the income of the college not to exceed three thousand pounds yearly in Maryland currency, to be reckoned in Spanish milled dollars at the present value and weight; sixth, no one can be an officer of the college without taking an oath of fidelity to the state of Maryland and to the United States.

The college being now placed on the same respectable footing as Saint John's at Annapolis, its friends were encouraged to believe that it had reached a point of security from which it was not likely in future to be driven, when unexpectedly it was ascertained that its finances were in a most embarrassed condition. Bishop Asbury says, in October 3, 1793: "I found matters in a poor state at the college; five hundred pounds in debt, and our employes nearly seven hundred pounds in arrears." And in October, 1794, he says: "I found the college twelve hundred pounds in debt, and that there were between five and six hundred pounds due us, three hundred pounds of which ought now to be paid." This was indeed a solemn crisis in the affairs of Cokesbury, to meet which required the united wisdom of the entire body of the preachers. Accordingly the case was brought before the Conference held at New York, September 28th, 1793, for a final determination. Bishop Asbury, when speaking of the decision of the Conference, says: "This has been a serious week to me. Money would not purchase the labor and exercise I have gone through. At this Conference it was *resolved that nothing but an English free day-school should be kept at Cokesbury College.*" Thus ended the flattering prospects and distinctions of our first college proper, forever!

In pursuance of the above decision, which it was thought would

be but temporary, the number of professors was reduced. Mr. Tate returned to Georgia, the French teacher was dismissed, and Mr. Hargrove had gone to Baltimore to attend to his New Jerusalem Church. The president, Dr. Hall, still retained a nominal relation to the institution, while Mr. Toy had charge of the school down to the time that the college was destroyed.

We now hasten to notice the destruction of Cokesbury College. "From what source," says Mr. Drew, "this calamity arose could never be ascertained. Dr. Coke supposes that it was done maliciously, so that the cause of its destruction remains a secret to the present time." There are those still living who were personally conversant with the whole affair, and who do not hesitate to name the person or persons guilty of the wanton deed. This is a subject, however, upon which we dare not allow ourselves to speculate or form an opinion, believing it best to leave the adjudication of so fearful a question to Him in whose sight the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed. The circumstances attending the destruction of the building are these: Mr. Everett, the chaplain to the college, who slept there for the safety of the property, had gone, on the morning of the 7th of December, 1795, into the country to see some friends, when, about twelve o'clock at night, the inhabitants were roused by the cry of the college being on fire. Nothing could be done to arrest the flames. In a few hours the stately edifice, with its valuable contents, consisting of the library, the philosophical apparatus, and many important private papers, was reduced to ashes. News of the unfortunate event was conveyed to Mr. Everett, who appeared on the spot early the next day, the picture of grief, and sat down near the ruins, and wept like Marius amid the desolations of Carthage.

The destruction of Cokesbury College was a matter of universal regret on the part of the community around: "The gentry," says Dr. Coke, "lamented the loss, not only from mere liberal motives, but on account also of the instruction and entertainment they had received in being admitted, by tickets, to the philosophical lectures of Dr. Hall, the president."

An account of the calamity reached Bishop Asbury while in Charleston, South Carolina, 1796, upon which he remarked: "I have now received a confirmed account that Cokesbury College has been consumed to ashes, a sacrifice of ten thousand pounds in about ten years. Its enemies may rejoice, and its friends need not mourn. Would any man give me ten thousand pounds per year to do and suffer what I have done for that house I would not do it. I wished for a school, Dr. Coke wanted a college."

To discover, if possible, the perpetrators of this deed, Governor Ogle offered a reward of one thousand dollars; but nothing could procure such information as was necessary to bring the incendiaries to justice. Two years after the trustees made application to the legislature for an act to sell the property of Cokesbury College, to pay debts for which they were personally bound.

In reviewing the past of Cokesbury College, the pure intention of its founders, the admirable principles upon which its regulations were established, and the beneficial effects that were expected to result from the institution, all of which we know did not preserve it from the common accidents which are attendant upon all human affairs, shall we therefore say that it was built in vain? What though the building was burned, and the principles which were inaugurated by the General Conference of 1784 were allowed to sleep for many years; the seeds sown at first were still alive in the "wonted fire" of Cokesbury, which germinated in after years, and reproduced more than thirty fold, mainly through that great man, Dr. Fisk, in the establishment of the Wesleyan University, and also through Bishop Emory, in our own Dickinson College; besides many others scattered all over the land. The direct, immediate good of Cokesbury College to the Church, and also to the country, was considerable. We have no means of knowing the whole; the records of the college are beyond our reach; but we know of some: Samuel White, son of Judge White, and one of the original trustees, was educated at Cokesbury. He became a captain in the United States' army, and was afterward elected to the United States Senate. Asbury Dickins, Esq., son of the Rev. John Dickins, Secretary to the Senate, and the oldest officer on the civil list of the country. Colonel William Doughty, from Philadelphia, was, for a longer time than any other man, naval constructor for the United States navy, where he acquired an ample fortune, and is now living retired in Georgetown, D. C. Dr. William Dallam, father-in-law to Rev. Littleton F. Morgan, D.D., is still living in Harford county, a true Methodist of the old school. As to the fruits of the college upon the traveling ministry, we just know enough to make us regret that we know so little. The mention of two names, however, will be sufficient to show that Cokesbury did not exist in vain. Who has not heard of the Rev. Valentine Cook, the most remarkable man of his day in the Methodist Episcopal Church, for learning and for success as a preacher? He entered the Baltimore Conference in 1788, and continued in the itinerant work for twelve successive years, traveling from Calvert circuit, in the South, to Tioga, on the Lakes, in the North, and from thence was sent to Kentucky, in the

West, where, "through weakness of body and family concerns," he was obliged to ask for a location. Mr. Cook was one of the four boys placed on the "charity foundation" at Cokesbury College, for whom Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury expressed so much affection and concern. And also John Chalmers, Jr., son of the Rev. John Chalmers, whose name stands at the head of the list of trustees of Cokesbury. Mr. Chalmers joined the Baltimore Conference the same year with his school-fellow, Mr. Cook, traveled the same length of time, and desisted for the same reasons. He was a superior preacher, and greatly owned of God in his ministry.

The loss sustained by the burning of Cokesbury, and the destruction of the academy in Baltimore the year after, amounted to about fifty thousand dollars, a calamity which was enough to discourage any immediate effort for the continuance of a scheme which had been marked by such signal defeat. Still, we think that the very strong expressions uttered by Dr. Coke and Bishop Asbury on the occasion—That it was not the will of God, "now clearly expressed," for the Methodists to undertake such expensive buildings, nor to attempt such popular establishments, but that it was their duty to preach the Gospel, and apply such resources as were in their power to the more immediate means of calling sinners to repentance—were uncalled for, and that the effect which such opinions exerted for a long time was anything but beneficial to the Church at large. "On the same principle of reasoning," says Dr. Bangs, "we should refuse to build a church, or a dwelling house, or even to embark in any business, which might be injured by the elements. Job's repeated losses were permitted to try his patience, and this might have been permitted for a similar effect on the Church." As societies *in* other Churches, the work of calling sinners to repentance seemed to have been left by common consent to the Methodists, and in this they also seemed to stand in their providential lot. But when those societies ceased, by becoming an independent Church, the case was widely altered. Both duty and interest demanded that religion and education should now go hand in hand together. That God can make the machinations of wicked men an accidental occasion of good, and serve his gracious designs, in opposition to their own, is what no one will attempt to deny; but that the burning of a college by an incendiary is a "clear expression of God's will" that we should build no more, is a doctrine which we are not prepared to admit. This hasty opinion of these good men was destined to exercise an unhappy influence on the history of the Church; for many years Methodism, which has since proved itself to be a power in the land, was silent on the subject of

education, and was unheard in the control of the rising youth. Thus it is always true, that man may not pronounce with authority upon God's designs; he sees but in part, God sees the end from the beginning. The efforts that were then operative at Cokesbury have since been repeated at our other institutions of learning, and they now fill the land, multiplying with the increase of population, and meeting the demands of the age; giving scholars to the Church, both at home and abroad, and leavening society with a sound and pure, because a Christian literature.

Art. II.—DRUGS AS AN INDULGENCE.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

The Chemistry of Common Life. By James F. Johnston, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Two volumes. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1857.

That human nature is really fallen is shown by the fact that every passion, every appetite, every propensity of man gathers strength at times to overpower his reason, and drive him on relentlessly to his injury, perhaps to his destruction. All sin is unworthy of him, and yet, to human eyes, all sin is not equally despicable. The ambition of Cæsar is a sin, but it is joined with vast intellect, and towers into the sublime of temptation and of wrong. We see that the victim of the lust of power is borne down by incitements to evil that come not with the same force upon all; and in contemplating his career we often admire while we deplore and condemn. But there are sins which befoul while they ruin, and whose every feature is ignominious. When we see men, in order to excite an unreasoning nerve, sacrifice intellect, conscience, honor, health, and usefulness in this world, and all that men hope for in the world to come, we wonder as well as censure, and are ashamed to own that humanity is so weak. To be dazzled by a splendid dream is bad enough, but it seems far more degrading to be ruined, immortal as we are, by that which we possess in common with the brute, and worst of all, when that which we share with the brute is perverted, and becomes unnatural.

To the latter class of temptations and sins belongs man's employment of intoxicating drugs as an indulgence. But let us digress at this point to inquire into the difference between a natural and an unnatural appetite. The human body is an animal engine, whose bands and wheels wear with every revolution. The particles

of matter of which it is composed change continually. Not a muscle moves but there results a loss, small, doubtless, but still a real loss of its material. A vigorous body, whose wants are supplied, will at once repair the loss. While one set of vessels gather up and carry off the worn out particles, another set select from the blood new particles to take their place, and thus there is no loss of weight or volume. The heart and the blood-vessels constitute an apparatus for distributing to every part of the system the nutriment which is elaborated in the stomach. The very atoms which the roots of the wheat have drawn up from the earth, or its leaves absorbed from the air, and of which the grain was formed, become bone and tendon, nerve and muscle, and thus God performs every moment, in each individual, the work of creation, and makes man out of the dust of the earth. We eat because we need a continual supply of building material. We drink because the process described requires the presence of a certain amount of liquid, and because moisture is constantly escaping from the pores of the skin. Food and drink, then, are two great natural wants of the body. In order that they may not be neglected, the sensations of hunger and thirst give warning when the supply of repairing material falls short. A natural appetite for food and drink, then, is nature's cry for help. Unperverted by disease, accident, or evil habit, these sensations are not felt except when there is a real want in the physical economy. When the tissues are wasting and the means of repair are not at hand, we begin to feel hunger; the idea of food occurs to the mind at first merely as an idea, unaccompanied by any definite physical sensation. If the want is not supplied, this idea occupies the mind and mingles with every other thought, and a strange uneasiness, which still seems to be mental rather than physical, is felt. In cases of starvation this uneasiness increases indescribably, and as the process goes on becomes painful, distressing, agonizing, maddening. Still there is no local pain, because the famine is universal. Every muscle, every nerve, every fiber feels it, and clamors for food. Under the influence of hunger like this men become savages, and rush eagerly upon the most loathsome food, and those who escape death the longest will even feed upon the bodies of their dead comrades, tearing their flesh like hungry wolves.

Men, however, create for themselves appetites unnecessary, irrational, wholly unknown to unperverted nature, and yet as tyrannical and remorseless as the raging hunger of the soldier famishing in the siege, or the thirst of the wrecked sailor, clinging to the ocean raft. When the Turkish opium eater wakes from the stupor which is the final stage of each debauch, he is wretched. His brain

seems on fire, and yet his limbs feel as heavy as lead. Gathering by degrees a little strength, he rises, swallows mechanically a little food, looks at the shadows of the morning, and thinks how long it must be before the time comes when he takes his daily dose. Incapable of engaging in either business or pleasure, incapable of all thought save one, he sits in sullen silence, watching the minutes as they wear slowly away. As the hour approaches, his longing for the drug becomes more and more clamorous, and his hunger for it rages like a famished tiger's thirst for blood. Could he obtain it in no other way, he would trample upon the bones of the prophet; he would plunge his hand into molten iron; he would rush after it if it were held over the mouth of Etna. Though torment and death come with it he must have his drug. And this is the appaling slavery to which all drugging habits tend to reduce their victims. The drunkard sees the ruin he is bringing upon himself, body and soul. He looks upon the rags of his children, and the tears of his heart-broken wife, and feels agonizing remorse. He would gladly reform, but the grasp of a fiend is upon him, and he is hurried along a way which he loathes, to a shameful death and an endless hell. All the substances described at length in the former paper on this subject are poisonous, all are intoxicating, and each of them is often the means of creating an unnatural appetite which proves a more cruel tyrant than the worst Legree of the most extravagant fiction.

No savage tribe is so ignorant as not to know, no land is so sterile as not to produce, some plant which may be employed to produce artificial mental states. The Hindoo chews his betel nut and pepper-wort. In the same way the Indian of the Andes chews his cud of coca leaves, and three or four times a day ceases his labor that he may revel in narcotic indulgence. "The inveterate *coquero* is known at the first glance. His unsteady gait, his yellow skin, his dim and sunken eyes encircled by a purple ring, his quivering lips, and his general apathy, all bear evidence of the baneful effects of the coca juice when taken in excess." These Indians also use the thorn-apple to produce intoxication, and fancy that in their drunken delirium they converse with the spirits of their deceased ancestors. The Kamtschatkan gets tipsy on toadstools, a poisonous fungus, which, collected in summer and dried for use, will intoxicate in a style equal to the "choicest liquors" of our most "respectable hotels." The Seminoles of Florida, before they had learned to use the alcohol of the white races, were accustomed to excite themselves to enthusiasm and even frenzy by means of tea made of the leaves of the *ilex vomito-*

ria, a species of the holly-tree. In Sweden it was customary, centuries ago, to add the leaves of a poisonous plant to the beer which they brewed, to render it more intoxicating and increase their drunken pleasures. The consumers of the five principal narcotics are estimated as follows:

Coca is used by	.....	10 millions.
Betel "	.....	100 millions.
Hemp "	.....	200 to 300 millions.
Opium "	.....	400 millions.
Tobacco "	.....	800 millions.

But our principal business, in this article, is with tobacco, as the drug by which the readers of the Quarterly are most likely to be ensnared and possibly injured. Among the intelligent and the good the use of opium, hasheesh, or alcohol, for the sake of enjoyment, will have few advocates; but tobacco is an almost universal favorite. Men sit with the "Hasheesh Eater" in their hands, and read its pages dimly through the smoke of their cigars, marveling at the extreme folly of indulging in the resin of hemp. As the hour for the temperance meeting to begin draws near, the lecturer thrusts a double quid into his cheek and waits his inspiration. The Florence Nightingale of a village, in her benevolent itinerancy, visits the dwelling of the drunkard and reasons with him in regard to his habits, punctuating her sentences with pinches of snuff. Those who stand arrayed against tobacco, especially those who attack it on moral and religious grounds, are so few in number that they must be content, at least for the present, to be suspected of a degree of fanaticism. So much of this obloquy as may be involved in a brief, and we trust, fair examination of the claims of the popular idol, we are prepared to bear without a groan, especially as we are well assured that we have in our favor, from the start, the secret suspicions, if not the avowed convictions, of nine out of ten even of the most confirmed consumers of the drug in question.

According to the commonly received history, tobacco was first carried to Europe, from this continent, in the year 1559, by Hernandez de Toledo, a Spaniard, who found it in use among the savages with whom he had been trading. Later researches, however, render it at least possible that the inhabitants of China and the East Indies were acquainted with its use before its introduction from America. The name is said by some to be derived from Tobasco, the province of Mexico, from which the plant was imported; others derive it from Tobago, and others still from *tabac*, the Indian name of the rude pipe which the Spaniards found in use in Central America. Jean Nicot, the French ambassador at the

court of Lisbon, sent some of the seed home, as the means of introducing to his countrymen one of the wonders of the New World, a thing of marvelous virtue. Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have introduced the practice of smoking into England. He was ashamed of the habit at first, as was very natural, and consequently indulged in private, keeping the secret from even his own household. One day, however, a servant who had been sent for some beer came into the room sooner than had been expected, and seeing the smoke rushing from his master's nose and mouth, dashed the beer in Sir Walter's face, and ran out of the door, shouting for help, declaring that his master was all on fire inside and burning up. In 1589 the Cardinal Santa Croce, returning home from Spain to Italy, carried tobacco with him as a plant of great medicinal virtue. The impression seems to have been that the new remedial agent possessed almost miraculous power. No matter what was the disease, or of how long standing, the pipe could charm it away. As popular faith in the wonder-working power of tobacco increased, the use of tobacco spread among all who could obtain it. For years, however, the supply was small. The total amount imported into Great Britain in 1689, a century after its introduction, was only one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In 1853 Great Britain consumed over thirty million pounds. For some time after it thus began to be used the price was high, and none but the wealthy could afford it. King James, in his famous "Counterblaste," denounces tobacco because of the large sums paid for it, "some of the gentry bestowing three, and some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink," a sum which, allowing for the change in the value of money, is equal to six or eight thousand dollars at the present time.

The folly and extravagance which marked the progress of the foreign weed soon brought it into disrepute among thinking men, and war was declared against it. James the First, in the book already alluded to, declares smoking to be a practice "loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof neerest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomlesse." Not content with a mere declaration of opinion against tobacco, his majesty, in 1604, the second year of his reign, imposed a heavy tax upon the imported article, and thus tried to lessen its use. In 1620 he issued another edict, commanding the planters of Virginia to devote their lands and labors chiefly to other crops, and prohibiting any one of them from raising more than a hundred pounds annually. Other sovereigns joined in the war. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII., and in 1690 Innocent XII., issued bulls excluding

from the number of the faithful and from the hope of heaven all who should use snuff in church. Perhaps these laws had their origin in the fact that public worship was much disturbed by ambitious people, who thought to build up a fashionable reputation by sneezing long and loudly in public places. Still, the threatened loss of heaven had little effect in staying the evil. The Russian government forbade the common use of tobacco on pain of having the nose cut off by the public executioner; but the smokers smoked on, retaining their pipes at the risk of their noses. Amurath the Fourth, of Turkey, even went so far as to make smoking punishable with death. But law, even in the severest form, failed to remedy the evil, and the war against it in high places soon ceased, because the sovereigns made the discovery that the tax on tobacco, which was borne by the people without a murmur, began to assume importance, and helped greatly to fill the royal treasuries. They deemed it policy to wink at a vice which to them was proving so profitable. In 1853 the imposts on tobacco brought over twenty millions of dollars into the British treasury; and at the present moment the income derived from this source forms so important a part of the national revenues of Europe, both insular and continental, that no government there could afford to lose it. Tobacco has traversed the globe, circumnavigating every continent, touching at every island and planting on every shore the standard of a conqueror. It sways its scepter over a greater empire than Alexander or Napoleon ever saw in their rosiest dreams. It rules its subjects with a rod of iron, taxing their property, their health, their usefulness, their happiness, every fiber of the body and every power of the soul.

The United States are foremost in the culture and the consumption of tobacco. For several years past the amount annually produced has averaged two hundred million pounds, valued, in its raw state, at fourteen millions of dollars. An army of eleven thousand men, aided by water power and steam, are employed in cutting it for smoking and chewing, rolling it into cigars and grinding it into snuff. A portion of the crop, partly in its raw state and partly manufactured, is exported. That which is retained for home consumption costs the consumers at least twenty millions of dollars, a sum probably equal to the aggregate salaries of all the school teachers, college professors, and ministers of the Gospel, from Maine to Mexico and from ocean to ocean.

But what is tobacco? Why do we use it? What effects does it produce? Is the habitual use of it a good and wise thing? Should its votaries continue the indulgence, and those now strangers to it acquire the taste and form the habit as soon as practicable?

To the eye the plant is like a small sun-flower plant, save that it has small blue blossoms, instead of the broad, honest yellow ones of the other. Commercially it is an article of great importance, worth eighty or a hundred dollars per hogshead. Financially it is an enormous tax upon the pockets of nations and individuals. Socially it forms a bond of brotherhood among one class of the community, and to the rest it borders on a nuisance. Chemically it is composed of the ordinary elements, except that every part of the plant contains a peculiar principle, to which the odor, taste, and effects are owing. By distillation this peculiar principle may be extracted from the woody fiber, and appears as a "volatile, oily, colorless alkaline liquid, which is heavier than water, and to which the name of *nicotin* has been given. It has the odor of tobacco, an acrid, burning, long continuing tobacco taste, and possesses narcotic and very poisonous qualities. In this latter respect it is scarcely inferior to prussic acid, a single drop being sufficient to kill a dog. Its vapor is so irritating that it is difficult to breathe in a room in which a single drop has been evaporated. The proportion of this substance contained in the dry leaf of tobacco varies from two to eight per cent." (Johnston.)

Besides this volatile alkali there are two other active elements peculiar to tobacco. When the leaves are mixed with water and distilled, a very small quantity of fatty matter comes over and floats upon the surface of the water. "It has the odor of tobacco and possesses a bitter taste. On the mouth and throat it produces a sensation similar to that caused by tobacco smoke. When applied to the nose it occasions sneezing, and when taken internally it gives rise to giddiness, nausea, and an inclination to vomit."

The third substance is formed when tobacco is burned in a retort or in a common pipe. This is an empyreumatic oil, which is a virulent narcotic poison. "One drop applied to the tongue of a cat brought on convulsions, and in two minutes occasioned death. The Hottentots are said to kill snakes by putting a drop of it on their tongues. Under its influence the reptiles die as instantaneously as if killed by an electric shock. It appears to act nearly in the same way as prussic acid."

These three poisons, or three forms of the same poison, are always present in tobacco, and act upon the consumer with more or less directness and power, according to the mode in which he employs it. The *narghileh*, or long Turkish pipe, in which the smoke bubbles through a vase of water on its way to the mouth, is the mildest way of indulging that form of the habit; the cigar and the short metallic pipe are the worst. The chewer escapes the action of the

essential oil formed in the process of combustion, and, other things being equal, suffers less from a given quantity of the drug. Other things being equal, the tobacco user who discharges his saliva most freely while chewing or smoking will feel the least effect.

In regard to tobacco as an article of *materia medica* we do not know that we can quote a more reliable authority than Professor Wood, of the University of Pennsylvania. In his lectures on the various substances employed as remedial agents, he classifies *digitalis*, *prussic acid*, and *tobacco* under the head of "nervous sedatives." These are "medicines which, in their primary operation, reduce at the same time the nervous power and the force of the circulation. All of them obviously affect the functions which belong especially to the brain, and rank with those medicines usually called narcotic. They are applicable therapeutically to complaints attended with nervous disorder and unhealthy exercise of the heart and arteries." In the "Materia Medica" of Drs. Wood and Bache, a standard work, it is thus described: "In its action on the animal system it is one of the most virulent poisons known. A drop of it in the state of concentrated solution was sufficient to destroy a dog, and small birds perished at the approach of a tube containing it," being killed by the mere vapor. The same authors add that when employed as a medicine tobacco should be used with great caution, as it has in several cases, even when administered by a physician, caused the death of the patient. One case is mentioned. For some affection of the skin a child was bathed with the juice pressed from tobacco leaves, and death soon followed. It must be borne in mind that these effects are not only produced by the distilled oil, but by the mere leaf, and by the tobacco as it goes into the pipe of the smoker or the mouth of the chewer. A single leaf, soaked in water and bound upon the chest, causes the most distressing nausea and vomiting. Certain Indian tribes poison their war arrows with the oil, and those wounded by them sometimes die in convulsions. Quotations from medical works could be multiplied to any extent to show that tobacco is a poison. On this point doctors do not disagree. Still our business is not so much with tobacco in pills and plasters as with the tobacco habits of the day. It must be confessed that medical testimony in regard to tobacco as a remedial agent is rather dark against tobacco as a luxury. If a leaf laid upon the chest makes a man vomit, it would seem unwise for him, without a very substantial reason, to grind the leaf into powder and snuff it up his nose, or put it into his mouth and chew it, or roll it up into a cigar and smoke it. Let the experiment be tried by one whose system has not been corrupted by its use, and

the immediate palpable results show it to be poisonous. A very few puffs create a giddiness of the head and a tremor of the nerves which declare the presence of an enemy. Let the daring experimenter continue to puff, and the symptoms of physical distress grow more decided until the seeker of knowledge under difficulties is sick, as he thinks, unto death. The muscles are relaxed and powerless, the face is livid, the breathing is labored, cold drops of sweat stand upon the forehead, and the victim of experimental philosophy pants in an agony of nausea and loathing indescribable. After the lapse of an hour or two the effect ceases, and the new smoker revives, perhaps to laugh at, as a good joke, the sickness which God designed to be a warning. Take now the same person, ten years afterward, a confirmed devotee of tobacco, consuming five, ten, or fifteen cigars a day. Suppose him to return home at night, after a very busy day, during the last five or six hours of which he has not tasted food, drink, or tobacco. He is weary and hungry, perhaps nervous and irritable, but the appetite which he feels most sensibly is the appetite for tobacco. He eats his supper in haste first that he may smoke at his leisure afterward. The meal being over he seizes his pipe or cigar, and the first three puffs give him more apparent pleasure than the needful wholesome food which preceded it. His satisfaction grows as he continues to smoke. His nerves sink into a delicious quiet, his fatigue is remembered no more, the cares and perplexities of the day fade into the distance, and his whole being, body and soul, yields to pleasant repose. The whole man, in fact, is under an influence which is only one of the milder forms of intoxication. Such are the effects of smoking, as nearly as we can ascertain them. We confess that we have found it difficult to learn what are the elements of the pleasure experienced by the habitual user of tobacco. The initiated seem not to be able to analyze their own sensations, or else there is a very general unwillingness to reveal them to an outside inquirer. It will be safest for us, therefore, to keep in view the undisputed effects of tobacco when employed as a medicine.

To return, then, to our medical authorities, tobacco is a "nervous sedative," whose effect is "at the same time to reduce the nervous power and lessen the force of the circulation." We infer, therefore, that the "delicious repose" which constitutes the chief charm of tobacco, arises from the fact that the whole system feels its influence, and that the nerves are less sensitive and the beating of the heart is less frequent and strong. The tobacco user, like the consumer of alcohol and opium, feels the power of his drug in his whole being. Will he doubt this assertion? When he seizes the cigar

or the quid so eagerly, after a few hours' abstinence, what is the nature of the gratification which he seeks? Does he do it as he eats a peach, or chews a piece of cinnamon, because the taste is agreeable? Not so. His nervous system has become accustomed to the effect of his drug, just as the opium eater and the consumer of alcohol have become habituated to theirs; and he craves his unnatural gratifications on physiological grounds but little removed from theirs. They need to be stimulated, he narcotized. In the cases of all three their drugs have perverted their nervous systems, and created artificial wants, a need of those drugs, and without them they are all three unnerved, spiritless, and miserable. Deprive the inveterate consumer of alcohol, the opium eater, and the user of tobacco in any one of its forms, of their poison, and they are alike weak in body and wretched in mind, and their nerves are so shattered by a few days' abstinence that they are on the verge of insanity. We have known one case in which tobacco produced effects bordering on the *delirium tremens*. These facts speak a language which ought not to be misunderstood. They show that it is not the mere taste of tobacco, but its narcotic effect upon the whole system, which gives it its wonderful power to charm and enslave. We have been told, in all apparent sincerity, and somtimes with tears, by the victims of this drug, that they could not give up the practice. The unnatural appetite is so despotic, the agonies of reforming so terrible, that their reason, their self-regard, and even their conscience, were unable to stem the torrent. No; it is not the mere sensations produced in the nerves of taste which make the craving for tobacco so remorseless. It is the power which it possesses of so subjecting the system to its sway that without it life seems impossible.

Some may fancy that this description of the difficulties of reform is overdone, and that even the farthest gone may easily retrace his steps. Though all the reformed may not suffer the same horrors, the picture has not a single shade too deep. The idea of an easy return is one of the delusions which throw their flattering light along every evil path. We cannot know the power of a habit till we resist it. The dog fastened to the axle of his master's wagon never knows the strength of the chain that binds him till he pulls back. A gentleman of worth and intelligence, an unwilling victim, who has tried more than once to be free, but is still a slave of the drug, has assured us that he would gladly give money, and give liberally, to be rid of the habit, but that the remembrance of the failures already made deprives him of the courage to attempt again. Some reform for a time, and after weeks or months of abstinence

the undying appetite for the old indulgence overthrows their strong resolutions and they fall. Who would bow his neck to a yoke of iron? Who would so bind himself, soul and body, to a poisonous drug that without it life becomes weariness and religion itself yields no joy? If any, the drug is before him, and numberless respectable examples on every side.

Assuming, as we surely may from the foregoing, that tobacco subjugates the whole physical system, reducing it to the most abject dependence upon its enslaver, the question still remains, What is the immediate visible result of each indulgence? Again we return to our medical authorities. Digitalis, tobacco, and prussic acid are "nervous sedatives," whose property it is to "reduce the nervous power and the force of the circulation."

But, as we have seen, muscular force, as well as mental and emotional power, depends upon the circulation, and that when the heart beats feebly and slow, neither mind nor body is capable of great efforts. The immediate effect of a segar, then, is to lessen the inclination and the capacity for vigorous action. As the smoker inhales the volatile oils from the burning tobacco, and falls gradually under their influence, he gives indisputable evidence that his whole system is relaxed. He inclines to a lounging position, to stretch out his body horizontally, and lift up his feet, so that every muscle may be relieved from tension, and the whole frame yield readily to the narcotic repose. For the same reason the emotional susceptibility is lessened. Care, sorrow, and wrong have less power to irritate and distress, because, by the action of the drug upon the nerves, and through them upon the mind, the feelings are rendered unnaturally obtuse. In the same degree in which muscular and emotional power declines there is a loss of mental power. Where the habit is inveterate and excessive, and the susceptibility of the narcotic influence great, and the cigar or the pipe is smoked vigorously, there will result an almost total suspension of thought. Thus as the drug "reduces the nervous power and the force of the circulation," the brakes are applied to body and soul, and energy of every kind declines with the falling pulse. There are, doubtless, cases in which this result is less marked than in others; but the exceptions in regard to tobacco are no more numerous than in the case of other drugs, whose physiological effects are equally peculiar and definite. Some consumers of tobacco speak of the *excitement* which they think that it produces in their systems; but if the drug be a "nervous sedative," no such primary result can follow. Their impressions upon the subject can be accounted for in either of two ways. Their tobacco may be adulter-

ated, as it sometimes is, with some stimulating drug, to which the exciting effect is due. The probability is, however, that they apply the term "excitement" to the mere pleasurable sensations which they experience, and which in reality originate in the decline of cerebral and arterial activity.

Having thus briefly set forth the chemical nature, and, so far as we can ascertain them, the peculiar effects which constitute the charm of tobacco, we would, with the modesty which becomes those who stand in the minority, propose a question or two for the consideration of those who are yet uninitiated into the arcana of the drug.

First of all, we would ask, is it right thus to tamper with the mysteries of our nature? The object really aimed at is a pleasurable state of mind to be attained by laying the nervous system under the spell of a poisonous drug. The enjoyment can hardly be called sensual. The victim of alcohol swallows his dose, and in a few moments the sensuous pleasure is gone. But after the nerves of taste have ceased to recognize the flavor of the liquor, the higher nature feels the power of the drug, and mental and emotional action is greatly modified. There is an exhilaration, an elevation of the spirits, which lifts the soul out of its abysses of sorrow and care, and lends it wings for a flight above the level of earthly shadows. These wings are indeed but the waxen device of Dedalus, and, melting in the sun, they plunge the soul into seas of darkness and floods of woe. Still while they last they bear on bravely. Hasheesh and opium act in the same way, still more powerfully. The votary of tobacco, who comforts himself with a cigar or a pipe, employs means of much the same nature, philosophically considered. They all seek a pleasant frame of mind, not in communing with God, not in the vigorous normal action of the intellect, not even in lawfully meeting natural wants, but by subjecting the nervous system to the action of drugs. Is it right thus to disturb the regular workings of the mental and emotional nature? Is it right to interpose a prism between reason and fact, even though the vision be beautiful? Has the Creator, in adjusting our nature to our outward circumstances, and one part of our nature to another, so erred that we may lawfully hurry on this, or retard that wheel of his clumsy machinery? Is it right, now to intensify our emotions, now to deaden them by artificial means? And seeing that the effects desired never follow, except when drugs which are unquestionably intoxicating are employed, are not the influences experienced, whether much or little, whether exciting or soothing, really and truly *intoxication?*

Is all this morally allowable? The bodily states affect the men-

tal and moral condition. A nerve, the fourth of an inch long, and no thicker than a hair, becomes diseased, and the result may be that a man, otherwise hopeful and energetic, becomes timid and dispirited. Lay the nervous system under the power of a certain drug, and the mind is driven to preternatural activity, the fancy glowing with an inspiration before unknown, and the soul reveling in an ocean of visionary joy. Substitute another drug for this, and the animal nature is chiefly affected, and every appetite and passion possessed in common with the brute is clothed with new power and new excitability. Employ another drug still, and body and soul sink into a strange repose, the body becoming listless and inert, and the mind floating off in vague and meaningless reverie. Is all this right, if practised as a species of self-indulgence? Why shall no drunkard enter into the kingdom of God? Is it because, in walking, a right line is morally better than a zigzag course? Or is it because the drunkard, by means of his drugs, wilfully disturbs the relation of body and soul, and gives up the immortal to the mastery of the material? This seems to us the worst element of the vice, and the parent of the rest. It is the abuse of the nobler nature. It makes the servant a master, and the master a slave. It wrests the reins from Hector's hands, and drags him in the dust behind his own chariot. And wherein does drugging with alcohol differ from drugging with tobacco? We admit that the tobacco intoxication is milder and less dangerous to the individual and to others; still, is it not intoxication? The action of the mind is disturbed in the one case as in the other, and in both the thing aimed at in the indulgence is to create, by means of drugs, a pleasurable state of the mind. The substances employed in both cases are poisons, and, quantity for quantity, tobacco is far more deadly than alcohol. Is it right, then, in the case of tobacco, any more than in the case of alcohol, to seek, in the region and shadow of death, outside of natural wants and natural supplies, for something to create artificial repose of body and fictitious exemption from anxiety and trouble?

Again: This repose is the result of a reduction of mental and physical activity. Is it right for us thus to throw away, deliberately, a part of our energy and efficiency? If tobacco "reduces the nervous power and the force of the circulation," it also reduces the general vigor, lessens the number of the ideas, the depth of the emotions, and the inclination to bodily motion, and makes a man practically smaller in every respect. To prove that the use of tobacco wastes the natural forces, we appeal to its votaries themselves. Do we not often hear men say that they use it to prevent

their becoming too fleshy? And how does it accomplish this? It does it by impairing the appetite, and by creating a perpetual waste of saliva. The excessive secretions which it causes are as sure a drain upon vitality as a severed vein would be. If a man is robust, with a strong tendency to accumulate flesh, he may endure it for a time; but the thin nervous man will soon show the tokens of failing power. Those organizations upon which the habit fastens most readily and firmly are most liable to be injured. The first apparent effect will be seen in the languid movement, the lack of physical energy, which is apt to mark those who indulge excessively in tobacco. A votary of the drug may succeed in life, but he does it in despite of his habits; and were this clog thrown off, this prodigal waste of vitality stopped, soul and body would be stronger, purer, brighter, capable of more, better fitted to act life and enjoy life, than when thus impeded.

It is hard to see how the habit of using tobacco in any form can fail to be deleterious. As has been shown, tobacco is a powerful poison, soothing, gently intoxicating, stupefying, or destroying, according to the degree in which the system is under its influence. How can the system be subjugated by a poison, and go unscathed? The process of poisoning may be certain where it is slow. Mithridates, of old, fearing that his enemies would attempt to poison him, accustomed himself gradually to the various deadly drugs then known, and after a time found that he could bear a dose that would have killed him when he began the process. He lived to be eighty years of age, yet will any one doubt that his drugs shortened his life.

Veteran consumers of tobacco may be found, and so may veteran drinkers of alcohol, but the existence of the former proves no more than that of the latter. The strongest apologist for tobacco will admit with all readiness that excess is injurious; but who shall draw the line that divides excess from moderation? To what extent may a man place his brain and heart under the narcotic influence, and for how many hours daily, and how much of the drug shall he be allowed to consume in the process? What shall be the criterion of moderation? If you allow a certain weight of tobacco per day, and declare that this quantity must never be exceeded, the system of the consumer will in time so adjust itself to the quantity allowed as to lessen the narcotic effect. The "delicious repose" of the body and the dreamy reveries of the mind will be less marked, less pleasurable, as the nerves become less susceptible of the intoxication, and finally the tobacco user has little motive to continue the practice, except that he is all unnerved and miserable without it. If we adopt the other rule, and say that to be narcot-

ized to a certain degree, so many hours daily, is moderation, then the quantity must be increased from time to time. Every consumer of the drug feels this tendency to increase the quantity. Here and there one detects it at an early stage of his career, and lays down rules for his own guidance, and by self-mastery adheres to them. The vast majority yield. It is characteristic of all drugging habits that they naturally grow. Of bread, and beef, and water, a man may consume no more this year than he did last year, and yet his wants are as well supplied. Of alcohol, opium, and cerebral stimulants generally, Dr. Woods remarks: "Their influence is diminished by habit more rapidly than that of any other class of medicines. It is necessary gradually to increase their dose in order to obtain from them the same impression." Let the smoker or the chewer, who has progressed in the ordinary way for ten years, suddenly return to the quantity which he found abundantly sufficient for him at the end of the first year of the ten, and he will acknowledge that the remark quoted above is applicable to tobacco as well as alcohol and opium. How the habit increases is obvious. Suppose a man is accustomed to smoke one cigar every evening; in ordinary circumstances he finds it sufficient to quiet his nerves and lull mind and body to dreamy repose. But let him be peculiarly troubled or irritated, and one cigar is not enough to produce the degree of narcotization which he desires, and to which he is accustomed, and another must be lighted. Sometimes the example of others who are farther advanced in the habit, and whose society he enjoys, encourages him to proceed. And worst of all, as the victim of alcohol or opium loves the effects of his stimulus and increases the quantity that he may plunge more deeply into his unreal joys, so the consumer of tobacco loves his more gentle intoxication, and is tempted to seek a fuller tide of enjoyment. Where, then, shall the line of moderation be drawn? But suppose this difficult task performed, where shall the seeker of narcotic joys find the wisdom and the strength never to pass the line? Shall he depend on his own native decision of character and self-control? Alas! daily observation, if not experience, renders the prospect in that direction not very full of promise. Venturing upon perilous ground for the sake of needless self-indulgence, will he pray to the Strong for strength? Who would dare approach the throne of heavenly grace with so doubtful a prayer? Who would kneel and say, "Lead us not into temptation," and then deliberately rush into it with his eyes wide open?

Our whole supposition is a fallacy. No line can be drawn to separate rational Christian indulgence in tobacco from irrational un-

scriptural excess. Of the use of the drug as a medicine, by those who need it, we say nothing; but employed to secure narcotic enjoyment, we confess that tobacco seems to us too dangerous a thing, and the purposes for which it is employed too nearly allied to those for which alcohol is used, for it to escape arraignment on moral and religious grounds. But whatever may be our opinions in regard to the practicability of fixing a limit both theoretically and in practice, all will admit that excess is by no means uncommon, and that many are thereby injured. The ill effects are most visible when boys of only ordinary strength of constitution become excessive smokers and chewers. They soon become languid, inert, inefficient, indisposed to physical exercise, as well as hard mental labor, and consequently less successful as students, and less useful as clerks and apprentices, than they would otherwise be. And all who use the drug freely are liable to be injured.

Johnston makes the following quotation from Dr. Prout, whom he styles an excellent chemist, and a physician of extensive medical experience, whom all his scientific cotemporaries held in much esteem:

"Tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, as I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle. Some poisonous principle, probably of an acid nature, is generated in certain individuals by its abuse, as is evident from their cachectic looks, and from the dark and often greenish yellow tint of the blood. The severe and peculiar dyspeptic symptoms sometimes produced by inveterate snufftaking are well known, and I have more than once seen such cases terminate fatally with malignant disease of the stomach and liver. Great smokers, also, especially those who employ short pipes and cigars, are saidto be liable to cancerous affections of the lips. But it happens with tobacco, as with deleterious articles of diet, the strong and healthy suffer comparatively little, while the weak and predisposed to disease fall victims to its poisonous operation. Surely, if the dictates of reason were allowed to prevail, an article so injurious to the health and so offensive in all its modes of enjoyment would speedily be banished."

But we will not multiply authorities to prove facts which few will venture to deny, nor will we repeat the common arguments against tobacco habits founded on their cost in time and money, and their offensiveness to those not addicted to the same. These things, and more, are left for the consideration of those who, after reading this article, shall feel, as many may, that the subject ought to be more fully examined before they finally settle the question in regard to what is lawful and best in their own case. To this investigation we leave them, not only hoping that they will reach the right result in theory, but wishing them great success in conforming their lives to their logic.

In the early days of the Wesleyan societies the Methodist trum-

pet blew no uncertain sound in regard to tobacco. The preacher in charge of a circuit was directed "as soon as there are four men or women believers in any place" to "put them into a band," and "see that every band leader have the rules of the bands." The directions given the band societies December 25, 1744, contain the following: "You are supposed to have the faith that overcometh the world. To you, therefore, it is not grievous:

"I. Carefully to abstain from doing evil; in particular

"1. Neither to buy nor sell anything at all on the Lord's day.

2. To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician."

"7. To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician."

The preachers in charge were directed to enforce "vigorously, but calmly, the rules concerning needless ornaments, drams, snuff, and tobacco." When a new "helper," or preacher, was received he was asked before the Conference: "Have you faith in Christ? Are you going on to perfection? . . . Do you take no snuff, tobacco, drams?" The seventeenth question and answer in the Large Minutes read thus:

"*Quest.* Have those in band left off snuff and drams?

"*Ans.* No. Many are still enslaved to one or the other. In order to redress this, 1. Let no preacher touch either on any account. 2. Strongly dissuade our people from them. 3. Answer their pretenses, particularly curing the colic."

At the Christmas Conference of 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, all legislation on the subject of tobacco was repealed, except the band rule against it, and in 1792 that rule was also repealed. Whether this retrogression is to be attributed to a secret love of the drug among the preachers themselves, or to the acquisition of light not possessed by Wesley, or to the difficulties in the way of enforcing the rules, it might not be safe for us to decide. Nor will we even conjecture the fate of the Church if the rule had been made general, and rigidly enforced, whether Methodism would have been stronger and purer than it now is, or whether its commission to "spread holiness through these lands" would have become null and void. One thing, however, seems tolerably clear, if the habit of using tobacco is commendable among Christians, our Church ought to cease publishing tracts against it, and strike out No. 127 from the list.

Art. III.—THE MORAL THEORY OF THE BIBLE AND OF PHILOSOPHY HARMONIZED.

The paradox between moral philosophy and theology lies in this: that the former restricts the moral region exclusively to the action of the will, while the latter extends it to the thoughts, sensibilities, and physical functions, nay, even to the undeveloped capacities and tendencies of our entire nature. Moral science ascribes the moral quality of the actions to the intentions, that is, to the choice of what the conscience approves or disapproves; not to the ideas of it, nor the feelings respecting it, nor to the overt acts; these have in themselves no moral character whatever, and are absolutely incapable of it; all the right or wrong in any wise applicable to them is to be traced to the volitions, and properly belongs to the volitions alone. The Bible, on the other hand, not only attributes right and wrong to the intentions, and even goes so far as to blame us for doing what God has not forbidden, provided we think it wrong, or even doubt that it is right, as in eating meat that had been once offered to idols; but it also declares that we "are by nature the children of wrath," and that "death passed upon all men for that *all* have sinned," and accounts for it by our descent from Adam: "As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Now, here is an apparent contradiction between science and revelation! How can we reconcile them? Here is the problem of ages, and far more important than that of reconciling the discoveries of geology with the Mosaic account of the creation; for that has troubled only the learned, and those who are so situated as to read the rocky records of the pre-Adamite world; but this has perplexed all serious minds, and is perpetually pressed upon the attention by the ever varying aspects of our experience. Miss Catharine Beecher, in her work, "Common Sense applied to Religion," has expressed the agonized feelings of thousands who have tried in vain to understand these mysteries by the aid of popular theological systems: "*There must be a dreadful mistake somewhere*, but I will trust, and obey, and wait quietly for light."

It is often contended that moral science is superseded by revelation. This is true, whenever the direction of revelation is beyond science; but not when it seems to come into collision with science. Many truths we should expect inspiration would disclose which could not be discovered by reason; but then science is founded on facts and formed by strict induction; it admits of no contradic-

tion; the evidences of inspiration and the principles of interpretation cannot establish a biblical theory or a theological dogma any more firmly. One belief can never be abandoned for another, but they must be held separately, until you arrive at the means of reconciling them. To do otherwise, to suppress the evidence of reason and experience, because it seems to invade some cherished religious creed, has always the effect of disgusting thoughtful and observing men with such a creed, and, in many minds, endangers the credit of religion itself. It would better serve the Christian faith, if the principles and canons of interpretation were rigidly tested by reason, and especially that nothing should be allowed as a proper rendering of Scripture which is contrary to common sense. Common sense, the intuitive universal judgment of mankind, is the first and last principle of interpretation.

But is the science of morals, as above stated, well established by induction? Let us see. In every instance of action, if we analyze our experience, we shall find a conception of something to be done, attended by certain emotions and desires appropriate to it, also by ideas of right or wrong, and the corresponding emotions of approval or disapproval and feelings of obligation; then comes the volition to act; then follows the nervous and muscular motion, if it be an overt action; or if it be a mental action, as reckoning up an account, the series is completed by the mental operation. Now, in all these phenomena, there is no such thing as liberty except in the volition alone; all the other operations, mental and physical, are necessary. The thoughts come and go by the unalterable laws of association or suggestion; the emotions and feelings are spontaneous, the nerves and muscles are governed by a vital mechanism; all these obey their appropriate antecedents; they have no alternative. But when the volition is put forth it is with the conviction, clear to your consciousness as the volition itself, that you might have made an opposite choice. Here then is liberty: it is an attribute of the will, and it is nowhere else.

Equally clear in every mind is the conviction, the intuitive belief, that guilt or innocence, merit or demerit, attaches to the volition. Here, then, certainly, both reason and revelation find the moral region; but the moment you go beyond, reason dissents, and for no other cause but the absence of liberty. Liberty then is the *sine qua non*, the indispensible condition of the imputation of virtue or vice to our experience and conduct. If at any time we speak of thoughts, and feelings, and overt actions as right or wrong, it is only as they are dictated by the free will. If the intention exists, the moral movement is complete, whether the mental or physical

phenomenon obey the will or not. But without your choice, and especially against your choice, no temper, or affection, or train of thought can have any moral character; they have no more merit or demerit than the beating of the heart or the burning of a fever. If any doubt this, and attach blame to what is born in us and not subject to our choice, nor in any wise possessed of the attribute of liberty, let him consider whether it be not the prejudice of sect or creed. Let him bring the question home to his reason, and if it be not contrary to his intuitions, then his mind is of a peculiar order. What! blame a babe for inborn tempers prompting him to act, and prior to any intelligent volition! Regret you may feel for him and pity; but you can no more impute to him merit or demerit for such a mental constitution than for being born with a scrofulous or scorbutic body. This is as much an intuition and just as certain as any axiom of mathematics, or the principles that lie at the foundation of the inductive sciences.

But is the will free? This has been controverted. It is controlled by motives, it is said; and an appeal is made to consciousness and to the principle of causality.

All that we are conscious of, it is argued, is each state of mind in succession, when on a perception of an object and an excitement of feeling we put forth a volition, we are conscious of that volition, that choice; we cannot be conscious that we might have made an opposite choice, for the consciousness takes cognizance of what is, not what might be in the operations of the mind. This is strictly true, and is a complete answer to the argument from consciousness as it is commonly stated; but it is not so stated above. I said that in every instance of volition we are conscious of a conviction that we might have chosen differently. This conviction is an intuitive belief; it is ever present in the mind at the time, and is as clear as the volition itself. These intuitions are the absolute measure and ground of certainty; nay, they are certainty itself; for what is certainty to the human mind but the highest form of belief, absolute and necessary belief. Therefore we may say, in the strongest terms we know, that we are free in our volitions; we know that they are not the necessary consequents of thoughts or feelings of any kind called motives. It is admitted that we never choose without a motive, for this would be to choose nothing: we feel, moreover, that motives are often very powerful; they seem *almost* irresistible by the will at times; but never altogether irresistible, until the mind is crazed and completely wrecked.

As to the argument that here is an event without a cause, we answer, not so; the will is the cause of its own volitions; it is the

mind in its absolute sovereignty putting forth volitions, on the occasion of motives, freely preferring one to another. It is true that when the motives are of the same kind it usually elects the strongest; but the motives of passion are always mixed with moral motives; and when these are opposite there is a proper alternative, because there is a difference in kind between the moral and the pathematic sensibilities. This alone, according to Dr. Hickok, constitutes the ground of liberty in the human mind; and it must be admitted that it is sufficient for all purposes of moral responsibility, inasmuch as the sentiments of right and wrong are always present on every occasion of action. Still, I think it is not the whole ground, for when the moral considerations are the same, and the other motives for and against a certain decision are of unequal strength, though we usually prefer the stronger, we still feel that we might have chosen the weaker; though in that case we should convict ourselves of folly; but of folly we are often conscious.

We now understand what is meant when it is said the moral quality of the action lies in the intentions. Intentions are frequently defined as motives, or the objects or ends we have in view; but this is an inadequate definition; they involve something more than motives or ends, namely, the choice of them; not choice alone, but the choice of motives to govern our action. When is an intention right? When the choice is in accordance with the idea of right, as given by the moral judgment, or conscience; and it is wrong when contrary to the conscience. Thus, it is wrong to intend harm to any one, or to intend to gratify yourself at the expense of another's rights. Why this is wrong no answer can be given, but that the moral reason intuitively and necessarily so affirms. Now, it is not sufficient that a man should have good or bad motives, that is, impulses at war with his conscience or in harmony with it, to render him virtuous or vicious; he must elect them to govern his action, and until his choice is made he is not a subject of praise or blame. But suppose the man has been badly educated, or suppose he has rejected evidence, and has come to a mistaken judgment of the rights of his fellow-men or the claims of God. His duty is to rectify his judgments, if he suspects them to be erroneous; but if he is without such suspicion, his duty is to choose according to his present knowledge of right and wrong. Reason forbids him to do otherwise. Shall a man do what he thinks is wrong? Never. Dr. Wayland, in his excellent text-book of Moral Science, at the outset lays down the principle that the moral quality of a man's acts resides in the intention; but in a subsequent chapter in respect to virtue in imperfect beings, forgetting his main

principle, he makes a man responsible at every moment, not only for what he knows of duty, but for what he might have known had he improved every opportunity to learn his duty. His error lies in confounding past time with present. In the case supposed, the man was responsible to act according to evidence when it was presented, and his guilt was great indeed when he set it aside; but now that he sincerely thinks he knows his duty, to require him to act contrary to his belief is to pervert the doctrine of intentions, and to make "confusion worse confounded." Then two men, one of whom had improved the knowledge he received, and the other misimproved and perverted it, would at the present moment be equally innocent in opposite courses of conduct! Strange as this conclusion seems to our philosopher, his original doctrine of intentions obliges us to adopt it. But, mark, it is only of the present intention and its moral character we speak. Historically the two men are widely apart in their moral character, but the guilt of the bad man must be charged to him when he perverted evidence, and it was immense; but now, when he would do his duty, will you condemn him for the attempt? Is it wicked for him to intend right? What more has the good man done at any moment than to do as he thought right?

It may be thought that this inextricable confusion, as the consequence of wrong action at the outset, is its just punishment. If it be so, then probation at that point should come to an end. It is unjust, in the view of reason, for a man to be tried and condemned for what he cannot help. Ability to do or to forbear is the just measure of accountability. It is absurd and cruel in the extreme to require of a man according to what he hath not This notion of Dr. Wayland is a common one; but I think it makes a man's probationary state more dreadful than hell itself, for in hell we behold no such spectacle as that of a lost mind lifting itself up against the surges of seeming evil, and vainly striving to rectify itself on the principle of right, and by that very effort plunging itself into a deeper abyss of guilt and woe. The sentiment of hell is what Milton makes Satan express: "Evil be thou my good;" and this, on Dr. Wayland's suggestion, might not only turn out to be the best policy but the best morality!

Much confusion will be removed from the whole subject of moral agency and responsibility by considering what constitutes a just probation. A probationary state is one in which the righteousness of a rational being is tested by the conflict of passion with conscience to result in appropriate rewards or punishments. A just probation requires that the person under trial should not only pos-

sess a free will, but a proper adjustment of the pathematic and moral sensibilities; for it must ever be borne in mind that though the will is free, of its very nature, yet motives have great influence on it; never, indeed, so great as to be irresistible, but often so great as to distress the mind, and in extreme cases to create a mortal agony. Precisely what that adjustment should be, none but the All-wise God could determine; but reason would require that, if the passions were very violent, the conscience also should be very powerful. Were a being to have by nature such an adjustment of the passions and moral feelings as that, though possessed of a free will, he would, in fact, always choose to act wrong, we should say that this must be a malformation of his nature, a moral depravity, and to such an extent as to make it altogether unreasonable and unjust to keep him in a state of probation liable to severe penalties; and if this were true of his whole race, we should say the race must be depraved by nature, and so depraved as not to be in a condition to undergo a fair trial. If any one should occasionally and for a brief period be put on trial with such a moral constitution, or in any way more perilous still, he should have ample opportunity to reverse his wrong decision, and under more favorable conditions. Without such relief, how much would his probation differ from a state of retribution? To make heaven secure to the righteous, it is not necessary to destroy the free will of the redeemed. That can never be destroyed but by the destruction of his rational nature. It is only necessary to make the balance of motives greatly and perpetually in favor of virtue. No man feels himself in danger of going to the top of his house and throwing himself off, and yet he is free to do it. In hell, likewise, we may suppose, no loss of free will spreads despair over the realms of evil, but only the absence of suitable motives to repentance. Free agency, therefore, is not sufficient to make probation just; there must be a proper distribution of the active powers. A probation without a sufficiency of favorable motives would be just as abhorrent to reason as a probation without liberty itself.

As it regards retribution, we may remark, that reason requires that it should be measured in degree or in duration by the nature of the trial, that is, by the difficulty of choosing right. In an important sense the duration of rewards and punishments must be endless; for a single opportunity for virtuous action misimproved leaves the soul forever destitute of attainable perfection, just as a single lesson neglected leaves the scholar forever so much short of attaining the knowledge which was once possible. It must also in degree be severe enough to give sanction to the law and to support its authority, without being so terrible in anticipation as to be too power-

ful for the will, or even to eclipse the moral motive, the sentiment of duty. The mind must be so influenced in a state of probation that it will choose right for the sake of right, or it can never attain to virtue. Reason abhors the doctrine that future punishment can be such, in its nature or circumstances, as to involve the condemned in the necessity of going on in sin, and consequently increasing in misery. When retribution takes place the precept of the law is suspended by the penalty, and no longer applies as in a state of probation. What regimen the condemned may be under, will be suited to their capacity and condition, and the observance or violation of it will be followed by appropriate consequences; but this is a new order of things. How absurd, in a state prison, to punish a man for not attending muster, or working out his tax on the highway, since he is placed in a condition where such service is impossible! Civil law with him is in fact suspended, and applies to him only as to its penalty, and such precepts as are suited to his state. If he violate the rules of the prison, let him be punished for that; but anything more is the height of cruelty and tyranny. It is from not considering the difference between a state of probation and a state of retribution, that theologians and preachers have pictured a hell so full of horrors as to exceed the hyperbolical license of poetry itself, and from its ever deepening abyss of torment to send up a smoke to cloud and stain the throne of Infinite Justice.

Such in its outlines is the moral theory, derived from reason and based on psychology in its present advanced state. The mind of man is so contrived that, whatever be its outward circumstances and antecedents, it has within itself a proper theater for the trial of virtue; for there is in every human being in this world a moral reason presiding over all his actions, and pronouncing them right or wrong; impulses of passion and conscience contending for mastery, and a sovereign and free will to make the momentous arbitrament. How human nature came to be what it is in its moral powers and phenomena, is beyond the power of reason to discover; for that we must look to revelation.

Much as the moral theory of the Bible seems to differ from that of science, they will be perfectly harmonized by a liberal construction of the doctrine of general redemption, and by a just distinction between moral right and wrong and legal right and wrong. The law was made for a perfect humanity in a state of probation. It required a perfect development of that humanity in all respects, directly demanding nothing but the obedience of the free will; but indirectly a perfect exercise of all the faculties, mental and physical, because it would naturally and completely follow the exercise of right voli-

tions. But man, being tried by an object which excited natural desires to do what, after the Divine interdiction was known, the conscience forbade, freely chose to yield to his passions, and become at once conscious of guilt. He therefore fell under the penalty of the law, which was death; but, behold! grace intervenes and restores him to a probationary life. Now in order to make the new probation a blessing and not a curse to him, it behoved the grace of God to do one of three things: to restore the ruined man to all his original and perfect capacity to obey the law; or to abolish that law, and substitute another adapted to his fallen nature; or, leaving the law as the standard of perfection and the rule of life, to provide resources whereby man might ultimately attain to perfection, and in the mean time to accept his voluntary reception of those resources and earnest endeavors to obey the law, in lieu of a perfect obedience. The latter is the scheme of salvation revealed in the Gospel. "For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death. For what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." St. Paul to the Romans, viii., 2, 3, 4. 'The grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works." St. Paul to Titus ii, 11, 14.

These texts, properly expounded, and fortified by other passages, which will readily occur to every person familiar with the Gospel, but which the space allotted to this article will not allow us to quote, teach us that man, recovered from the prostrating power of the law, is restored to moral agency, so far as to enable him to make a perpetual endeavor to keep the law, and to avail himself of the provisions of grace to atone for the past and to aid him for the future; but the law, standing as a rule of life, though no longer as a condition of salvation, condemns everything contrary to its own perfect requirements. Man, therefore, being left imperfect, except in the power of choosing the right, when it is made known to him, is under legal condemnation; but from this he is justified, so long as he wills and does what he is enabled to will and to do by the assistance of grace. The offspring of Adam, partaking of his fallen nature, are under the same legal condemnation; for the law approves

of nothing but perfection; but from this they are entirely justified, and without conditions of any kind, prior to the period of life when their understanding of God and duty is so developed as to make it proper to hold them personally accountable for their voluntary disobedience. "As by the offense of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." Romans v, 18. The justification here is just as extensive as the condemnation. The grammar of this passage, and the scope of the argument, forbid a different construction. Infants, therefore, hold the same relation to the government of God, without faith, which adults attain through faith. On this ground they are entitled to baptism and membership in the Church. This is not saying that they are regenerated, for observation shows that a child does not spontaneously love God, even after he has adequate knowledge of him, as he loves his parents and other kindred, though, by Christian culture and God's blessing thereon, he may attain to it, prior to the period of accountability. If he dies an infant, he will receive regeneration and sanctification, and whatever else is necessary for a state of perfect moral order. At present he is under no condemnation but a legal condemnation, and from that he is justified by grace.

What is there in this distinction which is unreasonable? In civil life the law is made for all, young and old, wise and ignorant; and everything contrary to it is a legal offense; but a just magistrate will pardon every unavoidable violation of it, committed through ignorance or by necessity, remitting the penalty entirely, or leaving only so light a penalty as the public order may require and justify. If children, by the fault of their parents, are found in violation of the law, they are legally condemned, though no just magistrate would pronounce them morally guilty, or punish them as such, prior to their voluntary and intelligent adoption of the predicament of legal transgression in which their parents had placed them. Here, then, is an obvious distinction between morality and legality. Similar distinctions are familiar to moral science. Dr. Wayland makes a distinction between right and wrong, and guilt and innocence. "Right and wrong depend on the relations under which beings are created, guilt and innocence depend on the knowledge of their relations." (Moral Science, p. 91.) Also, in the chapter on "Veracity," he remarks: "Moral truth consists in our intention to convey to another the conception of a fact, exactly as it exists in our own minds. Physical truth consists in conveying to another the conception of a fact precisely as it actually exists. Those two do not always coincide. I may innocently have obtained an incorrect con-

ception of a fact myself, and yet may intend to convey it to another precisely as it exists in my own mind. Here, then, is a moral truth, but a physical untruth." (Moral Science, p. 276.) Precisely analogous to this, the Scriptures contemplate the offspring of Adam as legally condemned and graciously justified; and these terms are employed, instead of the philosophic terms, "wrong" and "innocent," to conform to the mixed system of law and grace under which man is born.

The distress which good and great men, like Edwards, have felt in view of the depravity of their nature, even after conversion, is now easily explained. They viewed it in the light of a perfect law, and, by mistake of their theology, they implicated themselves in the guilt of it. A man who has discovered that he has uttered a physical falsehood, in an emergency involving life and property, as in the case of mistaking signals at sea, will feel a deep distress; but his distress would be insupportable if he allowed himself to think that his unavoidable mistake was criminal. In like manner an artist feels the deepest mortification because he does not realize in his creations the beautiful ideal of his genius, though compared with other men's, his works are praised as models of the art; but how intolerable would be his chagrin at times if he attached a moral character to his short comings. You can never get at a true theology from the experience of the wisest and best of men. A false philosophy, like that of Edwards, which confounded the will and the affections, or a creed derived by a perverted interpretation of Scripture, will color all their experience to their view, and cast a shade of Divine wrath over passages in their lives on which God smiles, as showing the vigorous and sublime struggles of a noble will against the mighty currents of violent passion, over which the moral victory is achieved when it is defied, and its dominion over the conduct repelled. These tendencies of our nature are incompatible with a state of perfect order; they must be subdued and brought under the easy control of the will; but their existence and violence, so far from being imputed to us as crime, furnish rather the occasion of the loftiest virtue. Hence the wisdom of God has left them in us after conversion, that our complete sanctification may be the achievement of our own minds inspired by grace.

This view explains also those passages of the Scriptures in which men, prior to conversion, are described as "dead in trespasses and sins." They refer to our nature considered as under the law, and aside from grace. Such, after the fall, mankind would have been had it not been for grace; but mark you! there would have been but just two of them, and the race would not have been propagated. But now a totally depraved man on earth is one of the

myths of the pulpit, for total depravity in a state of probation is a moral impossibility; it furnishes no basis for a trial; in short, both Scripture and consciousness reveal in man moral power to do all that is required of him in order to acceptance with God, though not immediately all that the law originally demanded. The legalist who has not received the good news that Christ will accept the will for the deed, will be often in an agony of disappointed endeavor, as described in the seventh chapter of Romans, for he will perpetually find that his power to will and his power to do are at variance. And yet his defeat and despair may teach him, if he has good sense, what are the bounds of his actual obligations; he will find a light in his own mind respecting the terms of his probation. Thousands of men, who have never heard of Jesus Christ, have said, as the conclusion of their unsuccessful efforts to subject their thoughts and feelings to their ideal of duty and moral excellence: "Well, if I cannot do what I would, I will do what I can; and God be merciful unto me!" To all such there comes complete relief when the Gospel is preached unto them, for now they know that God is merciful to man upon those very terms; for there is no other condition of salvation.

I do not for a moment forget that faith in Christ is the only condition of salvation to those who hear the Gospel, for I understand St. James to teach that all genuine faith involves the principle of all good works. Faith is no talismanic act that has a potent spell within itself; it is no technical, positive, arbitrary requirement; it is the first and natural duty of all who have proof that Jesus is the Christ. Hence repentance is sometimes set forth as the sufficient condition of salvation; for repentance, implying regret for all past wrong, and a purpose to do right in future, will lead to faith in Christ, just as soon as his character and relation to the sinner are understood. The real principle embraced in all the Scriptural statements of the conditions of salvation will, upon analysis, be found to be universal right intention, choosing right because it is right. Hence Jesus says: "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." On this sole condition, God's grace in Christ Jesus our Mediator and Redeemer, is justly and properly bestowed on all men under every dispensation, and to every degree of salvation in order—justification, regeneration, entire sanctification, and eternal life. Christ having made satisfaction to the law, it is now proper to bestow upon the penitent pardon for all past offenses and the remission of their penalty; this is justification. At the same time, it is proper and necessary to inspire the soul with the love of God, which, coming in aid of the conscience, will

enable the will to have dominion over the passions; and this is regeneration. When experience shows the difficulty with which this dominion is maintained, and realizes that a more perfect adjustment is desirable, then, in answer to prayer, an increase of the power of love and of the conscience may be granted, so as to give them easy and peaceful ascendency over the adverse passions; and this is entire sanctification. This being wrought in the heart, there only remains to be accomplished a maturity of all the sentiments favorable to virtue, and an enlargement of the understanding to apprehend all the relations and obligations belonging to our sphere, to render the soul angelic in moral excellence, and to entitle it to the removal of every test of obedience; which being done, the soul is secured in eternal holiness and happiness. If to any one this looks like salvation by works, let him remember, that it is by grace that man has this new probation, together with all the moral power to meet its conditions, and therefore, if we attain to any merit, that merit is itself the fruitage and glory of grace.

Taking this view, we see that the evangelical system is the same in principle with that which reason deduces from the facts and phenomena of our moral nature; and that salvation, so far as our agency under Christ is concerned, though it is not by the works of the law, which would be impossible after a single transgression, is nevertheless on the principle of the law, inasmuch as it requires that every one should do right as far as he has capacity; and the law was in the beginning founded on no other principle. "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him."

How much better is this interpretation of revelation than those unevangelical, rationalistic theories, which have sprung from the reaction of Augustinianism, rejecting the distinctions and phraseology of St. Paul as if they were not inspired, and substituting philosophy for the deeper revelations of Scripture. Such theorists can never attain to a profound experience of holiness, because they are unconscious of the degeneracy of their nature, and know not how to repair it. On the other hand, how unspeakably better is this view of man's moral condition, than that old divinity which makes out of the legal construction of it a frightful predicament of total depravity, subject to unlimited responsibility, and dooms the soul to perdition, as a just punishment for being related to a guilty progenitor; or, what is worse, as a display of Divine sovereignty, decreeing and making a depraved nature, capable of no virtuous action, and fit only for destruction; or that paradoxical modification of it, which allows to man natural ability to obey the law, but denies him moral ability; or, in other words, allows man a free

will, but not of sufficient energy to resist the perpetual violence of passion at war with conscience. Or that recent modification of it, called new divinity, which, without making any different adjustment of passion in relation to conscience, decides that this disorder in the sensibilities is not depravity, and therefore, though the result is, that all men do choose wrong and "sin in all the appropriate circumstances of their being," it is no reflection on the justice of the Creator for having given them such a moral constitution and placed them in a state of probation; a doctrine which, while it is right in supposing that blame can only be attached to voluntary action, and has had a happy influence on the popular mind, and saved it from a radical reaction from evangelical religion, has, nevertheless, in its main positions, neither Scripture nor philosophy to support it; for the Scriptures do say that man is inherently depraved, and has no natural ability to keep the law; and philosophy declares that a will invariably governed by evil motives is proved, *a posteriori*, to be either without liberty, or subjected to such impulses as to unfit it for a state of probation; and, furthermore, that such a moral malformation is depravity.

The doctrine of general redemption relieves every difficulty, and the conflict of ages ceases. Instead of shuddering at the moral order of our world as instituted by God since the fall, we admire it. It is just such a world as God could wisely and justly create by an act of power, without the intervention of a fallen progenitor, and without the necessity of a divine Mediator; albeit, in such a case, the law given for its government would not be a law of absolute perfection, but adapted to the capacity of its subject. The presence of the perfect Adamic law in our fallen state is all that creates our moral difficulty. Why it was not set aside as a standard of duty when man was preserved in a deteriorated nature to pass through a new probation, we may not be able to say. Some great and good men take this view, and consider the Gospel as a law of liberty substituted in its place. But this is not Scriptural. Christ declares: "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill." Standing no longer as a condition of life and salvation, but as a rule of life, it answers as a perfect ideal of moral excellence, and presents at once a monument of the original greatness of our nature and an index of its future glory; it reveals the evil of sin in its nature and consequences; makes a grand lever of reform in the individual and in society; shows the glory of Christ as a Mediator, whose cross is seen in bold and brilliant relief upon its dark and lurid background, and impels us to him by all the power of an awakened conscience and of adoring gratitude.

Art. IV.—RELIGIOUS CATALEPSY.

Certain mysterious phenomena have been occasionally witnessed in connection with religious emotions and exercises, consisting in suspended motion and consciousness. These phenomena have either been held as completely inscrutable, or accounted for as differently as were the mental culture and moral character of those who have passed judgment upon their nature and cause. If the person witnessing such examples, and who attempts to solve the difficult problem, is himself truly pious, embracing in his own mental constitution a strong element of the mystical and the superstitious, he will probably resolve the whole matter into the immediate power of God. This to him is an ultimate truth, admitting of no explanation. He will therefore neither seek nor desire any thing further.

But should he be of an incredulous temper, one whose views of experimental religion have been hastily and crudely formed, and which are consequently without much scope or analysis, he will resolve the whole thing into blank delusion, feigned impositions, or mere excitement growing out of surrounding circumstances. Or, from a mingled feeling of prejudice and repugnance, persons of this stamp may be ready to construe this mere accompaniment of religious exercise, but constituting no part of its essential character, into a formidable objection to all experimental religion, as if glad to meet with such examples of total or partial paralysis, and make them the occasion of downright mockery and scorn of Christianity itself; thus bringing the whole system into contempt and ridicule.

Others may feel as if the key to those undeniable facts which they have frequently witnessed, could it only be obtained, is a most important desideratum. Distinguished more perhaps for sincerity than deep and earnest reflection, being better Christians than philosophers, they ardently desire to experience "the power," as it is often termed, simply to satisfy their own curiosity as to its mysterious nature. These constitute, probably, the leading views which have currency in the community on this subject, and on which, as such, very little within our knowledge has ever been written. Hence, unless we misjudge, it is a subject worthy of more consideration than it has hitherto received.

But that any attempt which may be made at a philosophical analysis of those peculiar affections, will not be open to objection to some minds, is perhaps more than there is reason to expect. Cher-

ishing the tenderest and most sacred regard for the cause, some will be ready to look upon any such attempt as a sort of profane intrusion into the "holy of holies," fearing it will be construed to the prejudice of existing confidence in the presence of that Divine influence in the Church on which they justly regard its vitality and success to depend. All such fears are wholly groundless. True philosophy and true divinity cannot be antagonisms. They are so regarded only by those who mistake the true character of one or the other, or of both. All truth flows from the same eternal source; it must, therefore, be in harmony with itself. To all enlightened Protestant minds a greater heresy cannot be promulgated or cherished, than that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Hence, to an intelligent, sober, inquiring mind, the grand question on this subject is, "What is truth?" On what hypothesis should those cases of suspended consciousness and motion occasionally witnessed under religious emotions and exercises be resolved? To this question any intelligent solution, which shall be candidly proposed, should be heard and weighed with at least equal candor, whether it prove satisfactory or otherwise. This is all we ask for the views which follow.

We have entitled the marvelous phenomena, into whose nature we propose to inquire, religious catalepsy. The term catalepsy is used by medical writers to express a peculiar form of disease, consisting in a suppression of sensation, motion, and consciousness, when the subject is senseless, speechless, and remains fixed in the position in which he was when the affection seized him. The etymology of the term sheds some light upon its radical import, whether applied to a form of disease, or, with the prefix *religious*, to designate the peculiar affection under consideration, when it is assumed nothing morbid is involved. It is derived from κατα intensive, and λαμβαινω, *to seize, grasp, lay hold of*. This is strictly true of the subjects of religious catalepsy, who in ordinary are suddenly seized with a partial or total suppression of consciousness and motion, which state continues with little or no variation while they are under what in common parlance is termed "the power." But we repeat the remark that nothing morbid or in the slightest degree prejudicial to physical health is assumed to attend or result from this sort of paralysis.

By way of anticipation we might here observe that we assume the cause to be, not simple, but mixed, consisting remotely, and perhaps in the largest degree, in the peculiar physical temperament of the subject. Its immediate cause in most cases, not in all, doubtless is the agency of the Holy Spirit producing the given result through the peculiar physical temperament just named, in connection with

sympathy and strong mental impressions; so that the cause may be summed up thus: remotely the physical temperament, together with the moral, intellectual, and sympathetic elements combined. In most cases, where the work of grace is deep and genuine, the moral element is doubtless immediate and paramount, touching all the responsive and yielding, though latent, susceptibilities in the mental and physical constitution of the subject, which, as so many constituent elements in the cause, combine to produce the result witnessed.

As the cause is of a mixed character, the result, partaking of the nature of the cause, is also mixed, though doubtless, in some cases, the physical and the sympathetic greatly predominate over the intellectual and the moral. For who can doubt that the physical effect of the Holy Spirit upon a congregation is contagious through mere sympathy, while conscience remains but slightly awakened? This is said discarding all design to disparage the gracious and powerful influence of the Spirit, which, like "the wind, bloweth where it listeth." It is said in allusion to the philosophy of the phenomenon in question, as we may judge from results which follow, especially upon the unconverted; of which more hereafter. So much as to the general character of the hypothesis on which we suppose the phenomena under consideration to be resolvable. Let us next inquire into its basis, together with some of the facts and circumstances which usually concur in actual examples of religious catalepsy.

That man is not only a compound, but a complex being, is a mere truism to every one who has duly reflected upon his own mental and physical constitution. The recondite link which connects the immaterial actuating spirit with the material organism, is too subtile to be a matter of intelligent speculation to the profoundest metaphysician or physiologist. Those who have penetrated the farthest into the secrets of nature are and should be content with a recognition of this inscrutable fact, without attempting an *exposé* of its nature. Nor is it strange if, based upon this vital union of the material and immaterial constituents in man's compound nature, we should meet with vast complexity in the action of mind upon body, and *vice versa*. So much at least as will tend to foil our most earnest attempts at strict analysis, and our greatest efforts to distinguish between the mental and physical in the phenomena witnessed in the affection under consideration; enough, indeed, to exclude from any hypothesis which may be chosen as furnishing a solution of the mystery involved, everything which savors in the slightest degree of dogmatism.

From the conceded fact no longer called in question that the brain is the organ of mind, as a firm stand-point, or perhaps it were

better to say starting-point, let us not slide off into the empty chimera of phrenology, whose base, as far as it respects sound philosophy, is so narrow, that the superstructure, as such, "topples to its fall." This our limits forbid us to stop to show, which, despite some things urged by its votaries in its support which may claim a degree of speciousness, we believe it would not be a difficult task to do. Our only object is to present certain data as the basis of the hypothesis on which it is believed the phenomena in question may be resolved.

Let it be remembered, then, that this organ consists of two compartments, as physiologists inform us, called the *cerebrum* or front brain, and the *cerebellum*, or back brain. In volume the front brain is said to be much the larger. This compartment is supposed to be the organ of the understanding, will, and other active mental powers, while the back brain is held to be the seat of the passive mental susceptibilities, into which department ideas are received by sensation through the medium of impressions made upon the outward senses, and thus affecting the nervous system. These ideas thus received through the perceptive faculties, supply the raw material, so to speak, of thought, reason, judgment, for the exercise of the active powers, whose seat is in the front brain. On this theory, for whose truth, as such, it is not necessary to vouch, but which seems entitled to rank with other brain-theories, and to contend for dominance till superseded by another more plausible, the back-brain is the seat of all our intuitional and instinctive ideas or perceptions. These instinctive and intuitional perceptions are so many passive susceptibilities, which are not in the slightest degree dependent upon our will, judgment, or reason. And between these two mental departments, with their respective organs, the active and the passive, there is the closest intimacy, the most perfect harmony, and mutual reciprocity consistent with their distinctness and comparative independence. To a certain extent one may act without the other, or when the other is to a great degree eclipsed or suspended. How little, for example, do we see of the purely instinctive and intuitional when the active powers are intently employed in an intricate process of reasoning! On the contrary, how many things have we done from birth, and every day still do, from mere instinct, without reason, will, or intelligence! Besides, are not the mental powers called active, and which are under the control of the will, suspended and in a state of rest during sleep? And is it not equally clear that none but the voluntary or active faculties, both physical and mental, either seek or admit of cessation or repose from the constant discharge of their appropriate

functions? Were the involuntary physical powers to take a recess for a single hour, it would be fatal to the physical organism. And were the passive susceptibilities of the mind to do the same thing for any length of time, all conscious connection with the material world would be during such period completely suspended. That there is a most vital connection between these passive susceptibilities and the nervous system, and that the former operate and manifest themselves through the latter, are facts too obvious to be questioned.

Hence, it must follow as an inevitable consequence, that the more delicately strong the nervous system is, the more impressible, by just so much, must such persons be, whether through Divine agency operating through the conscience, the imagination, the animal spirits manifested in our association with and sympathy for each other, or from any other cause whatsoever. For this reason alone, as a general rule, the gentler sex outvie the stronger in nervous impressibility, as the natural consequence of their more delicate physical organism. This perfectly harmonizes with the indisputable fact that the subjects of religious catalepsy among the former greatly outnumber those among the latter. Reasoning from the theory on which it is believed this phenomenon may be resolved, this is just what might be expected. But were the reverse as to this proposition true, it would seem to constitute an objection to the theory which, as the fact is, promises to furnish the key to this mysterious affection.

Such is a glance at some of the leading fundamental principles of the proposed theory, on which, it is believed, the phenomena under consideration may be explained. Space precludes a more full and detailed presentation. And if the ground occupied is tenable, it would be useless; if untenable, it would be worse than useless. But it should be borne in mind, that while the cause of this phenomenon is more or less mixed, in connection with its influence upon the subject, certain *antecedents* usually both precede such effect and promote its realization. The mind may be the medium through which the body is affected, and possibly, though it must be the exception and not the rule, the body may be first affected, and thus become the medium through which the mind is influenced, which thus reacts upon the body. But when physical paralysis takes place through a physical medium, it follows that the effect is purely physical, not moral, even though the cause is moral. But the person whose antecedent mental conception or exercise usually supervenes between the cause and the phenomenon, is in an abstractive, meditative state. And while we admit and contend for the largest direct Divine influence upon the whole man, which is warranted by Divine teaching, still in

cases of religious catalepsy, why may we not believe that this very influence may induce that antecedent mental state just named? When the cause is not divine, this antecedent mental state, from some other cause, is not only conceivable, but seems absolutely necessary to the result.

To illustrate: Let us suppose a religious assembly to be before you. A sermon, or series of them, followed by appropriate exhortations, have been delivered. The well-directed aim in all has been to produce immediate effect, and to rouse to immediate moral action. To this one point all the showings and appeals have been directly aimed. The attention of the audience has been strongly arrested. The feelings are wrought up to the highest state of tension and excitement. In this, of course, some individuals greatly surpass others; but all generally sympathize together. The prayer-meeting immediately ensues. All here, we will suppose, is marked with faith, zeal, ardency, and earnestness. May we not suppose that the mind in a sense loses sight of things material and visible, and becomes absorbed in those which are invisible, spiritual, and moral? The prevailing mental mood is eminently meditative and abstractive. Here, then, we have the antecedents of religious catalepsy. But who are the subjects of this affection? Are they those whose active mental powers are in the most lively exercise? Probably not; for this would of itself be sufficient to prevent their becoming subjects. Are they not those who are in a mental state directly the opposite; that is, meditative, abstractive, lost to what is active, and overwhelmed as the passive subjects of an oblivious, pervading influence? Admit the presence and influence of the Spirit, is it not also true that, while mind sympathises with mind, so does body with body? Is it not also true that, as far as any nervous influence is wielded, or is merely prevalent, that the weaker in nervous power yield to the stronger? And does not this shed some light upon the fact that the wicked as well as pious, are sometimes paralized at the same time? How well are such reigning sympathies, such surroundings, such mental associations, adapted both to produce the phenomenon in question, and to suggest the philosophy it involves. The active powers are in a sense overborne and eclipsed; and consciousness itself, in those most deeply affected, seems to retire into the passive susceptibilites. The subjects continue in this state for a longer or shorter space. At length suspended consciousness and physical paralysis subside, and, physically, all are as before. But is this true also morally? This is a most important question in connection with this peculiar phenomenon. Such is the complexity of our compound nature, and such the mys-

tery of the Spirit's operations, while doubtless all its influences are in harmony with the existing mental and physical laws of our nature, that we may well say with John Angel James: "We cannot usually distinguish between the influence of the Spirit and the operations of our own minds; nor is it necessary that we should. We cannot tell where man ends and God begins; nor ought we to trouble and perplex ourselves about this matter."*

If this is true of the ordinary operations of the Spirit to which this writer professedly alludes, how much more is it true of his extraordinary operations? On the one hand, no good man would, knowingly, derogate from the agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of grace, while none but a fanatic could ascribe that to the Spirit which, in religious exercises, is really attributable to a foreign cause. And as we said above, we regard the cause of the phenomenon in question as being ordinarily mixed, seldom or never pure; hence, only in so far as it is the result of Divine agency, can the effect involve a moral element. And inasmuch as the ordinary mode of the operation of the Spirit is to leave the subject of its influence in full possession of all his mental and physical faculties, we can make no certain reliance upon the moral character of such extraordinary cases. To be thrown into the cataleptic state in conversion, is no criterion of the genuineness of that change. The proof must be sought, and will be found, elsewhere. Religious catalepsy is not a safe standard by which to estimate a religious state, growth in grace, or personal piety in any stage of experience. Because, as we humbly conceive, the same amount of Divine influence shed upon the same person under one class of circumstances which would result in catalepsy, would, to another person in the same circumstances, and to the same person in other circumstances, be followed by no such result.

That falling into the cataleptic state is no standard by which to estimate piety, is clear from the fact that some persons of a nervous, impressible temperament, acquire the power to put themselves, almost at pleasure, into the religio-cataleptic state, and it becomes a habit with them to do so at their ordinary devotions. It is done by abstracting their minds from everything visible, tangible, sensible. Some might regard this as a proof of extraordinary piety; such persons may perhaps take large credit to themselves on this account; while it is resolvable into their peculiar temperament, together with their meditative and abstractive mental habit in their devotions; and perhaps to nothing else.

That our passive susceptibilities exert great sway over our active

* Anxious Inquirer after Truth, page 71.

mental powers, co-operating, if not coalescing with them, may be demonstrated by some familiar facts. Who does not know with what facility one may acquire the vicious habit of stammering, by accustoming himself to imitate one who has the misfortune to be a stutterer. The sway of the passive susceptibilities over the active faculties at length becomes firm and relentless, like that of an inexorable tyrant, showing how much easier it is to form vicious habits than to supersede them by those which are good. And who has not proved upon himself with what exactness he can wake in the night at a given hour when he wishes, and has charged himself so to do? The philosophy of this coincidence is even more mysterious than the cataleptic state under inquiry. All the active powers, mental and physical, were in a state of repose. Hours had glided away. The given hour at length arrives, when, quick as thought, as if roused by the call of a vigilant and trustful sentinel—like a camp of soldiers at the first note of alarm, the hand of each grasping his arms and springing to his feet, all are prepared for the existing exigency—thus at the summons of the sleepless, passive susceptibilities of the soul, the active faculties, at the call of the former, instantly resume their respective functions. And it only requires due persistence in such a purpose, accompanied by the practice of rising at the time of waking, to establish the habit which secures the result for weeks and months together, and without the care and charge with which it was done at the outset. Custom forms the habit, and habit secures the result; and all by a process which is perfectly philosophical.

1. The first inference drawn from the above showing is, that there is danger of placing quite too much importance upon this occasional feature of personal piety and of revivals of religion. We cannot resist the conviction that the cataleptic exercise is the slenderest of all evidences of the genuineness and depth of the work of grace. It is not a criterion of piety. A revival may be genuine which is thus characterized. One may be equally so which is not marked by a solitary example of catalepsy; and precisely so as to individual Christians in every stage of experience. It must not be taken as the test or measure of piety. Other tests exist.

2. We are compelled to advance a step further. When we consider that the most reliable Christians for any post of trust or duty within the service of the Church, are not those who are distinguished for this peculiar trait of character, but for the depth, soundness, and permanence of their moral and intellectual qualities; when we note the fact, to which an exception has never come to our personal knowledge, that when the authorities of the Church are

in quest of a missionary or teacher for some foreign field, they uniformly pass over all this class of persons, and fix upon such as, with equal piety, are not distinguished for such habits; when we see how close is the relation between this cataleptic element in a church or community, leading to a consequent aspiring after it as the highest religious attainment, and the rankest religious fanaticism, we cannot repress the sentiment that leading members of the Church, and especially ministers, should not encourage it among the people. Let the latter, on the contrary, aim so to address themselves to the conscience, the understanding, the will, the rational and Scriptural hopes and fears of the masses, that with the promised aid of the Spirit, the character of the piety of the Church may be rather intelligent and deep, a matter of conviction and of principle, than of physical excitement, emotion, and mere feeling. A piety based upon the former, and distinguished by those features of character, has in it, after all, more of power as well as permanence. And for the best of all reasons, that it first forms and then distinguishes a class of mind expanded by culture and consolidated by conviction; and as "knowledge is power," this class must and will exert vastly more influence upon the world than that class ever did or can wield which is distinguished for the opposite qualities. A religion, not of impulse, not one which is fitful, narrow, or unstable in its character or tendency, but one which is elevating, expansive, reflecting, active, and permanent, at an equal remove from latitudinarianism and bigotry, is the want of the age. Such a religion, with all the appliances and agencies at her command, the Church is bound to supply. The world is waiting to receive the boon at her hand. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not countenance, much less advocate the doctrine that the Church should be limited to a sort of intellectual, educated, much less a monied aristocracy; or that religion should be a mere intellectual but frigid thing, without warmth, life, or sensibility. Nothing is further from our judgment, taste, or desire. On the contrary, let the intelligent, the enlightened, the fervent, the solid be duly combined. Let religion be a matter of conviction, of rule, of practice, of principle, as well as of feeling. And wherever it is of this type and spirit, unless we greatly misjudge, like a river whose source is exhaustless, whose channel is deep, whose volume is large, and whose current is steady and strong, unbroken by rapids or cataract, the tone of such piety will be of a much higher average as to emotion, ardency, and propellant stimulus to Christian activity, than when the whole picture is reversed. There may be less of the impulsive and fitful, but more of the substantial, reliable, efficient, and influential.

3. Nor can we find a solitary example of religious catalepsy recorded in the Old or New Testament. Not one in which at the same time there was a total suppression of the mental consciousness and muscular activity. Could one such instance be shown, it would present the question in a different aspect, and modify our own views at least respecting the philosophy of the whole matter. Could a solitary example be adduced from the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, or the apostles, an example evinced by a clear and judicious interpretation of such passage, we would yield to none in according to it the most deferential consideration. Such an example we believe cannot be produced; or if one such can be shown from the primitive Church, it would deserve serious attention. But if no such instance can be produced from Scripture history or the primitive Church, and this peculiar affection is only a feature incident to religious exercises in occasional times and places in the modern ages of the Church, then our convictions would be confirmed that it should be regarded as an accompaniment of the work of grace, to be viewed rather as a blemish than an ornament, and which, if encouraged, will prove a greater detriment than advantage to the cause of Christ and the honor of his kingdom.

4. In conclusion we beg leave to emphasize the remark, that we would neither sit in judgment upon, nor condemn any one for being a subject of the affection, the philosophy of which we have discussed. We make it no test of a sound conversion or of genuine personal piety. We are seldom in the least "tried" in witnessing such phenomena. We simply apply what we suppose to be the true principle of analysis, and resolve the whole matter upon the theory which we have imperfectly developed. We are aware how much allowance must be made for the diversity of temperament, taste, education, and mental habits and character, in religion. This should prompt us to exercise that large but discriminate charity which "hopeth all things." In fine, we sum up all with the prophet: "What is the chaff to the wheat?"

Art. V.—THE LIFE OF SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honorable Sir James Mackintosh. Edited by his Son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq.; Fellow of New College, Oxford. Two volumes, pp. 499, 524. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1854.

James Mackintosh was born in Scotland, October 24, 1765. His native town was Aldourie, on the banks of the Loch Ness, county of Inverness. At the age of ten he was sent to school at a small town called Fortrose. Having much of his time at his own command, he was little disposed to regular habits of study. He was, however, a great reader, but read without method or regularity. Occasionally he made an attempt at writing poetry, at which he was not altogether unsuccessful. Before he was thirteen he avowed himself a Whig in politics, and talked with enthusiastic feelings on the exciting political topics of the day. These irregularities he much regretted in after life. He painfully felt that no subsequent effort could atone for "that invaluable habit of vigorous and methodical industry which the indulgence and irregularity of his school-life prevented him from acquiring." However, his school days were not entirely lost to him. The books he read belonged to the more substantial department of English literature. Some of them, being treatises upon abstruse metaphysical subjects, we suspect had much to do in directing his mind to those philosophical inquiries which afterward rendered him so eminent. He left Fortrose, having acquired the rudiments of an English education, and able very imperfectly to construe some portions of the classics.

In October, 1780, young Mackintosh entered King's College, Aberdeen. During his first winter here he read several elaborate works in addition to his regular studies. Among these were Priestley's Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion, Beattie's Essay on Truth, and Warburton's Divine Legation; works certainly recondite and elaborate enough for a lad of fifteen. He refers to the latter when he says: "It delighted me more than any book I had yet read, and which, perhaps, tainted my mind with a fondness for the twilight of historical hypothesis, but which certainly inspired me with that passion for investigating the history of opinions which has influenced my reading through life."

At Aberdeen Mackintosh is described by one of his fellow-students as having been the center of all that was elegant and refined, by general acclaim, installed *inter studiosos facile princeps.* He

was familiarly designated "the poet," or "poet Mackintosh," and in connection with Robert Hall was the principal attraction of the literary club. It was at Aberdeen that Hall and Mackintosh first met. As their intimacy then had a controlling influence in directing their pathway to future eminence, it deserves special notice. Dr. Gregory, in his beautiful memoirs of Hall, has given us a graphic description of their peculiarities and mutual pursuits:

"Their tastes at the commencement of their intercourse were widely different, and upon most of the topics of inquiry there was no congeniality of sentiment; yet, notwithstanding this, the substratum of their minds seemed to be of the same cast, and upon this Sir James thought the edifice of their mutual regard first rested. . . . They read together, they sat together at lectures if possible, they walked together. In their joint studies they read much of Xenophon and Herodotus, and more of Plato, and so well was all this known, exciting admiration in some, in others envy, that it was not unusual, as they went along, for their school-fellows to point at them, and say, There go Plato and Herodotus. But the arena in which they most frequently met was that of morals and metaphysics. After having sharpened their weapons by reading, they often repaired to the spacious sands upon the seashore, and still more frequently to the picturesque scenery on the banks of the Don, above the old town, to discuss with eagerness the various subjects to which their attention had been directed. There was scarcely an important position in Berkeley's Minute Philosopher, in Butler's Analogy, or in Edwards on the Will, over which they had not debated with the utmost intensity. Night after night, nay month after month, for two sessions, they met only to study or dispute, yet no unkindly feeling ensued."

From these discussions Sir James declared that he learned more in regard to principles than from all the books he ever read. Hall, on the other hand, "reiterated his persuasion that his friend possessed an intellect more analogous to that of Bacon than any other person of modern times."

He passed through the regular course at King's College, and took his degree in the arts, 1784. The time had now come when he must choose a profession. He writes:

"My own inclination was toward the Scotch bar. But my father's fortune was thought too small for me to venture on so uncertain a pursuit. To a relation, from London, then in the Highlands, I expressed my wish to become a bookseller in the capital, conceiving that no paradise could surpass the life spent among books, and diversified by the society of men of genius. My cousin, 'a son of earth,' knew no difference between a bookseller and a tallow-chandler, except in the amount of annual profits. He astonished me by the information that a creditable bookseller, like any other considerable dealer, required a capital that I had no means of commanding, and that he seldom was at leisure to peruse any book but his ledger. Our deliberations terminated in the choice of physic, and I set out for Edinburgh to begin my studies in October, 1784." Vol. i, pp. 20, 21.

This choice, we may presume, was submitted to with no inconsiderable reluctance. The study and practice of medicine seemed to promise little congenial to his taste:

"To the natural sciences connected with the study of medicine, he had always shown indifference, if not dislike. The slow results of experiment, the minute investigations of nature, the deductions of the positive sciences, had no charm for him; mind and its operations, man and his thoughts, actions and interests, and the inquiries connected with them, were the objects of his unwearied and delighted study." Vol. i., p. 46.

Consequently one is not surprised to learn that he occasionally exhibited youthful impatience at the restraints of academic discipline, and that "his inclination for desultory reading and speculation" so greatly absorbed his mind, that he was familiarly called an "honorary member of the classes."

One thing, however, at Edinburgh, was entirely congenial to his taste, as it was certainly adapted to produce a thrilling effect on those powers which distinguished him so much at Aberdeen. We refer to the deep-toned literary feeling prevalent there. Edinburgh was crowded at this time with eminent men. Every department of literature and science had its representative. Men pre-eminent in knowledge, with minds polished and expanded by books and scholastic discipline, had diffused an elegance of manners, and given refinement to thought. A spirit of ambition was equally diffused among the students. In such society, amid competition and ardent aspirations for fame, a spirit of indolence was marked with infamy.

Having accomplished his medical course he quitted Edinburgh in the month of September, 1787, "with a store of knowledge more varied and comprehensive than methodically arranged, or concentrated on professional objects, but with aroused energies and youthful confidence in the future."

The next spring he visited London for the purpose of acquiring practice. He entered the metropolis little suspecting how easily he was to be allured from the ostensible object of his visit. Society in England, as well as on the continent, was already heaving with the coming storm of the French Revolution. Questions of liberty and reform were discussed wherever men met together, and the public mind was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement. The profound and elegant works of Montesquieu, in connection with the productions of Rousseau and Voltaire, had prepared the way for this devoted period, while the revolt of the American colonies, and the financial bankruptcy of France, accelerated the movements of gathering clouds.

In addition to the generally exciting state of society, there was one special event calculated to arrest the attention of an ambitious youth. The trial of Warren Hastings had just begun. Day after day a dense throng crowded the seats and avenues of Westminster-Hall. Burke and Sheridan, at that time two master spirits of the

British bar, were putting forth their greatest efforts in the prosecution. The works of Burke Mackintosh had always admired. His sentiments of wisdom, arrayed in gorgeous language, had always stirred his youthful heart; and now that an opportunity offered, he crowded to the scene where he might feel the magic of the great man's voice.

These events, it may well be suspected, were little favorable to the quiet settlement and unobtrusive practice of the medical profession. Consequently, after several attempts to secure practice, he dismissed all thoughts of medicine, and "embarked on the more congenial current of politics."

The following paragraph gives us an idea of his peculiarities and mode of life at this time:

"Even at this early period he formed the delight of the societies which he frequented, not so much by the variety and extent of his knowledge, which even then was uncommon, as by his extraordinary flow of spirits, and lively but good-natured wit. He had always, even as a student, been distinguished by the amenity and politeness of his manners; and he was now compelled in London, as he had formerly been in Edinburgh, to pay the tax of these agreeable qualities. His company was sought after, and few were the occupations which induced him willingly to decline a pleasant invitation. He considered the mutual communication of agreeable information, and the interchange of social feelings, as not the least valuable object of human existence. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that his high spirits and vivid enjoyment of the company of his friends, deprived, as he now was, of any regular study or occupation, produced the natural consequences, and that for a season he gave himself up more to the jollity and thoughtless pleasures of his boon companions than the reflections of his quiet moments approved. . . . But if Mr. Mackintosh had not prudence sufficient to keep him from such haunts, his education, his character, his manners, the refinement of his mind, his habits of study and meditation, which never forsook him, his admiration of all that was elegant, generous, and noble, and his feelings of right, kept him always prepared for rousing himself from his trance, and asserting the natural elevation of his character." Vol. i, pp. 47, 48.

But the realities of life began now to press upon him. He had been in the metropolis a whole year without any professional pursuit. His time had been spent principally at the house of his maternal uncle, where he had been entertained as a guest. Without finances, without any regular source of income, and comparatively in the midst of strangers, what to do he knew not. In this state of uncertainty and poverty, the next step he took was not calculated to lessen his solicitude. He had become attached to a beautiful young girl, Miss Catherine Stuart, who visited occasionally at his uncle's, and their wedding festivities were privately celebrated in Mary-le-bone church, February 18, 1789. The relatives of both parties were of course justly offended. But this event, which at the time it were impossible to conceive would result otherwise than in

painful embarrassment, had almost a romantic sequel. From this time the whole stream of his destiny seemed to be changed.

"The new situation on which he had entered, formed, in his own thoughts, a marked era in his life, and called him to the exercise of new duties, of which his mind had always been too impartial, and his judgment too sound, not to estimate the true dignity. His feelings at every period of his life were essentially domestic, and even when most fond of company, he returned with pleasure to the simple enjoyments of the circle at home. He was easily amused. His good-nature made it painful to him to give uneasiness to any one near him. His love of study, the refinement of manners it cherishes, his turn for moral disquisition, and the high aspirations which never forsook him, his very love of good and polished society, were powerful auxiliaries to withdraw him from his failings. Happily Mrs. Mackintosh's dispositions were such as lent them the most efficient aid. She not only loved her husband, but was proud of his superior talents; with anxious solicitude and exemplary patience, she studied every means within her reach of recalling him to the habitual and methodical exercise of his abilities. She rendered home agreeable to him and his friends. She bore with his infirmities without murmuring, counseled him with tenderness, encouraged him to exertion. Her firm practical understanding speedily gained a useful influence over his kind and yielding nature—an influence which she never lost, and which, to the last, she attempted to employ for his benefit, and that of their children." Vol. i, p. 50.

He now applied himself assiduously to literary efforts. He studied incessantly, and wrote for various periodicals; and while he thus increased the range of his knowledge, he obtained a competency by the activity of his pen.

Meanwhile political events on the Continent were verging to a crisis. The French revolution was rapidly and terribly advancing. It had not only dethroned the king, and terrified and scattered all orders of the nobility, but its effect had crossed the Channel, and was painfully felt in every part of England. At this crisis Burke published his celebrated "Reflections." It was in reply to these that Mackintosh made his first attempt at elaborate authorship, in writing his "Vindiciæ Gallicæ." This "Defense," though composed in great haste, was discovered to be the work of a keen and powerful disputant. It was applauded everywhere, and was even quoted by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons. The chivalry it displayed in making an attack upon the very chief of political champions, with weapons, too, with which he was perfectly familiar, gave to the work a peculiar prestige. We cannot pause here to make extracts. It is enough to say that his remarks on the expediency of the revolution, the character of the National Assembly, the popular excesses which attended the abuse of freedom, and the new Constitution, were not only written in a style of classic elegance, but revealed a surprising grasp of political and historical knowledge.

It was some time previous to this he began to turn his attention to the profession of law. He had devoted himself with industry to

the preliminary studies required, and was admitted to the bar in November, 1795, by the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and attached himself to the home circuit. Aside from the usual curriculum of legal studies, his attention was early directed to the science of international law. This was a department to which his philosophical cast of mind more naturally inclined him. The study of natural law formed a part of the continental system of education, and also that of Scotland. But for the English student no such provision had been made. A sense of duty, therefore, as well as a predilection for this department, led him to form a plan for a course of lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations. He applied to the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn to grant him the use of their hall in which to deliver the lectures. They demurred, however, at first, on the ground that the author of "Vindiciæ Gallicæ" had uttered sentiments obnoxious to some portions of that body. To quiet the fears of his opponents, he published the introductory lecture, in which he gave a general outline of the whole course. The impression produced by this discourse, both in England and on the Continent, placed Mackintosh at once in the first rank of philosophical writers. Pitt, then prime minister, wrote him a private note, in which he said: "The plan you have marked out appears to me to promise more useful instruction and just reasoning on the principles of government, than I have ever met with in any treatise on the subject." And the following beautiful lines from Campbell, though doubtless the gushing tribute of personal friendship, will not be thought too highly colored by any who have read the tract referred to:

"If Mackintosh had published nothing else than this 'Discourse,' he would have left a perfect monument of his intellectual strength and symmetry, and even supposing that essay had been recovered only imperfect and mutilated, if but a score of its consecutive sentences could be shown, they would bear a testimony to his genius as decided as the bust of Thesus bears to Grecian art among the Elgin marbles."

The hall was finally granted, by the decisive interposition of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, and the whole course, consisting of thirty-nine lectures, was given to the public.

"The novelty of the undertaking, the acknowledged abilities of the author, and his early fame, acquired by the powerful support of opinions which it was known that the course of public events had induced him to modify, threw an interest over the execution of the design that daily filled the hall of Lincoln's Inn with an auditory such as never before was seen on any occasion." Vol. i., p. 107.

Soon after Mackintosh entered upon his legal pursuits he lost his fond and amiable wife. He felt this bereavement most keenly. She had been the cheerful companion of his poverty, and besides,

her gentle spirit, her counsels, and the constant encouragement she gave him in his literary and professional labors, contributed much to his prosperity and public reputation. While the affliction was still fresh a letter to his old and familiar friend, Dr. Samuel Parr, reveals the bitterness of his feelings, while it pays a just and beautiful tribute to her memory. It is an affecting memorial of domestic tenderness and sorrow. We regret we have space only for a single paragraph:

"I use the first moments of composure to return my thanks to you for having thought of me in my affliction. It was impossible for you to know the bitterness of that affliction, for I myself scarcely knew the greatness of my calamity till it had fallen upon me; nor did I know the acuteness of my own feelings till they had been subjected to this trial. Alas! it is only now that I feel the value of what I have lost. In this state of deep, but quiet melancholy which has succeeded to the first violent agitations of my sorrow, my greatest pleasure is to look back with gratitude and pious affection on the memory of my beloved wife, and my chief consolation is the soothing recollection of her virtues. Allow me in justice to her memory to tell you what she was, and what I owed her. I was guided in my choice only by the blind affection of my youth. I found her an intelligent companion and a tender friend, a prudent monitress, the most faithful of wives, and a mother as tender as children ever had the misfortune to lose. I met a woman who, by the tender management of my weaknesses, gradually corrected the most pernicious of them. During the most critical period of my life she preserved order in my affairs, from the care of which she released me. She gently reclaimed me from dissipation; she urged my indolence to all the exertions that have been useful or creditable to me, and she was perpetually at hand to admonish my heedlessness and improvidence. . . . Such was she whom I have lost, and I have lost her when her excellent natural sense was rapidly improving, after eight years of struggle and distress had bound us fast together, and molded our tempers to each other, when a knowledge of her worth had refined my youthful love into friendship, before age had deprived it of much of its original ardor; I lost her alas! (the choice of my youth, and the partner of my misfortunes) at a moment when I had the prospect of her sharing my better days." Pp. 95, 96.

Mackintosh had not been long at the bar before he was engaged in several important cases, in which he displayed great forensic ability. The most important was the trial of Peltier, a French emigrant royalist. This was an indictment for libel on Bonaparte, then first consul. The defense, as conducted by Mackintosh, though a splendid specimen of eloquence, was rather an eloquent and powerful defense, on general principles, of the liberty of the English press, than a direct argument for his client, based on the facts in the case and addressed to an impartial jury. He had *equity* undoubtedly upon his side, but the *law* was evidently against him, and Peltier was pronounced guilty. Lord Erskine was present during the trial, and before going to bed wrote the following note:

"Dear Mackintosh,—I cannot shake off from my nerves the effect of your most powerful speech, which so completely disqualifies you for Trinidad or India. I could not help saying to myself as you were speaking, *O terram, illam, beatam, quæ hunc virum acceperit, hanc ingratam, si ejecerit, miseram, si amiserit.*' I perfectly approve of the verdict; but the manner in which you opposed it I shall always consider as one of the most splendid monuments of genius, learning, and eloquence. Yours ever,

Monday Evening. T. Erskine.

The intimation contained in this note refers to a project which had been, for some time, entertained by Mackintosh, of a professional settlement in either the East or West Indies. His hopes were gratified in the course of a few months in being selected, by government, to succeed Sir William Syer as recorder in the British province of Bombay. The appointment was made in 1803, and the honors of knighthood were conferred on him about the same time.

Having been now for the second time married, (April 10, 1798,) he started, in connection with his family, for his distant home, early in 1804:

"His first care, next to his tender and assiduous attention to Lady Mackintosh, who suffered from illness during a part of the passage, was directed to the instruction of his children. He allowed no duty to interfere with this. Besides the more varied instructions which their mother took a pleasure in affording, he regularly read with them some book of English literature, particularly the poetical works of Milton, and the papers of the Spectator written by Addison. He never intermitted his own readings, which were directed to most subjects of human curiosity, except the mathematical and natural sciences. He had on board his excellent library, and he employed many hours daily in running over, or studying the works he had recently added to it; but always intermingling some classical writers of ancient or modern times, a practice from which in no circumstances did he ever deviate. In the course of the voyage he availed himself of the leisure which he possessed, and of the assistance of his daughters' governess, a young German lady, to study the German tongue, some acquaintance with which he had gained several years before. By vigorous application he now became a proficient, not only in the poetical, but in the philosophical idiom of that opulent language, a circumstance of the greatest service to him in pursuing his subsequent metaphysical inquiries into the history of German philosophy. He also paid more attention to Italian literature than he ever before had leisure to do, a natural consequence of which was, that it rose considerably in his estimation." Vol. i, pp. 203, 204.

They arrived at Bombay the 26th of May, and on the 28th the new recorder took his oath of office, and entered at once on his duties. His residence in the East is the least fruitful of incident of any part of his life. It is impossible to read his Memoirs without a feeling of regret that he ever went there. Separated from his friends, and at a distance of fifteen thousand miles from his native land, the thread of his political connections snapped asunder, with no generous and intelligent public to stimulate him to prosecute and

complete the noble literary and philosophical projects he had conceived amid the excitements of London, he pined in secret over a destiny he had voluntarily chosen. He felt that the allurements of a future pension and the largeness of his salary were at best but meager compensation for the sacrifices he had made. "Had he remained at the bar he might have surpassed Erskine in learning, and rivaled him in skill as an advocate, while his depth and amplitude of thought would have furnished the richest materials for every occasion that admitted of eloquence. He needed, beyond most men, to be kept steadily at work under the impulse of great objects and strong motives urging him to the utmost exertion of his powers."* We notice some things, however, quite characteristic. The formation there of a literary society, his letters home, his philosophical studies, his love of virtue amid society where depravity was not restrained by public sentiment, his generous pity for the ignorant and vicious, and his integrity as a judge, are all worthy of imperishable record.

The literary society he was instrumental in forming was organized the 26th of November, 1805. He was appointed its first president, and was the nucleus of all its interests. At the first meeting he opened the proceedings by an address, in which he stated its literary and scientific objects. The eulogy he pronounced at that time on Sir William Jones might perhaps be taken, by a partial friend, as almost a literal transcript of himself. In language of great sweetness and beauty he mingles that peculiar reverence for genius and virtue for which he was always distinguished.

His residence in India was, on the whole, injurious to his intellectual growth. He read a great deal, gathered vast materials for the great works in history and ethics which he had projected, wrote occasional articles for the periodicals of the island, and indulged in copious correspondence with friends at home; but his old habits of desultory reading and ingenious speculation allured him from the grand objects of his life, so that during the whole period of his residence in Bombay he consummated but little aside from his professional avocations. He returned to England in 1812, with his material interests but little improved, and with his constitution painfully impaired by an Eastern climate.

The two public independent bodies of Bombay, the "Grand Jury" and the "Literary Society," both presented him testimonials of their regard before his departure. The latter elected him its honorary president, and requested him to sit for his bust to be placed in their library; on which occasion Sir John Malcolm observed:

* Select British Eloquence, p. 825.

"In offering some remarks upon that good which I believe to have resulted to Oriental literature from his example and influence, I shall speak with all the confidence that personal observation and experience can inspire. From the hour that Sir James Mackintosh landed in this country, he commenced, with an ardor that belongs only to minds like his, to make himself master of the history, the usages, and the religion of the inhabitants; and his progress was such as was to be expected from his capacity. As he had never made the Oriental languages his study in Europe, the period of his residence and the nature of his occupations while here, forbade his wasting time more valuably employed, in a course of study which he could not have completed. He, indeed, took a larger and better view of the good he had it in his power to effect; and those moments which would have been unprofitably given, by a man of his rich and cultivated mind, to the elements of an Indian language, were employed in kindling into flame those sparks of emulation and knowledge which his penetration discovered in men already possessed of that useful but subordinate qualification. It is impossible to estimate the exact quantity of good which his efforts produced; but it certainly very far exceeded what the individual labor of any one man could have effected. His character is, indeed, admirably calculated to forward that object which is constantly nearest his heart, 'the general diffusion of knowledge.' He showed, during his stay in India, a toleration and indulgence that extended even to the ignorant, where they showed a desire of improvement, and to all those whom he deemed capable of being actively useful in the advancement of learning and science, he afforded the most flattering and substantial encouragement. His advice, his time, were at their service, and they found him, at all moments, disposed to give them his aid toward the promotion of their individual interests and fame." Vol. ii., p. 115.

Such was the esteem placed on his talents, that immediately after his return home, he was offered a seat in Parliament, both by the government, and also by his old friends the Whigs. He chose the latter, and continued in the House of Commons till his death, closely adhering to his decision through all the vicissitudes of political life. He was not, however, by any means merely a party man. His political sentiments were always controlled by his moral convictions. His principles were liberal, and his political efforts were free from strife, intrigue, and malice. With acknowledged integrity and talents, and with a fidelity to his political connections which the most splendid allurements from an opposite direction could not shake, he enjoyed, nevertheless, but limited promotion. During the administration of Canning he was appointed Privy Councillor, and subsequently, a commissioner for the affairs of India. It was not, however, because he was averse to enviable distinction; for he never indulged in the trick of disclaiming talents he knew he possessed. Still "he never made the slightest efforts to advance his interests with his political friends; never mentioned his sacrifices nor his services, expressed no resentment at neglect, and was therefore pushed into such situations as fall to the lot of the feeble and delicate in a crowd." Vol. ii, p. 504.

His political efforts were confined principally to the House of

Commons. But this was not the theater for the most happy display of his talents. He never attained there the celebrity which he won for himself by his forensic efforts before his appointment to the East. The lapse of only a few years had brought on him the infirmities of age. He had lost the vigor and ambition of youth, so that the stormy eloquence and rough debate that would crowd the galleries and lobbies of the House at midnight, did not suit either his taste, or his capacity. He always displayed profound knowledge of the topics he discussed; but he was too minute, dwelt too much on details, for popular effect; and his habits of speculation, added to his range of scholarship, were an evident incumbrance to rapid, off-hand debate.

In his political career he was the intimate associate of Romilly, Brougham, Earl Grey, Canning, Francis Horner, and Wilberforce. With these men, whose names are imperishable in the annals of British legislation, he took an active part in all the great struggles for Parliamentary reform.

In 1818 he was appointed Professor of Law and General Politics in the College at Hailesbury. This college was instituted for the education of young men designed for the East India service. The long residence of Sir James in the East, combined with his extraordinary attainments and public reputation, eminently qualified him for this post. And besides, it was entirely congenial to his tastes. His love of letters, and the amenities of literary life, were ever to him matters of paramount importance. The subject of morals, too, which entered largely into the course of instruction prescribed, had been the object of his earliest and most ardent study. Still, with all these attractions, his mind was not undivided in its pursuits. His profound interest in politics, his connection with the House of Commons, and consequently with public men, and his wonderful powers and facility in colloquial discussion, allured him too frequently from the labors of the desk.

His literary productions subsequent to his appointment to Hailesbury, were mostly fragmentary. His "Early History of England" and his "History of the Revolution of 1688," though not without obvious faults, are, nevertheless, elegant pieces of historical composition. His "Sketch of the Progress of Ethical Philosophy" is a masterpiece of its kind. His contributions to the Edinburgh Review, and indeed the most transient productions of his pen, were valuable, for he never wrote upon trivial topics; and whether we follow him in politics, history, or ethics, we discover everywhere gleams of light that flash across our path.

In 1832, at a time when applying himself with unwonted indus-

try to literary pursuits, the life of Sir James was suddenly terminated by an accident which produced inflammation of the throat. He died 30th of May, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; "perhaps more regretted and less envied than any public man of his age."

The world, in pronouncing judgment on the literary merits of Mackintosh, will have more regard to his attainments as a scholar, than what he accomplished as an author. His largest, and what he contemplated as his grandest work, his "History of England," was posthumous, and consequently unfinished. His life, he confessed, had been scattered over too large a surface. As a student, in the acquisition of knowledge, he was ardent and unwearied. But in productiveness many of his efforts failed to come up to the expectations of his friends. His great attainments and genius stood recorded in the public mind as a kind of mortgage, pledged as security for the accomplishment of magnificent literary works, and works, too, which every one knew he was adequate to perform. But he lacked steady and persevering application. He was deeply sensible of this, and there were not infrequent struggles between his better judgment and the proclivities of an easy disposition. "My works," he writes on one occasion, "are still but projects." And at another time, feeling how his heart had been divided between the rival and jealous claims of politics and literature, at the same time his early and unredeemed vows in regard to authorship being revived by recent reflection, he exclaims, with Madame de Sevigné, "Ma vie est pleine de repentie"—"*My life is full of repentance.*"

Aside, however, from everything else, we have felt the deepest interest in these "Memoirs" of Sir James, as the record of an accomplished and elegant scholar. To become pre-eminent as a man of letters was, indeed, the object of his earliest ambition. It floated before his mind continually. It affected his imagination as with the power of magic, alluring him to patient study, and promising him the rewards of fame. Literature and philosophy seemed to be his appropriate province. His classical taste, his sweetness of disposition, his polished and graceful manners, his ardent love of truth and virtue, and the unaffected modesty which mingled with the most profound and varied attainments, gave him at once an easy passport to the most refined and learned circles of his day.

Art. VI.—HAVEN'S MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Mental Philosophy, including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will. By Professor Joseph Haven. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1858.

This volume occupies the whole ground claimed by psychology. It discusses the *intellect*, the *sensibilities*, and the *will*. The method which is adopted in the first and second branches is far more thorough than that which obtains in the third. The completeness of the work distinguishes it from all those essays which restrict themselves to a single department of the mind. The plurality of the mind in its faculties, and its unity as a whole, are maintained by a sifting analysis and by a comprehensive synthesis. It is not the least interesting feature in this writer to find each topic in his volume succinctly accompanied with its appropriate literature, especially as he has abstained from blending the literary and the critical, which never fails to be confusion instead of illustration.

Mr. Haven has grouped together many of the profound thoughts of modern mind, without allowing them to take the place of his own. He introduces the reader to such thinkers as Kant and Sir William Hamilton, but never exhibits the servility of a mere copyist. He has displayed no less independence of these borrowed treasures than skill in appropriating them. Nor is this volume wanting in the characteristics claimed by a scientific style. The poetic element which adorns it is neither large nor wanting; it tinges the sterner features of expression without dazzling the eye that examines those features; that perspicuity and precision with which the science of mind can never afford to part, candor compels us to award to Mr. Haven. Though we cannot accord to him that vigor and compression of thought which some of his reviewers have eulogized in his book, we deem him at least respectable in these higher tests of merit. Still further are we from awarding to him that originality which entitles a writer to the honor of a discoverer. There is here none of that bewitching radiancy with which genius bathes its new-born offspring. He ranks with that large class of writers whose mission is rather to select and classify truth, long the property of cultivated intellect, than to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by new applications of great principles.

We are far from admitting the dogma that mental science is not susceptible of important advances; that it cannot be enriched by undiscovered truths which remain to be found within the compass of human thought. All important improvements in this branch are

modern. They scarcely have the antiquity of a century, and who shall now determine its present limit to be immovable?

Especially is it susceptible of enrichment from the rapid developments of physiology, that kindred science.*

But to portray the excellences or defects of our author on the intellect and sensibilities would be a departure from the aim of

* That physiology sustains no unimportant relation to the doctrine of the mind is now an adjudicated question. Though the extent to which its mysteries may be unraveled by a profounder insight into the organs on which it operates, may be mere conjecture, the fact of psychological advancement by physiology is indisputable.

Till recently the whole nervous texture was supposed to execute but one nervous office. To convey impressions from the outward organs to the brain and back again to those organs was deemed the only use of the nerves. They now are known to form five distinct systems, each having its own center and executing its own office, each restricted by and independent of the others. But this particular independence allows of a general affiliation, securing entire harmony of action and unity of result.

The office of each tubulated fiber is that of a conductor. It conveys impressions from the external organs to the brain, and from this back to those organs. The first nervous system usually described is the *sympathetic*. These nerves preside over the organs which have no connection with either the brain or spinal marrow except by a few springs and branches. 2. The *excito-motory* nerves have their origin in a series of ganglea occupying the axis of the spinal marrow, connecting the sensory and voluntary nerves with the brain. These provide for the action of a large class of muscles; never consulting the will, or ceasing to operate in the deepest sleep, through the influence of these nerves the dying agonies take place often without consciousness, and perhaps after the soul's flight. 3. The *senso-motory* system originates in the ganglea lying at the base of the brain between the cerebrum and the spinal marrow. The relation of these nerves to the spirit is sufficiently direct to originate all sensations. Not volitions, but sensations are the proper stimulus to these nerves. Exciting to winking, sneezing, coughing, and the like, are among their functions. 4. In passing to the cerebral system we find it situated entirely within the cranial cavity. 5. Below this is seated the *cerebellum*. Its important connections are with the cerebrum, the ganglea at the base of the brain, and with the spinal marrow. Its chief function is the regulation of muscular action. It was removed from a bird without arresting its vital functions. Sensation, perception, and voluntary motion remained unimpaired. But it could execute with precision no action requiring the combined exercise of several muscles. It could eat food when placed in its mouth, but was utterly unable to procure it. Remove the cerebrum and a very different result ensues; perception and volition are no more. This being the seat of these, it supplies materials to the intellect. From this single glance at this organic dependence of the several classes of mental phenomena, the relations of these organs to the complex operations of the mind will be readily perceived. It will also be perceived that the complex states of mind and the intuitions of reason lie far out of the organic sphere. They are within the confines of the spirit. Take recollection for an illustrative example. This consists of *reproduction* and *recognition*. These two elements lie in very

this paper. We took up our pen solely to review him on the *will.*

This third and briefest portion of the book, less than either of the other parts, bears the impress of originality. Still the intrinsic merits of the subject must be deemed paramount. This branch of psychology is far from being modern or merely speculative. It was among the earliest problems which elicited the discussions of mankind. If it were not agitated in ancient India before Grecian mind awoke, it occupied this mind in the infancy of its philosophic struggles. Those two great schools of the nation, the Stoic and Epicurean, were apparently on opposite sides of this question. Not less ancient was the conflict on this ground between those schools in the chosen nation, composed of the Pharisees and Sadducees and Essenes. The attempt at solving this problem occupied no inconsiderable space in the Arabian philosophy. This philosophy, being the offspring of their theology, discussed with intense interest this central idea.

In the seventh century, when the Koran had birth, it took sides with the fatalists and maintained itself against the Karites, that

different spheres. Recognition is an operation of the spirit, entirely independent of the organs, only as they evoke the ideas to which it relates. The reproduction or conception is awakened by the cerebrum; it is not organic, though awakened by that organ. The judgment passed on that conception is done entirely by the mind. The conclusion is therefore fully authorized, that were the brain destroyed the mind would be adequate to such judgments, provided any other medium, or organ, or agent preceded them. What is true of this element of recollection is equally so of the entire class of interior perceptions which are referable to the intuitions of reason. The phenomena are of another class, being occasioned by the immediate relation of the organs to the mind. Though they could not exist without something above sensation, they are without those lofty characteristics which distinguish the mind's own immediate operations. Physiology, then, refutes the confident assertions of phrenology. This affirms that the intellections and moral sentiments arise from certain parts of the cerebrum as the immediate instruments of their manifestation. This is positively negatived by the known structure and functions of the brain; nor can sensationalism survive the stern conclusions of mental science guided by the sure light of physiology. This points out the fixed limit of sensation, and leaves all beyond for intellection. The late powerful advocates of the sensational philosophy have compared the unlikeness of sensation to intellection. How, then, have they denuded the mind of all but sensation? Simply by affirming that intellection is *transformed* sensation. But what transforms it? Such an advocate finds nothing in the whole universe but itself to transform it. And this is a virtual abandonment of that degrading hypothesis. It seems to us impossible that these debasing conceptions of mind should keep their ground when physiology shall be honored with its merited culture.

The aim of this note is not, of course, to settle any of these great questions, but to call out far abler pens to discuss them.

powerful party of Mohammedans, for more than three hundred years. Still earlier did this controversy agitate the Christian Church. The fourth century had scarcely closed when the Manicheism of Augustine's youth led him to readopt this feature of it in his controversy with Pelagius. Though this new dogma almost slumbered in the Church for ages, it was afterward discussed by six councils. In the ninth century, through the agency of the Saxon monk, Godeschalens, the flame of controversy on it was rekindled. The few mighty minds which shone as scattered but intense lights of the medieval age, were in almost equal numbers on opposite sides of the freedom of the will. The great monastic fraternities which arose in the Latin Church before the revival of letters were on opposite sides in this controversy. On no question was the conflict fiercer than on this between the Dominicans and the Augustinians and the Jesuits and other orders whose origin belongs to later ages.

We could not, without diversion from our object, even allude to the forces which conspired to imbue so many of the Reformers with the dogma of Augustine.

Of these, however, the student of history needs not to be informed. The array is formidable of modern philosophers who have vindicated opposing views on the doctrine of the will. Hobbes, Leibnitz, Collins, Edwards, Priestley, Belsham, Kames, Hartley, Mill, M'Cosh, and Lewis, are among the leading defenders of necessitated volition.

Our author is found in the same category. Though he often apparently identifies himself with the advocates of *free will*, yet when he finally takes his position he is found standing erect among necessitarians. The fact that in clear and strong language he vindicates *free will* is by no means peculiar to him; it appertains to his class. We scarcely meet with an atheistic fatalist who has not unequivocally vindicated the freedom of the will.

This is not the place to exhibit their mode of harmonizing these opposites. We will only state here, that one portion of them believe the opposites both true; the other use the term *freedom* so as not to conflict with *necessity*.

Professor Haven has so fully stated his position on pp. 562, 563, as to leave no one at a loss on which side he is found. The following is substantially his statement, if we have not failed to grasp his meaning:

"Providence has a plan of operations; this plan sweeps over the entire train of events, including the great and the minute, the benignant and the malign, such as distinguish nations and combine ages. That not an act in the great drama of human probation

transpires out of this plan, as it includes the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of all earth's actors. These are, therefore, all under God's entire control, and at the same time are the free acts of human agents. But how is this entire control divinely exercised over human volitions consistent with the freedom of those volitions?"

"This freedom and this control are both facts, and therefore both true."

"Taken together they appear inconsistent, and have often been pronounced so. The fatalist secures the supreme government of God at the expense of human freedom. The libertarian, horrified by fatalism, preserves man's freedom at the expense of God's government."

In accordance with this statement the professor finally furnishes this definition of freedom: "It lies in the power of forming and putting forth such volitions as we please; . . . so that whatever our volitions may be, we shall be at liberty to choose and will accordingly." "This," he adds, "is the highest freedom that appertains to the human will." We have thus, without employing all the author's words, conveyed unimpaired his ideas. These, in a compressed form, make this proposition: *God controls* all man's volitions, and *man controls* all his own volitions.

Now the advocate of this proposition must either maintain that its two parts are *not in conflict*, or that *opposite propositions* may *both be true.*

The propositions that all my volitions are under the entire control of each, my Maker and of myself, are *really* or only *apparently* in conflict. Let us then for the moment exclude all other objects, that the solution of this assertion may entirely command our attention. The question is suggestive: Can any event be the product of two efficient causes? It will be conceded that one efficient cause is adequate to its legitimate effect. The second then might be dispensed with; but as the effect bears the same relation to both, either of them, and therefore both, might be dispensed with. But then the event would be without a cause, which is absurd. Therefore it cannot be entirely produced by each of two causes. Again: Does not the very causal relation to an event shut out all other causal relation to it? If not, then it is both a cause and not a cause of the same event. Its causal relation then must preclude the possibility of anything else sustaining such a relation to the event. A volition cannot, therefore, have its cause both in me and in my Maker. If in him, it is not in part or in whole in me. If in me, *he* has no causal hand in it. Our author may select for his adoption, but he cannot be allowed to refer any volition to *two* producing causes; nor can he be permitted to make me the *occasional* cause,

and God the *efficient* cause, or the reverse, and then affirm that each controls my volitions. As only an *efficient* cause can control an event, to no conditions under which that cause may operate can that control be transferred. Is it alleged that "God produces my volitions by motives, and my assent to them leaves my responsibility unimpaired?" But if of this assent he is equally the author, how can it sustain responsibility? What is volition but the mind acting? Does not its very nature, then, no less than the nature of *cause*, locate its authorship in me and not on the throne of the universe? If I am its author, it is my mind acting; if God be its author, it is my mind being *acted upon*, and the volition belongs to God the actor. To ascribe its cause to both is a contradiction. Nor can this conflict of ideas be mitigated by alleging we should never reject one of two propositions because the tie of their harmony lies too deep for our perception. This we instantly concede, but what has the concealed harmony of ideas to do with the perceived conflict between them?

To substitute that obscurity arising from the depth of connected truths, for that contradiction which glares on conflicting truths, is a most imposing fallacy. Our difficulty in this case is not in failing to see how the two parts of the proposition can be true, but in perceiving in the light of vision that it is impossible for them to be true.

Thus has many a palpable contradiction been accepted as a mere obscurity. We must remind such reasoners that the ground of these are directly opposite. When the relations of truth lie buried in the shades of mystery, accumulating evidence assuages that darkness, so that assurance arises that sufficient light will vanquish all obscurity and disclose the harmony. But when propositions are in conflict every added beam of evidence discovers intenser antagonism. That the system of God's administration involves unpierced mysteries one can scarcely doubt without insanity; but that it involves contradictions, that whole classes of truth are at open war, none but the Manichean should affirm. Who can maintain this conflict in God's government without involving a corresponding hostility in his perfections? To divest him of moral character, to "set at odds heaven's jarring attributes, and with one excellence to wound the rest," is inevitable.

Allege the facts that God *controls* our volitions, and that we *control them so as to be free*, and what principle but that of discord in Jehovah have you adopted? If two opposing truths may rest on evidences mutually destructive of each other, why may not a thousand truths be in equally hostile array? Why may not all the

truth in the universe be, in like manner, divided in equal parts, so that these equal and opposing evidences would neutralize each other, leaving all truth void of any evidence? Then, whatever would *prove* the *truth* of *each*, would *destroy* the *evidence* of *both*; as whatever would be the neutralization of the one, would be the annulment of the other. Thus would all general principles be vitiated by utter invalidity.

But the advocates for motive-control are far from being self-consistent. Their incessant vacilations are indicative of the difficulty of their position. It would be facile to verify this charge by copious extracts from scores of that school. This our limits forbid, and restrict us to brief quotations from a few of them, as specimens of their fraternity. For this purpose let us collocate a few passages from M'Cosh on the Divine Government. This highly popular writer states that "it is with all philosophers, who have deeply studied the subject, a fundamental principle of our mental constitution, which leads us, upon the occurrence of any given event, to say it has a cause."

He proceeds to apply this principle to the thoughts, feelings, wishes, and volitions of the human mind: (p. 281:) "We see numerous proofs," he alleges, "of this law of cause and effect reigning in the human mind as it does in the external world, and reigning in the *will* as it does in every other department of the mind." (p. 236, 237.)

Could utterances be stronger, assuring us that the same law constituting the changeless mechanism of nature reigns in the human will, *producing* all its *volitions?* Now we appeal to those familiar with Crombie, Kames, Collins, Hobbes, or Spinoza, or with any other leader in the school of fatalists, whether more absolute necessity is by any of these imposed on our volitions than by this Christian divine. Is any of these atheists a sterner defender of this iron scheme of fatalism?

Now what could more surprise us than to find this same writer among the most staunch libertarians; such, however, is unequivocally his position. Hear his own words: "We rejoice to recognize such a being in man. We trust we are cherishing no presumptuous feeling, when we believe him to be as *free as his Maker is free.*" "We believe him, morally speaking, as independent of external control as his Creator must ever be—as that Creator was, when, in a past eternity, there was no external existence to control."

What advocate of freedom, glowing in the intensest fervors, ever uttered mightier words than these? All the Clarkes, and Reids, and Coleridges, who have led the van of the advocates of free-will, may

be challenged in vain for terms of loftier expression. What, then, is that concealed *nexus* which binds in harmony these apparently warring positions? Professor Haven affirms, "both these to be facts, and therefore both true. M'Cosh says: "Should it be demanded of us to reconcile them, we answer we are not bound to offer positive reconciliation of them." We point to the two objects; but we are not bound to show what is the link which connects them." This we believe to be in harmony with the position of all Christian necessitarians. But is not this a startling position which teaches "that the will is self-active, and yet that all its acts are produced by causes operating out of itself; and that the advocate of these repugnancies is not bound to harmonize them? How, without some unexpected light, can we believe that the will is under the same law which governs mechanical nature, and yet is as free as the unmoved mover of the heavens and the earth, above and beyond whose Almighty power there is and can be no controling cause?" When we ask with emphasis, are those conflicting propositions consistent with the harmony which the Architect of the universe has taught to expect in every part of his administration, is the answer, "both are true," sufficient?

When we are compelled by the laws of thought to pronounce the two parts of the proposition utterly alien, in fierce and mortal conflict, involving the most irreconcilable conclusions, is it enough to allege that each depends on independent evidence, and therefore lies out of the range of mutual repugnancy? Such shifts can never harmonize the opposing elements which bristle in this fierce antagonism.

Its advocate asks, "Must the connection be pointed out which unites two truths, established on independent evidence, before the mind gives its assent to them? Must the connection be pointed out between mechanical and chemical combinations, before we believe in their existence?" "We require only the separate evidence of the existence of each." (p. 280.) Does he imagine the illustration to be apposite? Were there a palpable contradiction in the combination of the mechanical and chemical truths, the illustration would be fit, and then the two could not be received on the opposing evidence of each, but only in the light of the harmonizing tie. Now this is precisely what we demand for our faith in the two parts of the conflicting propositions before us. But while the idea of necessity is at open war with the idea of liberty, one must disprove the other until their opposition is proved unreal.

But the mode by which Professor Haven renders these opposites

credible, is the common expedient of his school. Let M'Cosh again speak for the fraternity. He says: "It is absurd to suppose the one doctrine *sets aside the other*." In this position there is no want of harmony among the scores we might quote. But we must be allowed to ask, *why* it is "not absurd" to suppose liberty does not set aside necessity, or that necessity does not set aside liberty? If both be true, the advocate for them finds nothing to refute in the libertarian. All the latter vindicates is conceded by him. But on what ground is the will's absolute control by motives deemed consistent with the will's freedom? Is the answer, on the ground that both are proved? But is not the proof found in their opposition equal to that which sustains either, so that their very opposition neutralizes their evidence? What can more triumphantly refute a proposition, than to show it in open conflict with acknowledged principle? We here detect such conflict. For when the theory affirms that every volition is an effect of which the prevailing motive is the cause, is it not at open war with the principle which ascribes the volition to another cause? How can the sole cause of volition be *in* the mind and *out* of it; be both in the soul and in the motives out of the soul? How can volition be both a cause and an effect? both active and passive? both the producer and the produced?

Is it alleged that the created agent is both? Certainly he is not. A created mind is an *effect* in one sphere, but an agent in another sphere. The cause which *made* the future agent an *effect*, is not what *makes him a cause*. His cause ceases to operate before he, as a cause, commences operating; that which produced him, and that which he produces, have two causes. So that, where his agency commences, God's ceases, and his caused character had no existence till after his character as an effect was finished. This leaves whatever is essential to a cause absolutely wanting in an effect, and whatever is essential to an effect, at an unapproachable distance from a cause. The agent's power was an effect, but its exercise is ineffably unlike an effect. Power is not a cause until it operates. Its operation is the agent's, not his author's. Its simple existence, as an effect, cannot modify its character as a cause. No antecedents of a causal exertion can transfer themselves to that exertion. The difference, therefore, between man as an effect, and man as a cause, is no less than between man and a rock of granite.

As an effect, the cause lay entirely out of himself; as an agent, the cause lay entirely within himself. In the one case the cause must operate when he was not, in the other he must operate in becoming a cause. No matter when or where a created agent was

brought on the stage, the separating distance remains immeasurable between him as an *effect*, and him as a cause. They can no more exchange places than mind and matter—than something and nothing.

The *passive* and *active* can therefore never be each the cause of volition. Nor can the passive be the cause of anything. This brings us again to the conclusion, that placing the cause of volition out of the mind, is to destroy the possibility of volition originating in the mind.

We cannot forbear urgently demanding of these theorists, why they allow the principle they adopt but a partial application?

But we must hasten to consider that ground of necessitated volition found in the FOREKNOWLEDGE of God. What, then, is the relation which that knowledge sustains to man's actions? The fact that God's knowledge grasps *all* events, as its contents, we never doubted. Nor could we ever perceive the shadow of a demand for the withholding of that knowledge from events, that they might be contingent.

Such a demand supposes that God's knowledge of an occurrence either makes it unavoidable, or finds it so. The elaborate arguments employed to prove the absence of all that is *causal* in God's knowledge, we regard as a mere waste of words. We suppose that the felt difficulty in the Divine prescience lies not in what it *caused*, but in the *necessity* in the *events* which its *certainty supposed*. It was this *logical* necessity, involved in God's foreknowledge, which authorised Luther to pronounce it "a thunderbolt to dash free-will to atoms." We are not a little amazed to find such thinkers as Locke, Stewart, and Campbell expressing their utter incapacity to reconcile God's prescience with man's freedom! Now we earnestly demand what there is in these two things beyond the harmonizing power of evidence? Where do the ideas clash which are essential to the two? If the ideas appear in conflict, is it certain that they correspond respectively to this knowledge and that freedom? If we find the Divine knowledge related precisely in the same manner to what has occurred and to what is taking place, as to what shall in future transpire, then, if it neither causes necessity, or finds it, in all these classes of events, it does in none of them. That in past events it finds no causal necessity is plain, as their cause has ceased to operate. It, therefore does not in future events.

If God's knowledge of any events either make them necessary, or presuppose them necessary, it must bear the same relation to *all* events; it must comprehend all the acts of God, and all those of men; all achieved in time and in eternity; all the terrific rebellion of men

and demons; all the sublime devotions of heavenly natures; all these agents, with the *Infinite One* in the same category, God's knowledge loads with the everlasting fetters of necessity. If God's knowledge of his own acts supposes a necessity of his performing them, that necessity must be out of him, and thereby render it impossible that *He* should be the Supreme.

There is an axiomatical necessity of the existence of an event, in order that it may be known; that is, it cannot be out of being and in being at the same time. The Divine knowledge corresponds with its contents. This necessity, then, simply amounts to a certainty, but essentially differs from *causal* necessity. It cannot be uncertain whether what is, is. But this axiom has nothing to do with the necessity of the event coming into being. The invincible obstacle therefore to man's freedom, arising out of God's foreknowledge, is found in substituting causal necessity for absolute certainty.

If volitions be the effect of which motives are the cause, then is the *dominion of necessity* UNIVERSAL.

The steps are few and direct to this fearful conclusion. The volition cannot be produced by the motive without being preceded by it. The volition then lying entirely out of the sphere, its cause can exert on the motive no influence. The volition does not even come into existence till its producing motive has finished its operation. Thus it is impossible for the mind, which can only act by volition, to avoid its volitions. Indeed, no effect can modify its cause unless it acts before it exists. But if volition cannot influence its motive, it certainly cannot the antecedent to its motive. Trace retrospectively the entire series, and you only increase the distance between the volition and its antecedent. The necessity, therefore, of the volition is not diminished by multiplying the second causes lying between it and the first cause. It is certain, therefore, that there can be no room for freedom between the volition and the first cause. But may there not between the volition and its *effect?* If there be none here there can be none in the universe. Now we affirm that no certainty is more indubitable than that there is none here. How can there be? Both the volition and its sequence, by the theory, are *effects*. How then can the volition bear a causal relation to its sequence any more than this sequence can to what follows it? The volition being strictly an *effect*, how can it be causal of its sequence more than any other *effect* can act as a cause? If volition be *necessary*, all that precedes it up to the first cause must be so, and for equal reasons its sequences must be so. Is it then possible to assign volition any place but a link in the necessary chain of sequences?

But what makes this alleged fact a thousand times more startling

is that it involves UNIVERSAL MIND, that it binds the Supreme intellect in the same fetters of necessity. Necessity cannot attend one step in the series and be separated from any other step. The theory maintains that volition, from its *very nature*, without a motive cause, would be an absurdity. If then the demand arises out of the *nature* of volition, it must apply to mind without distinction, to God's as to man's. There can be no exemption for the Infinite mind! Whatever other differences exist between the created mind and the Infinite mind, there is none here.

God's volitions being the source of ours the theory compels us to reason of them as we do of our own. We have then reached that mysterious point where the motive and the efficient cause are identical. But the sequel will show us that this sameness of the two is the *exclusion* of one. Whatever locates causal power in mere motive divests all mind of such energy.

This awful question arises then, involving an affirmative answer, are not the worst deeds in the universe as *guiltless* as they are *necessitated?* The conviction sways all minds, by their very structure, that the guilt of an evil deed is grounded on the power to refrain from it. But what power can grapple with an opposing eternal necessity? How utterly astounding the position, that the character of an act lies in the *will*, and yet the cause of the act lies as far out of the will as is the Infinite arranger of all motives. The very *attempt* to do otherwise involves the same impossibility as to *achieve* the opposite. For what part of the theory has ever been taught with deeper emphasis, than that the mind must have a different motive in order to vary its volition? how can the mind command a different volition until the needed motive has been present and operated?

Thus, the motive indispensable to the attempt lies forever out of the reach of the agent. An opposite state of mind, or an *attempt* to procure one, lies as far beyond the man's control as is that creative energy which framed the universe. Thus, to curb appetite, to restrain passion, or to practice self-denial, are words without ideas; they can never, in human experience, be a realization. All guilt, self-reproach, fear of penalty, must be the delusions of superstition, and can be readily vanquished by the potency of this theory. It is also fully adequate to dissipate the errors, that blameworthiness attaches to crime and praiseworthiness to virtue. Though this has ever been the judgment of the race, it having been based on the error that the opposites were possible, their impossibility having now been proved, this fallacious judgment must be reversed.

If motives, and not mind, produce volitions, then, as to being *causal*, mind and matter are on common ground; they are links in the

great chain of antecedents and sequences, all their operations being from a power without themselves. They are nature, under the law of necessity, a necessary chain, one link of which can no more be wanting than can an infinite attribute. As we cannot command the motives which produce our volitions, why are we not equally responsible for our incipient feelings and intellections as for our volitions? As the cause of each of these lies out of the mind, and as they can have no character out of their cause, there can be no human vice or human virtue. The theory finds the cause in God; these effects of his will, then, can have no character which he has not. As nothing not good can flow from God, vice is not different from virtue. Their names are inexpressive of ideas.

Whatever makes the *distinction* between vice and virtue impossible makes *them* impossible. The motive cause of volitions, therefore, inaugurates the most absolute OPTIMISM. The so-called crimes that have desolated society, blighted the hopes of ages, and buried nations in a premature grave, differ only in name from the brightest virtues. The two things flow from a common fountain and have a common purpose, and therefore cannot be of opposite natures. Their oneness of character has all the certainty of first principles. The infinity of their source is everlasting security for the identity of their nature.

This makes everything really what it may merely appear to be. Wisdom, folly, truth, falsehood, sincerity, hypocrisy, all opposites, are true if they so appear. As our conceptions of qualities, no less than of things, are from God, how can those be wrong if these be right? Why are they not equally true at all times? How can any error occur while in the entire universe only infinite perfection operates? What appeared true yesterday and appears false to-day must be equally true and false. God having originated both opposing conceptions, it is impossible the contradiction should not be true. But though the theory precludes all liberty in the production of volition, it locates freedom in the *workings* of volition. But if this element resides in the connection between volition and its effects, must it not be equally found between every effect and its antecedent, through the entire series up to the first cause? The theory, therefore, identifies the highest form of liberty with the most stern absolute necessity.

Now the very ground on which liberty is denied to human volition requires that it should also be denied to *Divine volition*. How is it possible to doubt, that if motives can be the only possible cause of volition in some minds they only can be such in all minds? This motive-control making all movements of mind necessary, it

must make all beings and events equally so. The will of God, no less than that of man, must be passive. The terrific tyranny of fate must rule the one no less than the other.

The name we may choose to give to this necessity can alter no feature of its character.

Its stern resistless power sweeps onward, regardless of character and consequences, crushing beneath its iron heel the moral dictates of all minds.

Were the known events of the universe of a benignant character, we might regard this a distinctive of their necessitating cause; were they only diffusive of bliss their cause might be contemplated without horror. But finding deformity, crime, agony, forming the vast range of events in man's history, how can we view the necessitating cause apart from the most odious tyranny?

If falsehood, treachery, murder, and blasphemy be the appropriate expression of the Infinite character, what fate can be too dreadful for the universe to apprehend? What indemnity can it have against howling away in ever augmenting agony the fiery ages of a wasteless future?

This doctrine of the *causality* of motives forces upon us PANTHEISM. The doctrine makes God the author of all motives as he is of all beings, of all volitions as of all motives, of all sequences as of all volitions. It places the Divine mind under this same law which controls all other minds. Extend this chain of antecedents and sequents to any conceivable length, and you change not the relation between the last effect and the first moving cause. Does not this exclude all life, all thought, all efficiency, all kinds of causation, from every being, but eternal necessity? Does it not place the seal of truth on the atheistic argument of Spinoza? God, says he, is the author of all things, acting not from choice, but from necessity; is the author of all vice, of all virtue exhibited in human history. *Cause* and *effect*, then, must be substituted by *substance* and *qualities*, the same reasoning being adapted to *all will* which is applied to human will. If our will cannot be causal God's cannot be. His volitions like ours must flow from unbeginning antecedents. The tendencies and energies that now belong to the Eternal always belonged to *him*. The nature of eternal necessity admits of no variation or beginning. God's volitions are commensurate with his being; this must also be true of all their sequences. Beginning is shut out by necessity alike from both. All we call finite are not God's creatures, but his attributes. They are not creations but developments. The eternity of all volitions is the annihilation of all causation, and by striking cause from the universe the possi-

bility of effect is precluded. Where there is no *creature* there can be no *creator*. Phenomena take the place of creatures, and substance that of Creator. Now as phenomena could not exist without substance, so substance could not be without phenomena. Neither could therefore be before the other. Both alike must be without a beginning. All parts of the mundane system are portions of the always ancient one. What can be more true than the Pantheistic answer to the question, What is God? He is substance and attributes, being and its phenomena. The universe, comprising mind and matter, the clod, the animal, the man, the Deity, all, all are God. This is the crushing conclusion triumphantly forced upon us by this iron agency of fate. If God consists of everything he cannot be a person; so this great distinction of theism is lost amid the common ruins of creative agency.

These are among the shuddering conclusions drawn from the same premises by modern atheists, and they are indubitably true conclusions. Christian necessitarians have failed to reach them, not because logic would lead to any others, not because the laws of thought permitted them to stop short, but because so terrific a result has driven them back for refuge in opposite truths. Had they fearlessly resigned themselves to the eternal laws of evidence; had, they, like Spinoza, Hobbes, and Shelley, advanced with an unfaltering step from the premises to the conclusion, from necessitated volitions to the denial of creation, atheism must have been their only possible terminus.

Art. VII.—OLSHAUSEN'S NEW TESTAMENT PSYCHOLOGY:

Being a translation of a part of Olshausen's *De Naturæ Humanæ Trichotomia, N. T. Scriptoribus Receptа*, among his *Opuscula Theologica.*

The wisest among the ancient philosophers held man to be the head of the system of nature, embracing in himself the diverse forms of created things, and cognate not less to earth than to heaven. So far as regards the body, the external and visible part of man, they acknowledged the proximity which connects it with inferior animated nature. It obeys the same laws in developing and nourishing individual parts and members. The movements of the body, of the blood, lungs, and heart, the appetites of food and drink, all these are common to him with the lowest orders of animals, although they are found of a much subtler character in

man. Then, so far as relates to the internal and invisible nature of man, they recognized as existent in this animated body a power of knowing, choosing, imagining, and recalling to memory, which faculties the superior races of animals do not altogether lack. Then also they recognized, as peculiar to man alone, a faculty of discoursing, cogitating, and of understanding, and a will, which enables it to use, at its own choice, those superior and inferior powers; to which also self-consciousness is to be added. These single faculties they decided to be so combined in human nature as to render man a single *organism*, (*ὄργανον*,) artistically constructed, a monument of the wisdom of Divinity; created, indeed, for this end, that being released by his own will gradually from the dominion of the inferior forces, he might commit his whole nature to the government of those superior forces which should secure to him an eternal existence. So those two chiefs of the Greek philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, had taught concerning human nature; of whom the former distinguished between *νοῦς*, the intelligence, or the reason, (*φρην*,) mind, and *θύμος*, affections; and the latter between *νοῦς* or *λόγος*, *θύμος* and *επιθυμία*, or adjectively, between *λογικός*, *θυμικός*, and *επιθυμητικός*. And Zoroaster also (or, at any rate, the disciples of Zoroaster, if you reject the genuine origin of the book Bundehesch,) seems to have held the same opinion concerning the partition of human nature. The Jews, also, especially in later times, used the same trichotomy, (or *threefold division*,) in distributing the faculties of human nature. The Septuagint translators palpably set forth this opinion in their version of the memorable passage of Job vii, 15: *ἀπαλλάξεις ἀπὸ πνεύματός μου τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ δὲ θανάτου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου*; literally, *thou releasest my soul from my spirit and my bones from death.** Josephus, also, uses the same partition, following the doctrine of the Pharisees, which the Rabbins of the more recent age have preserved.† The doctors among the Alexandrian Jews, being skilled in Greek philosophy, followed Plato, as is plentifully evident from the pages of Philo. For this celebrated man distinguishes between the *λογικόν θυμικόν* and *επιθυμετικόν*, or the rational, the passional, and the ani-

* The Hebrew words have a different ring תְּבַחַר מַחֲנַק נַפְשִׁי. Since מַחֲנַק signifies suffocation, Doderlein conjectures *αποπνευματισμου*; Bahrdt, *απο πνίγματος*. There is scarce need of conjectural emendation, for the LXX as often translated the sense rather than single words. The phrase *ἀπαλλάττειν ψυχήν ἀπὸ πνεύματος* with them simply expressed *to kill*, as in Hebrews v, 12, *μερισμὸς ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος*. Romans vi, 6.

† Josephus, Arch. i, 1, 2, edit. Haverc., on the creation of man, says: Ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεος τον ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβών καὶ πνεύμα ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχήν. The Rabbins also distinguish between חַיִּים נִשְׁמַת, and נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה.

mal. The *επιθυμητικόν* he sometimes called *θρεπτικόν*, the *nutritive*, or *ζωτικόν*, vitative; the *θυμικον*, or passional, he calls *αἰσθητικόν*, æsthetic. The ecclesiastical fathers, however, received not the phraseology of Plato, but of the Jews; which also the New Testament writers had approved. They always distinguish between *πνεῦμα*, (spirit,) *ψυχή*, (soul,) and *σῶμα*, (body.) For *πνεῦμα* they oftener use *νοῦς*, (for the two words, as we shall see, are cognate;) not unfrequently also *λογος*. The sacred writings oftener use the word *νοῦς*; nor, save once, does the word *λόγος* occur as applied to the faculty of the human mind, (on which topic something fuller hereafter,) and this word they obtain from the philosophers. In the fourth century, when Apollinaris had propounded his opinion concerning the relation between the human and divine nature of the Saviour, (which teaches that the humanity of the Lord was destitute of the Logos, (*ἀνθρωπότητα τοῦ κυρίου λογῳ* caruisse,)* the doctors of the Church receded by degrees from this doctrine, and Gennadius (De Dogm. Eccl., c. 15,) propounds it as the common doctrine of the whole Church, that *the immaterial nature of man was a unit;* by which words it was his intention to impugn the trichotomy of the ancients, which they at that time so misconstrued as to imagine that those ancients taught that man possessed *two souls!* From that time this ancient partition ceased to be held; at any rate, it was not recognized as existing in the books of the New Testament. The terms *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, *νοῦς*, and *καρδία*, were entirely confounded. In our times, at length, there are found those who respect the opinion of antiquity in the interpretation of the sacred books.

It will doubtless appear probable to the reader, from the general prevalence of the idea of this trichotomy among the writers of antiquity, that some traces of it would be found in the sacred books; nevertheless, the common mode of expression of the sacred writers on this subject has escaped the generality of learned men. Of this fact the following appears to us the cause: Interpreters in reading have too anxiously regarded *single words*, and those alone; in which mode of interpretation the words seem nearly interchangeable. It will however appear far otherwise if, looking beyond single words, you also accurately scrutinize their connection, and especially take into consideration the individuals to whom this or that is ascribed; for they use far different modes of expression when a matter refers to Paul, or to the other apostles, and especially to Jesus Christ himself, than when the words relate to the readers or hearers. It is necessary, therefore, that we should more closely

* Apollinaris distinguished between *σαρξ* and *ψυχή ζωτίκη* and *ψυχή νοητίκη*.

investigate the *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers, that we may know whether any difference exists between πνεῦμα and ψυχή, so far as they pertain to the faculties of human nature.

1. That the sacred writers made a distinction between these words appears by those passages in which the words occur in conjunction; passages which, unless you would impute the most futile tautologies to the sacred writers, demonstrate that they design some difference between them. I omit the passages, Hebrews iv, 12, 1 Thessalonians v, 23, which set forth a trichotomy in express terms; besides also Philippians i, 27: Ye stand fast in one spirit, πνεῦμα, with one mind, ψυχή, striving for the faith of the Gospel; and Luke i, 47, to which we may suitably subjoin Exodus xxxv, 21, in which the words לֵב, רוּחַ, occur conjoined in the same meaning. Finally 1 Corinthians xv., 44: It is sown σῶμα ψυχικόν, a *soul-body;* it is raised a σῶμα πνευματικόν, *spirit-body.*

2. Then very often there is used in the sacred books a *dualism,* such as we often use in common life, and indeed a dualism of a twofold character. Σῶμα and ψυχή, Σαρξ and πνευμα, are put in contrast with each other; one is never used for the other, but they are accurately distinguished.* For σῶμα, body, and ψυχή, soul, are used where the discourse is concerning man so far as he lives and grows; the visible part of man as an organism is conjoined with the invisible which controls it, (Matt. vi, 25; x., 28; Luke xii, 22, 23.)† Flesh, Σάρξ, and spirit, πνεῦμα, are used in regard to man so far forth as he thinks and acts, is controlled by desires or controls them; these therefore alone are used always in ethical precepts, (Matt. xxvi, 41; Mark xiv, 38, John iii, 6; Rom. ii, 29; vii, 6; vii, 5; vi, 9; 1 Cor. v, 5; 2 Cor. iii, 6; iv, 4; vii, 1; Gal. iii, 3; iv, 29; v, 17; vi, 8; Phil. iii, 3; Col. ii, 5.) The cause and origin of this difference between each dualism can scarce be explained otherwise than from that trichotomy which is embraced in the twofold

* Some places are found (Rom. viii, 10; 13; 1 Cor. v, 3,; vi, 16; 17, 20; vi, 34; Eph. iv, 4,) which connect σῶμα, body, and πνεῦμα, spirit, according to common usage; but only in appearance do they recede from the received rule; for in these passages πνεῦμα is tantamount to ψυχή πνευματίκη or πνευματίκου, concerning which notion further remarks will be made. Otherwise Σῶμα and πνεῦμα cannot be confined any more than Σάρξ and ψυχή. The passage, James ii, 26, for *as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works,* is rashly drawn to this signification by some. The context shows that spirit here is the *halitus oris,* the breath of the mouth, the external sign of life. The sense of the words is this: as the body without the vital breath is rightly held to be dead, so the believer without works of charity is to be esteemed dead. [A very dubious interpretation.—*Trans.*]

† Πρόσωπον, presence, and κάρδια, heart, are opposed to each other in a similar way: 2 Cor. v, 1, 2; 1 Thess. ii, 17.

dualism; namely, a distinction is made between *ψυχή*, soul, the inferior life similar to that of animals, and *πνεῦμα*, spirit, the celestial principle by which we are cognate with the Supreme Divinity. But flesh, *σάρξ*, and *σῶμα*, signify the visible part of man; the former that which is of inferior origin; the latter as an instrument artistically constructed for the use of the soul.

3. Finally, the mode of speaking in reference to Christ, Paul, and other holy men, differs from that used in reference to the humbler disciples. Concerning the former almost always *πνεῦμα* is used; concerning Jesus Christ scarce ever is soul, *ψυχή*, or heart, *καρδία*, used; concerning the latter never is spirit, *πνεῦμα*, used in the same formulas of expression. So we always find *αποστενάξαι*, to sigh, *εμβριμᾶσθαι*, to groan, *ταράσσεσθαι*, to be troubled, *επιγινωσκειν*, to perceive, *παροξύνεσθαι*, to be stirred, *πνεύματι* (Mark viii, 12; John xi, 33; xii, 21; Mark ii, 8; Acts xvii, 16,) *τίθεναι ἐν πνεύματι*, to propose in spirit, *λατρεύείν*, to serve, *στοιχεῖν*, to walk, *ζῆν εν πνεύματι*, to live in spirit, (Acts xix, 21; Rom. i, 9; Gal. v, 25; 1 Cor. xvi, 18; 2 Cor. ii, 12; vii, 13; xii, 18; Philem. v, 25, *πνεῦμα αγαλλιᾶζει*, (Luke i, 47.) In the same forms of expression also, when the discourse is not about Christ or Paul or other spiritual persons, *heart* is used. It is written *ταράσσεσθαι εν τῃ καρδίᾳ*, to be disturbed in heart; *λύπῃ πεπλήρωται ἡ καρδία*, the heart is filled with grief; *χαρήσεται ἡ καρδία*, heart shall be rejoiced, (John xiv, 1, 27; xvi, 22,) *τίθεναι εν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, (Luke i, 66; ii, 19, 51; xxi, 14,) *εὐφρανθῃ ἡ καρδία*, (Acts ii, 16,) *Εὐοδοῦται ἡ ψυχή*, (3 John vii,) *διαπρίεσθαι τῇ καρδίᾳ*, (Acts vii, 54.)

From these explanations it will be clear that the sacred writers made an important difference between spirit, *πνεῦμα*, and soul, *ψυχή*. *Spirit* signifies the higher power, actuating and controlling in man, so that at the same time his celestial origin is indicated; while *soul* signifies the inferior force which is actuated, moved, and held under control; for soul is considered as placed intermediate between the terrestrial and celestial powers.* The interior reason

*This is specially clear from the celebrated passage, Rom. vii, 22, 23. The apostle writes: "For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, *νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου*, warring against the law of my mind, *τῷ νόμῳ τὸν νοός μου*, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." In this passage the soul, *ψυχή*, that is, the I, is placed between the law of the *νοῦς* or *πνεῦμα*, and the law *ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι*, that is the *σάρξ*, *flesh*, and is, moved either by one or the other. Therefore the *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή* are never so conjoined that one may seem to belong to the other; never is said or can be said *ψυχή τοῦ πνεύματος*, nor *πνευμα τῆς ψυχῆς* or *καρδίας*. But we allow such forms as *πνεῦμα τῶν νοός*, (Eph. iv, 23,) and *νοῦς σαρκός*, (Col. ii, 18,) concerning which forms more will yet be said.

and influence which actuate the individual man is called the spirit; as the spirit of bondage, of adoption, (Rom. viii, 15,) of fear, and of love; (2 Tim. i, 7; Rom. xv, 30; 1 Cor. iv, 21; Eph. i, 17; Gal. vi, 1.) So far forth as a man is controlled by the precepts of the Divine Spirit, he is called *πνεῦματικός*, spiritual, 1 Cor. ii, 14, 15; iii, 1; Gal. vi, 1; so far forth as he is not so governed he is called *ψυχικός*, animal, or *σαρκικός*, fleshly. Jude 9, (*ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες,*) animal, not having the spirit. In James iii, 15, the terms (*ἐπίγειος, ψυχική, δαιμονιώδης,*) earthly, animal, devilish are conjoined. *Ψυχή*, that which is actuated or moved, is often interchanged with *καρδία*, in a broader sense; for *heart* the Scriptures teach to be the seat of the soul.* This is deducible from numerous texts of Scripture, for instance 1 Thessalonians iii, 13; James v, 8; 2 Peter ii, 14. In First Thessalonians the phrase *in presence, not in heart*, is used for *in body, not in soul.* This appears from Colossians ii, 5, where the same idea is expressed by the terms *flesh and spirit.* A double dualism thence recurs between *body and soul, flesh and spirit.* Hence the formulas of speech *to joy, to grieve, to be disturbed, to be rejoiced in heart*, (John xiv, 1; xxvii, 16; Acts ii, 26,) are to be interpreted the *soul in the heart* rejoices, grieves, etc. Nevertheless for the most part a distinction is so made between *soul* and *heart* in its broader sense that soul signifies the inferior life of man so far forth as it grows and exists; heart so far as it feels and is actuated or moved by spirit or flesh. For this reason we have the phrases *to save the soul, salvation of souls*, (James i, 21; v, 20; 1 Peter i, 9; Heb. x, 39;) never is found to *save the heart* or the *spirit.* The verbs *darkened, made gross, hardened*, are predicated of *heart*, (Rom. i, 21; Acts xxviii, 27; Eph. iv, 18; Mark iii, 5; vi, 52; viii, 17; John xii, 40,) slow, hard in heart, (Luke xxiv, 25; Mark xvi, 14; Heb. iii, 8, 15) never *soul is darkened*, etc.; nevertheless *δίψυχος*, two-souled, is used, (James i, 8,) where heart is

* In the same way Philo (De Spec. Leg., vol. ii, p. 350, edit. Mangey) says: *Λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἡγεμόνι τὴν ἄκρον ἀπένειμαν οἰκειότατον ἐνδιαίτημα κεφαλήν, ἔνθα καὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων αἱ τοῦ νοῦ καθάπερ βασίλεως δορυφόροι τάξεις παρίδρυνται· θύμῳ τὰ στέρνα, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δὲ τὸν περὶ τὸν ὄμφαλον καὶ τὸ καλόμεον διάφραγμα χῶρον.* To the *reason*, as the chief, we attribute as the most appropriate residence the *head*, around which the *perceptions* stand like ranks of spearmen; to the *passions* are assigned the *breast;* to the *appetites* the region around the *navel* and *diaphragm.* Again: (De legg. alleg. i, opp. vol. i, p. 67) *τοῦ μὲν λολικοῦ συμβέβηκε εἶναι χώριον καὶ ἐνδιατημα κεφαλήν; τοῦ δὲ θυμικὸν τὰ στέρνα; τοῦ ἐπιθυμετικὸν, τὸ ἦτρον.* So also Pythagoras taught *τὸ μὲν ζωτικὸν περὶ τὴν καρδίαν, τό δὲ λογικὸν καὶ νοερον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶναι.* (Plut. Decr. Phys., II, c. 5; Cicero, Tusc. IV. 5.)

said to be moved by good as well as evil; that is, the man is divided into a soul fleshly and soul spiritual, *ψυχὴν σαρκικὴν* and *πνευματικὴν*. By this partition we explain the words of our Lord, *He that findeth his life* (soul, fleshly or animal) *shall lose it*, (spiritual,) and *he that loseth his life* (soul, fleshly or animal) *shall find it*, (spiritual.) Matt. x, 39; xvi, 2; Mark viii, 35. Christ also says: "I came to give my life (soul, spiritual) a ransom for many." A man never ceases to be *ψυχή** even if he ceases to be *ψυχικός*.

Each part of the man, both the soul and the spirit, is active in a different way, according to which it is designated by different terms. *Spirit* cogitates and understands, and then is called *νοῦς*, *reason*. *Soul* perceives, and therefore is called *σύνεσις*, understanding.

Νοῦς, *the reason*, and its cognate words *νοειν*, *κατανοειν*, *νουνεχῆς*, in the philosophers are interchanged with *λόγος*,† *the reason*, or *the word*, but is scarcely ever in the New Testament. Sometimes it is interchanged with *διάνοία* and *ἔννοια*, 1 Peter i, 13; iv, 1; Matt. xxii, 37; Mark xii, 30, (in which passages it is rendered *mind*.) But *ἐπίνοια*, (Acts viii, 22,) *ὑπόνοια*, (1 Timothy vi, 4,) *διαλογισμός*, (Luke ii, 35; xxiv, 38,) signify the same things as *διανόημα*,‡ namely, *thoughts*, *ideas*, or single actions of the *νοῦς*

* Origen derives *ψυχη* from *ψυξις*, a *refreshing*, *because it lives by the divine breath*, *απο τοῦ ζῆν ἐν πνεύματι*. He intimates by this that the soul merges by degrees; *ψυχη κατορθωθεισα γίνεται νοῦς*, *the soul rightly regulated becomes spirit*. Origen evidently is led into this error by his idealism; for as the body never dissolves into soul, so soul never dissolves into spirit. Each part of man retains its own nature, although gradually illustrated by the Divine splendor.

† The Platonists principally use the word *λόγος* and *λογικόν* as we have just above intimated. In the New Testament *ὁ λόγος*, Acts xviii, 14, is so used; more often occurs *λογικός*, (Rom. xii, 1; 1 Pet. ii, 2,) with the same meaning as *νοητὸς* and *ἄλογος*, 2 Pet. ii, 12. Jude *ἄλογα ζῶα*, same as *φυσικά*, with which is to be compared Jude 19, where the same heretics are called *ψυχικοί*, *πνεῦμα μὴ ἐχοντες*. Then there occurs *λογισμῶς*, (Rom. ii, 15; 2 Cor. x, 5,) meaning the same as *νοημα*, that is, single actions of the *λόγος* or *νοῦς*, and in composition *διαλογισμός διαλογίζεσθαι*, *συλλογίζεσθαι*. In their use of these words we clearly trace the same sense which the Greek philosophers attribute to *λόγος*. Everywhere, also, the sacred writers trace things back to their primary source; so that discourse is attributed to the *λόγος*, (as we have lately discussed,) and also they distinguish between *νοῦς* and the interior source of the *νοῦς*, namely, the *πνεῦμα* which Plato had neglected.

‡ *Διάνοια*, however, more frequently occurs in the same sense which we have claimed for *νοῦς*, excepting in Luke i, 51, Eph. ii, 3, where it has the same force as *διανόημα*. Compare Heb. viii, 10, x, 16, *διδοὺς νόμους εἰς τὴν διανοιαν*, with Rom. vii, 23. Not without difficulty is the passage, Eph. iv, 17, 18, *τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ εν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοός αὐτῶν ἐσκοτισμενοι τῇ διανοίᾳ*. Instead of *ματαιότης του νοός*, one would rather have expected *ματαιότης*

or *λόγος*. The difference, also, between *νοῦς* and *πνεῦμα* is evinced by those passages where both terms are conjoined, as *ανανεοῦσθαι τῷ πνεύματι* τοῦ νοός* (Eph. iv, 23), and from the celebrated passage, Rom. vii, 23–25. For there we find *νόμος τοῦ νοός*, the law of the mind, and *νόμος ἐν μέλεσι*, that is, *σαρκός*, opposed to each other; always, also, are *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ* found in antithesis, and never is *νόμος τῆς καρδίας* or *ψῦχῆς* said. For the *καρδία* is controlled by one or the other of those laws. On account of this in Rom. viii, 2 *πνεῦμα* is placed where before *νοῦς* was read, and law of the *πνεῦμα* is opposed to the law of *ἁμαρτία*, sin. For the *πνευμα ἐν τῷ νοῖ νοεῖ*, *cogitates in the mind*, just as sin renders itself efficacious *ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ*, *in the flesh*. When *νοεῖν* and *συνιέναι* are conjoined they are by no means mere synonyms; the former is referred to the *πνεῦμα*, the latter to the *ψυχή*.†

Σύνεσις, *sagacity*, *discernment*, with its cognates *συνιέναι*, *συνετός*, is not only distinguished from *νοῦς* and *νοεῖν*, (Mark viii, 17,) but is everywhere expressly referred to the *καρδία*. (Matt. xiii, 13, 14, 15; Mark ix, 52; Acts xxviii, 27, *καρδία ασύνετος*. Rom.

τῆς καρδίας, or *ἐσκοτισμενοι τῇ καρδίᾳ*. The passage is to be so understood that *διάνοια* may be taken for *διανοίαις*; then the sense of the words is this: the Gentiles live in the vanity of their minds, by which their thoughts (gedanken) are darkened. The words *διάνοια*, *διαλογισμὸς*, and their synonyms above quoted, taken by themselves, denote actions of the *νοῦς*; but whenever the *νοῦς* is excited by the *καρδία* they are attributed to the *καδία*.

* *Πνεῦμα·τὸν νοός* cannot well be said, nor *νοῦς τοῦ πνεύματος*, since always the *νους* is of the *πνεῦμα* alone. We find once in the New Testament *νοῦς της σαρκὸς*, (Colossians ii, 18;) but this mode of expression is a oxymoron, indicating an unnatural condition of mind, in which the highest faculties serve the concupiscence; the *νοῦς* is rendered *σαρκικός* and *το φῶς τὸ ἐν σοί σκότος ἐστί*. Matt. vi, 23.

† Once, indeed, *νοεῖν καρδία* occurs. John xii, 40. But these words are cited from Isaiah vi, 9, 10, where the Septuagint reads *συνιέναι καρδία*, (לֵבָב,) and where the same passage is elsewhere quoted in the New Testament, Matt. xiii, 15; Mark iv, 12; Luke viii, 10; Acts xxviii, 26, 27, *συνιέναι* is always used. I am therefore inclined to believe that John xii, 14 needs emendation. . . . I would give additional caution that no one should be stumbled by 1 Cor. xiv, where *ψάλλειν*, *λαλεῖν πνεῦματι* and *νοΐ*, to sing, to speak with the spirit and the understanding, as it were opposed to each other as being contraries. It is plain from 1 Cor. xiv, 9, that *ἐν πνεῦματι λαλεῖν* signifies the same as *ἐν γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν*, to speak with a tongue; that is, *φέρεσθαι*, that is, to be borne along by the power of the Holy Spirit, in the manner of the ancient prophets, (2 Peter i, 21,) rather than *ἀγεσθαι*, to be dragged by the force of a possessing spirit. (Rom. viii, 11, 14; Gal. v, 18.) On the other hand *νοΐ λαλεῖν*, same as *προφητεύειν*, to prophesy, that is, to discourse concerning divine things, under influence of the Divine Spirit, but not without individual consciousness.

i, 21. Wherefore *συνεσίς* and *συνετός* by themselves pertain to things inferior and terrestrial, and are held as little worth in divine things: *την συνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν αθετησω.* 1 Cor. i, 19. For the most part *συνετος* is used of those who seem to act prudently or sagaciously. (Matt. xi, 25; Luke x, 21.) The man also who obeys the laws of the *νοῦς* and *πνεῦμα* by degrees receives *σύνεσιν πνευματικήν, a spiritual understanding, sagacity, or discernment,* and so the word is to be understood when it refers to heavenly things. Eph. iii, 4; 2 Tim. ii, 7.

The sacred writers attribute to the *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή,* not only the power of understanding and perceiving, but free will, which, being exempt from bonds, gradually enlarges to the true freedom, which is able to choose and to accomplish the right and excellent. The will of the *πνεῦμα* is called *φρενές*;* the choice of the *ψυχῆ* is attributed to the *καρδία,* which two volitional tendencies we commonly term *desire* and *appetite.*

Φρένες occurs once only in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xiv, 20, from which passage the true meaning of the word is not very clear. In Rom. vii, 28, and viii, 6, we find in antithesis the combinations *φρόνημα σαρκος* and *πνεύματος,* just as we have already found the combination of *νοῦς σαρκός.* Then *φρόνησις,* (Eph. i, 8; Luke i, 17,) *φρόνιμος,* (Matt. vii, 24; x, 16; xxiv, 55; xxv, 2,) are almost always used for a laudable prudence of the *πνεῦμα. Συνετὸς,* we have already seen, is not so used; *φρονιμῶς* (Luke xvi, 8) has about the same signification as *νουνεχῶς.* (Mark xii, 34.) From this signification of the word *φρονείν, to be minded,* (Philippians ii, 5,) we can best understand the difference between *ταπεινός* and *ταπεινόφρων, φίλῶν* and *φιλόφρων,* and other similar words. He is called *ταπείνος,* humble, who is so simply; *ταπεἰναφρων,* humble-minded, who is humble by conscious purpose. According to this division of the faculties we may easily understand that *σοφία* is in the *φρήν,* that *γνῶσις* is in the *νοῦς,* and *πἰστις* is in the *καρδια.*

Ψυχή, also, so far as it has volition, desire, appetency, is in the

* Pythagoras (if we may credit Diogenes Laertius viii, 20) held that *φρήν* was the highest faculty in man: *τὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν διαιρεῖσθαι τριχῆ εἰς τε νοῦν καὶ φρενὰς καὶ θύμον. Νοῦν μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ θύμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις; φρενὰς δὲ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώπω.* This, in a manner, agrees with a familiar use in the New Testament writers, for they use *φρόνημα* to mean the *intending,* the *directing the will toward a known aim.* But I am scarce able to persuade myself that Pythagoras attributed *νοῦς* to animals. Stobæus (Eccl. Phys., p. 878) imputes to the Pythagoreans another partition into *λογισμὸν θύμον καὶ επιθύμιαν;* but these seem rather to have been the views of the Platonists, with which he seems to have confounded the Pythagorean doctrine.

New Testament called *καρδία* in a stricter sense. It is most difficult of all accurately to define what difference exists in the New Testament between *ψυχή* and *καρδία*.* Often, as we have seen above, they are interchanged; *καρδία* is put for *ψυχὴ*, since the (physical) *heart* is held as the seat and, as it were, the receptacle of the soul, just as the head of the intellect; neither, nevertheless, is either word used promiscuously; but *ψυχή* is spoken of in so far as it *exists*, but *καρδία* so far as it is excited, or the subject of emotion.

In other passages a difference is broadly made between *ψυχή* and *καρδία*, as Acts iv. The multitude of believers was one *καρδία* and *ψυχή*.† And especially these parallel passages:

Matt. xxii, 37: *καρδία, ψυχή, διάνοια.*
Mark xii, 30: *καρδία, διάνοία, ἰσχυς.*
Luke x, 27: *καρδία, ψυχή, ἰσχυς, διάνοια.*
Mark xii, 33: *καρδία, σύνεσις, ψυχή, ἰσχυς.*
Deut. vi, 5, (Septuagint:) *διάνοια, ψυχή, δύναμις.*
Heb. מְאֹד נַפְשְׁךָ לְבָבְךָ.

So far as we can see, to *καρδια*, in these passages, is attributed *desire*; so that the series of terms may be rendered (German, begehrkraft,‡ lebenskraft, denkkraft, willenskraft) affection-power, life-power, thought-faculty, volition-power. Nevertheless, the usages of the New Testament writers is not everywhere uniform. In Eph. vi, 6, Col. iii, 23, *ψυχή* is found, where the context, according to our rule, requires *καρδια*, (as Luther also renders it, *herz*,) which is the word used in Rom. vi, 17, and 1 Tim. i, 15, in a similar round of expression. In Mark *σύνεσις* is to be taken for *διάνοια*, that is, for the *σύνεσις πνευματική*.

Finally, concerning the notion of *σῶμα*, *body*, we subjoin a few remarks. Σῶμα, derived from *σαός, σούς, σῶς*, is used to designate the body as the instrument of the soul, (*σῶμα ὀργανικόν*, as it is

* Θύμος was used among the Greek philosophers, as passages already quoted plentifully demonstrate. In the New Testament *θύμος* (Apocalypse xiv, 10; i, 7; xix, 15) always signifies *anger, wrath*. The words *ενθομεῖσθαι, εὐθύμησις* are found (Matt. ix, 4; xii, 25; Heb. iv, 12) pertaining to the *καρδία*, a sense familiar to the same word with the philosophers. Here also belongs the word *ομοθυμαδόν*, (Acts i, 14; iv, 1, 46; iv, 24,) which in Acts iv, 32 is expressed by the phrase *τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία*.

† 1 Cor. i, 10: *Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ*. These words pertain rather to unity in views; the passage Acts iv, 32, to unity in love.

‡ So Gregory Nyssen, (De Anim. et Resurr. Opp., vol. i, p. 189,) *ψυχή ἐστιν οὐσία ζῶσα σώματι ὀργανικῷ καὶ αἰσθητικῷ δύναμιν ζωτικὴν καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν αντιληπτικὴν δι ἑαυτῆς ἐνιδυσα*. And Athanasius, (Opp., vol. ii, p. 49,) *ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας ἐχει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς προσηγορίαν. Ψύχειν γὰρ τὸ ζωοποιεῖν λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ ψυχὴ λέγεται διὰ τὸ σῶμα ζωοποιειν.*

called by Gregory Nyssen,) and like the parallel Hebrew גּוּף, גְּוִיָּה, it is used for the most part concerning the living body, but sometimes also for the dead. Usually the word for the dead body is *πτῶμα*. *Σάρξ*, *flesh*, is the material of the body while living; *κρεας*, *meat*, when dead. But our present business is not with body as the organ of soul; neither with flesh as its material; but with *flesh* as an affectional power in the *καρδιὰ*.* For *σάρξ* is the seat of the *ἐπιθυμιαι*, (commonly translated *lusts*,)† and *παθημάτα*, passions; and on account of this is often put for concupiscence, as in Rom. vii, 18, there *dwelleth in me*, that is, *ἐν τῃ σαρκι μου*, *no good thing*; which in verse 23 is expressed by *ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μου*. This passage is important for elucidating the difference which exists between *σάρξ* and *σῶμα*, so far as each term designates the seat and origin of *επιθυμίαι*, lusts or propensities. For *σάρξ*, which nearly always is used concerning men liable to sin, signifies, upon the whole, the infirm part of human nature, of terrene origin, the seat of concupiscence, so that it is almost interchangeable with *ἁμαρτὶᾳ*. The fact, however, is otherwise when the *σάρξ* of Christ is adumbrated, inasmuch as the Son of God shared his own nature with his his own flesh. As *σῶμα* signifies a complex or system of individual members, so it comprehends, also, the operations, individual and collective, of the *σάρξ* and *ἁμαρτία*. On this account we have the combinations, *σῶμα τῆς σαρκὸς*, *body of the flesh*, (Col. ii, 11,) and *σῶμα του θανάτου*, *body of death*, Rom. vii, 24, which is the same as *τὰ μέλη*, *the members*, v. 23. Compare Rom. viii, 11, 13. As being the seat of concupiscence, *σῶμα*, *the body*, is called *θνητόν*,

* 1 Cor. vi, 16: *Ὁ κολλώμενος τῃ πόρνῃ ἓν σῶμα ἐστιν, ἔσονται γάρ φησίν οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. Ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῶ κυριῳ ἓν πνεῦμα ἐστι.* This passage does not prove the signification of *σῶμα* and *σάρξ* to be the same; *σῶμα* and *πνεῦμα* are here simply set in opposition, as in Cor. v, 3, and for this reason we have the phrase *ἐν σῶμα*. But, in 1 Cor. ix, 27, *σῶμα* seems to be put for *σάρξ*. The image which the apostle wished to carry out, (of an athlete,) induced the use of *σῶμα* instead of *σάρξ*.

† For these reasons philosophers, not descending to ultimate causes, call a third part of human nature *επιθυμία* or *επιθυμετικόν*, (a fact intelligible from passages already quoted,) putting particular actions or operations for their cause. To concupiscence they allot a certain locality in the human frame. Philo, (De Spec. Legg., vol. ii, p. 350,) *επιθυμία δὲ τὸν περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλον καὶ τὸ καλούμενον διάφραγμα χῶρον ἔχει.* And also, (De Leg. Alleg., vol. i, p. 57,) *τοῦ δὲ ἐπιθυμετικοῦ συμβέβηκε τὸ χώριον εἶναι τὸ ἲτρον.* [These passages we shall leave in their garb of "well-sounding Greek." *Trans.*] In the New Testament there once occurs, Rev. ii, 23, *νέφροι*, *reins*, as the seat of lusts. So the Hebrew כְּלָיוֹת in the Old Testament often. *Σπλάγχνα*, *bowels*, is always used in a good sense, namely, concerning *love*, and indeed concerning *maternal love*. *Σπλάγνα*, that is, רַחֲמִים, seems to be derived *ab utero*.

mortal, Rom. vi, 12, and the *ψυχή* is held bound by the fetters of the sin of the body, and is *δοῦλός ἐστι τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, (Rom. vii, 25.) When this is the case the *σῶμα* is merely *ψυχικόν*. By the power of Christ the soul is emancipated from these bonds, the body itself is rendered *πνευματικόν*, (1 Cor. xv, 44;) and when our body is *μετασχηματισθεῖς*, *transfigured*, even the *επιθυμίαι*, lusts of our immaterial nature, depart. On this account, in a few passages, the word *επιθυμίαι*, used of the *πνευματικοῖ*, or spiritual, is used in a good sense. Jesus himself says, *επιθυμίᾳ επεθύμησα*; literally, *with lust have I lusted to eat this passover*. Luke xxii, 15. See also Phil. i, 27; 1 Thes. ii, 17, where it is used concerning Paul

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Art. VIII.—MISSIONS IN AMERICA.

[THIRD ARTICLE.]

The extent and character of the American missionary field have been briefly sketched in two preceding articles in this Review. A glance at the uncultivated wastes as therein presented, containing millions of Indians, millions of men of foreign birth and tongue, millions who speak our own language, and millions more crowding over our borders from the North, and the South, and the East, all dependent upon the American Churches for spiritual instruction and salvation, instrumentally, is surely sufficient to cause us to feel the unequaled importance of our home work. What a home God has bestowed upon us! From sea to sea, and from the North to the South Pole. Such a home as no other people have had or can have. The Almighty has made but one, and there is not room for another such on the broad bosom of mother earth.

The political and religious importance of our American home is unreckoned. We would not have this considered an empty boast characteristic of national vanity. Older members of the family of nations should not be offended by it. We are now what they were once, a young and vigorous people. They grew to opulence, to influence and greatness, and wielded the destinies of the world. The path of progress is now opened before us, and we must advance in it; we must increase; comparatively they must decrease. As the world's destiny has been in their hands, so it must pass into ours. And as each successive nation has risen higher in moral power and

position, we believe it is God's order that the last should rise highest. As the increasing force of favorable circumstances mounts each succeeding generation of men upon the shoulders of the preceding one, so are nations elevated by each other. Untrodden heights of power and influence are beckoning the American nation onward, and with long and rapid strides she is ascending them. And with the highest national position comes the weightiest national responsibilities. Hence the importance that the American nation should be Christian, thoroughly Christian. Her own dangerous destiny and controlling influence upon the world at large demand it.

Her political importance is seen and acknowledged, not only by politicians in the New, but in the Old World. In this respect the children of the world seem wiser in their generation than the children of light. The language of one of our statesmen upon a recent occasion is full of significant truth. He says: "We, the people of the United States, have a predestined fate before us, plain to be seen, according to my thought, as if inscribed on the adamantine leaves of time with a pencil of fire. Nay; it is as a providential mission, assigned to us by the visible, outstretched finger of God. . . . It is the foundation in America of republican empires: to outcount in numbers, and outvie in strength, the parent states of Europe. I say that it is the work appointed of God for us to do, and with the blessing of God upon us, that work we will do." This is assigning to America a transcendent political importance. The eye of the statesman traces its outline and reads its history in the future.

Where is the seer on the watch-hills of Christianity, and what is his report? Is there not a religious future as magnificent and important for America as her political? Is the finger of God's providence visible only to the statesman? Has he no providential designs to be wrought out on this great continent for the *universal spread of Christianity?* Surely he has. And the Church should apprehend them, and gird herself for their instrumental accomplishment. The American Churches have at the present hour work enough at home to employ all their energies, and the future opens before them upon a scale of grandeur and usefulness unlimited. Here is their work. The remark of the Rev. J. Angel James to an American divine, showed that he fully appreciated the circumstances of the American Churches. He said that "America ought to be exempt from missionary effort," meaning foreign missionary effort; and exempt in view of her duties at home. A man sitting at the base of one of the great Egyptian pyramids would not be able

to form so correct a conception and receive so distinct an idea of its outline and vast proportions as if he viewed it from a distance. So with great moral enterprises; too close a contact is unfavorable for a correct appreciation of their greatness and importance. A striking illustration is furnished, we think, by the American Churches, in their estimate of the missionary work. They should be at a distance to perceive the importance of their work at home. God grant that they may ascend the mount of vision!

Undoubtedly the great duty of the Church of God is to evangelize the world. The only question in discussion is, the best method of reaching this result. Her first and only commission of duty from her Divine founder was a missionary one. It was, "Go," *beginning at Jerusalem*, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The work was missionary work, all missionary work; and as much so in Palestine as in Macedonia, in Jerusalem as in Athens or Corinth. And the work of evangelizing the world is as much missionary now in America and England, as in Africa or India. The work is the same everywhere; the Church of Christ is at home everywhere. The demands and the locality, for individual or Church labor, must be determined by circumstances. We doubt whether evils have not arisen from the technical and restricted application of the phrase "Missionary Work" to distant fields. It gives the Church imperfect views of duty and responsibility. These views should be as universal as the world, and particular as each individual. It has a tendency to lead to the neglect of work at hand, which could be carefully superintended and effectually accomplished, for work in the distance, beyond our immediate control, imperfectly known by us, and consequently inefficiently conducted. It has caused advocates of the conversion of the world to rely upon doubtful representations, drawn from the Devil-bush of Africa and the banks of the Ganges, to excite the Church to duty, while valleys of dry bones, exceedingly dry, lie unexplored and unnoticed near our doors.

And further: Some of the zealous advocates of missions, in this restricted sense, affirm, with all the freshness and force of a newly discovered truth, that the spirit of missions is *the life* of the Church, and that this life is measured, and bounded, and proportioned by her missionary operations. Indeed, these operations are sometimes presented as if they were the sources of her spiritual life and power. This, we think, is too strong a representation. It is certainly true that the missionary spirit is essentially connected with the life of the Church. It is elemental. It had its birth with Christianity. It is an epitome of Christianity. It has always been found in active

connection with it, and truly measuring its vital force. But this is not a discovery in connection with modern missions, and should not be so represented. It is old Christianity, and has more weight of authority, legitimately occupying the seat of the ancient. The missionary spirit is not the life of the Church, nor missionary operations the source of that life. Directly the opposite is true. The life of the Church must be the source of this spirit, and of these activities, if they are at all Christian. Missionary activities may exist independent of true Christian life, both in individuals and churches. We have an example in the Romish Church; and Protestantism might become what Romanism is—a great organization of propagandism. We must not give, even to the great missionary interest, an undue importance. The life of the true Church is infused by the Holy Ghost; it is a baptism of power from on high. Her missionary life and order of work are both found in the fulfillment of the Saviour's promise: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Acts i, 8. We certainly think that such representations and teachings are defective and deleterious, and the sooner they are abandoned the better for the Church and the world. There is a species of enchantment about it that savors more of policy than piety. In a true sense the entire work of the Church is missionary work. And, as with an individual, so with a Church, the first duty is that nearest at hand. And by performing each duty at the proper time and place, we pursue the only certain method of accomplishing our whole duty efficiently. To be in haste to do some great thing or distant thing, to the neglect of a small thing, or thing near at hand, will certainly result in an imperfect discharge of duty. Churches are in as great danger from this error as persons are, and the principle is applicable to the great Church work contemplated.

It is very certain that a thorough performance of our home work is for us the most *efficient system for the conversion of the world.* It is the philosophical plan of operations to work from the center to the extremities. At the center is the seat of life, and this must be cherished, or labor will cease. Neither this view nor its application is new with the writer of these articles. Rev. L. P. Hickok, D.D., in a sermon before the American Home Missionary Society, makes this emphatic declaration: "On the saving of the American Church and people depends the salvation of the whole world." The English Wesleyans, so justly celebrated for their labors in the foreign mission field, have recently turned their attention to home with

a hearty appreciation of its importance, worthy of imitation. Rev. Mr. Waddy, in his address before the Wesleyan Missionary Society at its last anniversary, remarked that "*Home missions have the first claim upon the society.*" He said: "To impoverish these for the sake of foreign missions would be to eat up your seed-corn. Exertions for missions have had a wonderful effect in enlarging the scale of all home efforts. On the other hand it is only by the spread of home institutions that the permanent basis of foreign enterprise is widened. Whenever we hear of either individuals or societies, who give liberally to foreign and sparingly to home claims, we look upon them as probably very good, but ill-taught and eccentric. The plea that any part of our population is as badly off as the heathen, is untrue. But the certainty that all Christian labor expended upon them will permanently bear fruit of men and money for missionary work, stamps all advances toward the conversion of England with a world-wide value." This is much for an English Wesleyan to say, and to say, too, on the great occasion of their missionary anniversary. Their foreign missions have been their pride, and an all-absorbing interest. Their English home was neglected, and the effect of this neglect has been manifesting itself in the loss of their hold upon the poorer classes of society, in the regeneration of whom the chief glory and strength of any Church are to be found. They have happily discovered their error, and set about repairing it in good earnest. May we be timely cautioned; never commit, and never have cause to repair such an error. The above quotation, so true of the importance of England's conversion, is doubly true when applied to America. And it recognizes also the principle of converting the world through the effectual cultivation of the home field.

Bishop Simpson, in his address before the English Wesleyan Conference, as a delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, said: "Your system has displayed itself in missionary operations beyond ours. We have done something, but not so much as you have done. I hope, however, we shall follow you with more equal steps by and by. At present there is this difference in our circumstances: your land is filled with population; your cities are built; your ground is circumscribed; and all you can do is by the extension of your work abroad. It is not so with us. Since my own short day, for it was my lot to be born in a Western frontier, where the Indian tribes were roaming but a few miles distant, I have seen the frontier of our country extend between fifteen hundred and two thousand miles westward. This being the case, we were obliged to follow the population. Methodist ministers have gone after the

settler, and where the latter built his cabin the former would tie his horse to a tree, and taking his Bible and Hymn Book out of his saddle-bags, would preach Christ crucified. Hosts of the Irish Romanist population have been poured upon our shores, with hundreds and thousands of Germans; and now unless we have missionary operations among them they will overwhelm us. *We do not need to go out to the world, for the world is coming to us to be evangelized.*" And the out-going into the world from this home operation is beautifully set forth by the bishop in the same address: "I desire here, also, to explain what may seem to you to be an intrusion, that while we are forming a conference in Germany, it is not from rivalry, or because we would trench upon your labors, but because God sent the Germans among us. You had no field for them. Among us they were converted. . . . The converted Germans sent letters to their friends at home, and you may imagine the effect! The old man and woman would be gathered around the family hearth, and as the letter from their son in America was read, the old man would sit listening, and the mother would sit with tears in her eyes to hear from her son: that he was well, and had got a home, and a family springing up; that he had been to a Methodist Church, and had heard a Gospel sermon, and that it had pleased God to awaken him, and to forgive him his sins through faith in Jesus Christ. This would prove an unexpected sermon to them, this news of the conversion of their dear boy, and all the minister's preaching for years would not make such an impression as that short letter; it was a living witness among them of the power of God to salvation. The police could not stop those letters; they might stop ministers, examine goods, imprison men; but these letters, like snow-flakes floating in the air on a winter's day, would drop upon all. These letters had crossed the Atlantic, and had begun to evangelize that land, whose inhabitants now called to American Methodists, as the company in New York called to John Wesley, 'Send us men.' 'Come over and help us.'" Again: "The Scandinavians came over to us. . . . We did not wish to go to Norway; we had no thought of it; but one of our converts went home full of love and fire, and without being sent by the missionary society, he told the story of the cross as soon as he landed; the people wept, some were converted, and the cry came, 'Send a missionary!' and now we have three there,* and they have raised up native helpers, and God has opened a door for a work, though to a limited degree." By the same home operation we have been led to Denmark and Sweden. Of these missions, established among the for-

* Increased since.

eign populations in our own country, the last annual report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church says, referring particularly to the Swedish Mission in New York city: "It is the battery which sends back its evangelical shocks to Europe, to awaken a religious concern in old Scandinavia." Beautifully and powerfully said; and by cultivating American home interests faithfully and fully, the shocks of our evangelical battery will soon be sufficient to awaken the world!

We have an impressive illustration of the truth of this position in the contrast existing between Moravianism and Methodism. They commenced their career about the same time, with about equal original advantages and qualifications. Each clearly apprehending and embracing experimental and practical Christianity, both baptized with power from on high, they entered the great field, the world, for labor. *One hundred and twenty-five years ago* Moravianism entered the field of foreign missions. They went north to Greenland, and south to the West India Islands. In less than *nine years* they had missionaries in Greenland, St. Thomas, St. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, Lapland, Guiana, and Ceylon; at the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, among the Indians in North America, and the Negroes of South Carolina. These were gigantic and praiseworthy efforts; but they consumed their strength and exhausted the fountain of life, and to-day the weight of Moravianism is scarcely felt in Christendom, and her power for doing good abroad is in the same proportion feeble. Methodism devoted itself to laying broad foundations in nominal Christian lands; the sanctification of civilization; to the cultivation and concentration of moral power; to spreading Scriptural holiness; and the consequence is, in her own organization she is the strongest element in the Christian world, which, in addition to the indirect influence exerted upon sister Churches by the diffusion and infusion of her own spirit of life, warrants the conclusion that Methodism, since her origin, has done and is doing more for the *conversion of the world than all influences beside.* And this she has done by working at home. Home work is the true system for evangelizing the world. Strength at home gives efficiency abroad. And our home in the hearts of the people depends on our attention to their interests. Behold the contrast between Moravianism and Methodism after the labors of one hundred and twenty-five years: the one upon the foreign, and the other upon the principle of home work! It is questionable whether, if Moravianism had done her work as effectually in Germany as Methodism did hers in England, neology would have swept over that country, subverting revealed religion, or that Methodism would be called upon to-day to spend

her means in spreading Gospel truth there. Nay, is it not probable that Germany would have been as powerful and influential in the cause of evangelism as England or America. If this be supposable how much more would have been done for the conversion of the world than now is?

If the home work is well done we need have no solicitude about the foreign; indeed, there will be no foreign. We repeat, the center of Christianity is everywhere. The minister of Christ cannot go abroad; the world is his field. "Going abroad" may be an allowable phrase with the pleasure-seeking tourist; but not for those who are seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Doing our work well where we are, at the point we call home, will naturally and inevitably result in the enlargement of our borders. Especially must this be the case in a country like ours. God has determined the question for us. His providence, that mighty wheel that revolutionizes the affairs of man, and turns nations upside down, that turns the stream and tides of human life, as well as the waters of the south, has opened wide our gates, and cast into our lap the inhabitants of the world, saying as it does so, not, Take this child, but, Take these multitudes of the nations of the earth and bring them up for me. God has brought us a world's work in all its variety, if not extent, to our very doors. He has saved us the time and the money to go abroad to do his work. He has brought it to us. No other nation has been so honored in this respect. While Christian England is required to go abroad to the perishing and the heathen, the heathen and the perishing are brought to us. Germany is here; Norway is here; Sweden is here; Denmark is here; France is here; Ireland is here; Spain is here; Italy is here; Africa is here; China is here; the savage aborigines of our own country fill our wildernesses and darken the horizon of our civilized border. These are all here; here in vast multitudes; here, with all their ignorance and infidelity, with all their superstition and heathenism. The providence of God, in setting in this tide of immigration upon us, has filled our hands with work. By this he calls upon us to labor at home, and to labor at home for the conversion of the world abroad. And who can doubt that by laboring in obedience to this call, and in concert with this providential arrangement of work, that we must be more successful than in any other field, or under any other circumstances. We have these multitudes of the world's population here under the influence of our own political, social, and religious institutions, which we presume to say are more favorable for moral improvement than any in the world. Certainly, vastly more advantageous than are those in

the countries from whence they come. We may here bring them into immediate contact with the most vital, active, powerful type of Christianity anywhere to be found. And the class of material which Providence brings us to prepare, is the class, of all others, best adapted to become instrumentalities for moving the world when moved themselves. They are in sympathy with the masses at home; they are active and energetic. Thus we are placed in position for raising the best missionaries for Germany, France, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Italy, Russia, Africa, and China. If we are to calculate human probabilities for doing good, they certainly greatly preponderate in favor of the home work. We are placed in a position to bring the greatest immediate amount of religious influence to bear upon these several countries. And to Christianize the nations so largely represented in America will be to Christianize all the active elements of society in the world, which, when done, the result is readily foreseen. It is the surest, speediest, and most reasonable method for *American Christians* to labor for the conversion of the world.

By this method that which is called foreign work will be prosecuted as extensively as it can be efficiently. Due attention to the principle here argued and illustrated, we doubt not, would increase both the number and efficiency of such missions. We would not have them less, we would not have them more, than can be well sustained and vigorously prosecuted. Curtailing missions and abandoning missions, the effect of which is so injurious to the spirit of the Church and upon the forsaken, would never result from this line of policy.

This has been the *leading* policy, thus far, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Practical adherence thereto has led her into her most promising fields of enlargement and usefulness. Indeed, all her missions that have been successful have developed from this policy. In this manner our missions among the Indians were commenced, the most successful of any missions we have ever prosecuted among the heathen. In the same way Africa opened before us, for which benighted race we have done more than any other denomination of Christians. In accordance with the same general principle our mission in South America is sustained, which has proved itself to be one of our most profitable foreign appointments. Thus was our mission in Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, begun: "Some members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for purposes of business, settled at Honolulu, the capital of the Sandwich Islands, and asked to be still recognized as children of the Church, though thousands of miles distant from her sanctuaries."*

* Missionary Report, 1858.

In this way our foreign German and Scandinavian missions have opened before us, manifestly the leadings of God's providence,* all growing, naturally and directly, out of our home work; illustrating that it is the effectual method, for us at least, to reach the world, and that by faithfully performing this work it will lead us on as far and as fast as we are prepared to do the work of the Lord efficiently. Why will not the same process of home preparation which fitted and called us out among the Indians, and to Africa, and to Germany, and to Sweden, etc., if we continue faithful at home, call us in due time to Ireland, to France, to Spain, to Italy, to Russia, and to the ends of the earth, preparing here, and taking with us, the nucleus, the magnet of attraction, around which to gather the saved of the Lord. The policy we advocate is not a stay-at-home policy, but one by which we seek to spread our home blessings over the whole world. We advocate it because we think it is the most effectual for converting the world.

More especially is this plan of missionary work adapted to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is in strict accordance with her original providential call and design, as understood and expressed by her wise and practical founder and his coadjutors. Methodism in its origin and original labors was distinct, entirely so, from all forms of *ecclesiasticism*, from all denominational or sectarian covenants and creeds. Under its various leaders in the Church, or out of the Church, it was simply Methodism. It was not Episcopacy, nor Independency, nor Connectionalism; it was not Whitefieldism nor Wesleyanism; it was Methodism. It was the angel of the Apocalypse flying through mid-heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto the *Churches*. It was the spirit of prophecy, prophesying in the midst of the valley of dry bones, accompanied by the influence of the Holy Ghost, and great was the effect; a living army was raised up, marshaling itself under various banners for battle. The original and providential mission of Methodism was to existing Churches, to nominal Christian communities, with emphatic distinctness. John Wesley so understood it. When he formed his societies he defined them to be "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation." The only condition of admission into these societies was "a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins." The members of these societies were at liberty to hold

* We would direct special attention to that portion of the Missionary Report for 1853, under the head "The Providential Rise of our Missions." Pp. 19–25.

their connection, and commune with any Church they saw proper. The early masters of Methodism labored not for party, for power, or honor, but to do good, exhibiting in a remarkable manner the highest degree of moral heroism and entire self-abnegation.

This view of Methodism is the historical standpoint and principle of unity in Dr. Stevens's admirable and philosophical "History of Methodism." So thorough was Mr. Wesley's conviction of its anti-sectarian mission that he never departed in spirit or organization further from it than was absolutely necessary. "Wesley formed no creed for the English Methodists, and though some of his own writings are recognized in his chapel deeds and by the civil courts as the standard of Methodist doctrine, yet from their number, and the great variety of subjects treated in them, a rigorous system of interpretation has become impossible. In providing an organization for Methodism in the New World, where it was destined to have its chief range, he so abridged the Articles of the Church of England as to exclude the most formidable of modern theological controversies, and make it possible for Calvinists, alike with Arminians, to enter its communion; he prescribed no mode of baptism, but virtually recognized all modes; and it has been doubted, incautiously, perhaps, whether even a Restorationist or Universalist, if exemplary in life, could be adjudged a heretic by its creed.* Methodism reversed, in fine, the usual policy of religious sects, who seek to sustain their spiritual life by their orthodoxy; it has sustained its orthodoxy by devoting its chief care to its spiritual life. . . . It was, in fine, a system of vital doctrines and practical expedients, a breaking away from all old dead-weights which had encumbered the march of the Reformation, a revival Church in its spirit, a missionary Church in its organization."† In the address of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as found in the Discipline, p. iv, is this statement: "We believe that God's design in raising up the preachers called Methodists in America *was to reform the continent and to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands.*"

The application of this is, that the work which we are urging upon the Church is the very work for which Methodism was originally designed. We believe that the providential call of Methodism was rightly apprehended by Mr. Wesley, and hence the unparalleled success of his labors. The tenacity with which he adhered to this view was a wise tenacity. The effort to bring Methodism into direct contact with all the organized forms of Christianity, and baptize and bless all with its spirit of catho-

* One must believe in "the wrath to come" in order to "desire to flee from" it.

† History of Methodism, vol. i pp. 30–32.

licity and zeal, was an effort that would honor the highest type of Christian reformer. And we further believe, that just so far as circumstances will at all permit, there should still be close adherence to the primitive and providential design of Methodism. The original field should be occupied as far as possible. In it Methodism has been eminently successful. In no one instance has failure followed this adherence; success has trod upon the heels of success, glory has crowned glory in all such fields of labor. Should we not then pause before we depart from the original spirit and old paths of Methodism, and first do all the work for which God evidently raised us up. Home work, and work in Christian lands and in civilized communities, is eminently adapted to the original and providential design of Methodism. Methodism, in its original spirit and practice, was the highest type of Christian catholicity; and to prosecute its original mission still requires the highest degree of self-forgetfulness.

Again: Methodism in her providential organization (we say providential, for her organization has grown up under the formative influence of circumstances) is peculiarly fitted for this kind of work. On this point we will quote from an article in this Review, in 1847, written by Dr. Olin, entitled "Missions and Methodism." He says:

"Methodism has been diffused throughout this country rather by the aggressive genius and inherent tendencies of the system, than by any extraordinary and special exertions. An *itinerant* by the established economy of his Church, the Methodist minister ever wears the panoply of a missionary, and enters upon the missionary function at the call of duty with less inconvenience, and with habits more favorable to success, than could the settled pastor, more averse as he must be to change, and with less power of adaptation to the new and trying circumstances that beset this enterprise. We speak here of the special fitness of the itinerant system to meet the religious wants of a great country like ours, under the peculiar and ever-varying conditions that result from our position, our institutions, and the character of our people; from the vast extent and fertility of the fresh regions that tempt our adventurous families to seek their fortunes in the wilderness, and that give birth to new states, and territories, and populous towns in such rapid succession; from the absence of religious establishments and endowments, and the consequent liberty conferred, and obligations imposed, upon every Christian sect to consider 'the world as its parish,' and 'to do good to all men as it has opportunity;' from immigration and from emigration, which are constantly infusing new elements and tendencies into society, and impressing new characteristics upon our already heterogeneous population; and we are satisfied that all intelligent Christians, who recognize it as a branch of Christ's Church on earth, will also recognize in American Methodism *special and providential* adaptations to the great field in which it has been called to fulfill its mission." P. 277.

This organization, so admirably adapted to our country and similar fields, is not adapted to heathen lands; and having been so successfully worked by Methodism, and with such a vast field still for its exercise, and a system peculiarly our own, not adopted by any other Church, for reaching the scattered, the borderers, and the

stranger, we should hesitate to turn away from such a field, to cultivate which we are organically designed.

We would earnestly urge *home* upon the attention of the Methodist Episcopal Church, also, from the fact that all the other leading denominations of the country are already largely committed to the foreign work, and so committed that they cannot draw back. Their work will increase, and not decrease. Their resources will be required to meet these increasing demands. Home is in danger of being neglected. This is apparent from a survey of its extent and a consideration of its rapid growth. As a Church we are not as yet so deeply involved abroad as to cripple our operations at home. As a Church we love the home work. We make liberal provision for it. We are accomplishing a vast amount of it. It was the leading design of our fathers in the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. "The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church is established for the express purpose of enabling the several annual conferences more effectually to extend their missionary labors throughout the United States and elsewhere, and also to assist in the support and promotion of missionary schools and missions in our own and in foreign countries."*

We are just now in danger of losing sight of this Methodistic land-mark; in danger of departing from the "express purpose" of our Missionary Society, which was, and is, so entirely in harmony with the genins, organization, and success of Methodism. Let us pause here. There is no part of the world that has claims so strong upon us as home; no part of the world where there is such a variety of work to be done; nowhere are the fields so white unto the harvest; no point from whence so great an influence can be exerted upon the whole world for good. We are providentially adapted to this work. No other Church has the same facilities for doing it. No other Church is as free from foreign engagements as ourselves. Let us then pause, and reconsider our relations to the great question. Not for idleness, or ease, but to engage in labors more abundant, and, we certainly think, (mistaken we may be,) *more important and effectual for the salvation of the world.* Denominational pride would urge us abroad. A seeming equality in zeal and position with sister Churches may demand it. But let us consent to forego this honorable distinction for the more humble work of home missions; enlarging our borders as we have hitherto done, until the call to the outposts shall be as providentially manifested as it now is to remain at home, or until the circling wave of our influence shall break upon the remotest shore.

* Constitution of Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, Art. I.

There is another argument in favor of the home field that must not be overlooked, nor decided as mercenary when presented. It is the *financial argument.* Financial economy is a Christian duty. Business ability in conducting the great benevolent enterprises of the Church is a requisite increasingly important. These institutions have grown into great moneyed corporations, and practical business talent, rigidly applying business principles, is absolutely necessary in their management. The period, if not already gone, is fast fading away, when these institutions can be safely left in the hands of a few ministers of the Gospel, untrained to business, nay, by their calling positively unfitted for it, with the exception of a few rare cases; and these ministers, too, only able to give a few fragments of their time to the work. To be managed well, they must have the care of the mind accustomed to calculate financial chances and changes, to husband resources, stop financial leakages, and apply means in accordance with sanctified worldly wisdom, where and when there are the greatest probabilities of accomplishing most for the object contemplated. It is well known that no interests are so loosely managed as corporate interests. Political corporations are said to have no souls. Public moneys are for public pillage. We do not intend to say that this soulless recklessness characterizes our benevolent institutions; but we do intend to say that these interests are seldom managed as closely as private interests are. There is great danger of their benevolence degenerating into prodigality, by permitting matters to pass without a careful financial scrutiny. That we are not over-cautious in this connection, nor exciting unjustifiable suspicions, is evident from a public statement recently made, that in one of our great missionary associations it cost over *fifty per cent.* to collect and distribute the funds!

We are glad to bear testimony to the economical administration of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It costs this society for conducting its entire business only about *two per cent.* We will venture to say there is not another benevolent institution so economically administered in the United States. The point of economy, then, is an important one, and we need it not only in its application to the business details of such societies, but also in the selection of *missionary fields and the appropriations to the work.*

It must not be argued that "missions are missions;" that "the field is the world," and that it matters not where we work, so that we do not go out of the world to preach to the spirits beneath. It does make a difference. Each has a limited amount of his Lord's money to appropriate, and can bring certain forces only into the work, and it becomes therefore a high moral and religious obliga-

tion, to select wisely, husband resources economically, and so dispose of men and means as to accomplish the greatest amount of good.

We have already remarked that the administration of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church is more economical than that of any other benevolent institution known to us; to which we now add, that it has accomplished more for the salvation of the world, with the same amount of means, than any other organization of the kind; and there is no doubt that one principal cause of its great economy and accomplishments is found in its chosen home field of labor. Foreign heathen fields are very expensive to cultivate, and the gathered and garnered sheaves are few and far between. We would not enter upon a calculation of the cost of saving souls per head, yet, if we have only so many thousand dollars to expend on the work, it becomes a question of duty whether we shall spend them where the almost certain result will be thousands of souls saved, or spend them in laying foundations upon which we hope to rear a spiritual temple in the future, at best by a very slow process. Would not practical economy and Christian wisdom both dictate, do the work which we are now prepared to do, and by which hundreds and thousands of souls will be immediately saved? Does not this course of action seem to be very much in accordance with the spirit and provisions of the Gospel? Its provisions are for present application, its salvation is for the present generation of men: "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." Should not the great work of saving souls be prosecuted for present results? Is not one soul saved on American soil as valuable as one saved "on India's coral strand?" And another appropriate consideration in this connection is expressed in the quotation already made from the Rev. Mr. Waddy: "the certainty that all Christian labor expended upon them [that is, inhabitants of England] will permanently bear fruit of men and money for missionary work, stamps all advances toward the conversion of England with a world-wide value." Relatively, a soul converted on English or American soil is more valuable for the conversion of the world, than the conversion of the Krooman or the Hottentot, the Brahmin or Mandarin. Financial economy and "world-wide" spiritual results are combined in the home work.

This argument is appreciable by the people. How often do we hear from them objections to sending money and men abroad, founded upon the great outlay and the small results. They say it is unwise, a prodigal expenditure, a waste of means; that the same amount of money and effort expended at home, in and around one

of our large cities, would return thirty, sixty, or a hundred fold for this world and for the world to come. And wherewith shall we answer them? We must not reply, This is a mere excuse for keeping the purse-strings tied. It is not so. Many of our wiser and more liberal Christian men thus reason. They are as deeply interested in the salvation of the world as those who go to the uttermost parts of the earth to promote it. But they are practical rather than poetical men. The missionary work thus calculated on business principles, economically considered, accomplishing the greatest amount of good with a given amount of means, demands home effort. If this matter were submitted to uncommitted Christian business men, such would be their decision.

To test fairly the views of the Church and of the country on this question, we should have a Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; a separate, independent organization. The foreign and home work should be definitely presented, and their claims separately urged: not as rival organizations, but on their own distinct merits. These are broad enough to furnish a platform for each, and will command preferences sufficiently decided to sustain both. There are some who will give only for foreign missions; there are others who will give only to home missions; while there are many who would give much more than they now do, if the interests were divided. Both would be benefited.

Many objections would be obviated by a separation. The exclusive friends of the foreign work, who accuse our Missionary Society of unfairness, to say the least, in raising funds by pleas for the "perishing heathen," and then expending them in the cities of the East, or on the prairies in the West, would have the occasion of the accusation removed. And those who are constantly saying to us, "Why do you not organize a Home Missionary Society? we will give liberally to such a society; we are deeply interested in the welfare of our own land; we believe it to be our first duty to supply it with the Gospel;" we could then furnish such with an opportunity for the fullest exercise of their Christian benevolence and patriotism. All grounds for these various objections and excuses would be taken away, and men would be shut up to the necessity of giving, or of acknowledging that they had no interest in the salvation of others. The present arrangement cannot be satisfactory to the man keenly alive to one interest only; in vain we affirm that the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church cares for both. This is the very thing he objects to. He does not wish his funds divided. In his estimation any division would be disproportionate; either too much, or too little, would be given to the home, or foreign

work, as the judgment and sympathies of the donor were enlisted. This combination of interests makes it quite an impossibility for the "General Missionary Committee" to give satisfaction in their appropriations.

That there is a demand in the Methodist Episcopal Church in favor of the home work, that is not met by our General Missionary Society, is evinced by our numerous missionary societies for local purposes. Our City Missionary Societies, Ladies' Missionary Societies, and Young Men's Missionary Societies, altogether independent in their organizations, are constantly increasing. And these exist and multiply because of the demand by the Church for *larger appropriations for the home work than can be secured through our present Missionary Society.* Would it not be wise Methodist policy to yield to this demand, and form some scheme for concert of action, rather than risk these isolated societies?

This demand, indeed, has been recognized in our Disciplinary provisions for the "Support of Missions."

"Any annual conference may, at its option, by a vote of two-thirds of its members, assume the responsibility of supporting such missions, already established within its own limits, as have hitherto been reported under the head of 'Missions in the destitute portions of the regular work,' and for this purpose it shall be at liberty to organize a Conference Domestic Society with branches, *provided* such organization shall not interfere with the collections for the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as required by the Discipline. *Provided, also,* that in case more funds shall be raised for such missions than are needed, the surplus shall be paid over to the treasurer of the Parent Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at New York, to be appropriated to such mission or missions, under the care of the society, as may be designated by said conference."—*Discipline*, p. 198.

Under this provision domestic missionary societies may be formed in every annual conference, with branches or auxiliaries throughout their limits, for the support and enlargement, it is presumed, of the "destitute portions of the regular work." Here a beginning could be made. A Connectional Conference Home Missionary Society could be formed, and these conference societies could be combined and represented in a general organization for the whole Church. Thus our entire home field could be brought under the direct supervision of those most interested and best acquainted with its wants, each auxiliary reporting to its conference, and each conference to the General Board. And such an organization, in its details, could be made to meet all the necessities now calling for local societies. Indeed, it would be composed of local societies, under general government, which should have their own Board of Management, and the control of their own funds, with certain limitations for general purposes.

Why not organize such conference societies? They are disciplinary, practical, and demanded. The complaint of annual conferences is almost universal, that the appropriations for conference purposes are entirely too small.

To do our work well in the several annual conferences, we must have more money in some way, more missionary money, directly or indirectly. It occurs to us, that conference organizations are the surest and most Methodistic way of securing the object. And those who are more immediately interested in the foreign work say they have no apprehension that such a movement would diminish the receipts for that department of labor. Let us then have a home missionary organization for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In this connection we are tempted to a speculation on the subject of specific missionary societies, distinct from the organization of the Church with which they are associated. The true, visible Church of Christ is a missionary society, a divinely-constituted missionary society, and the only divinely-constituted missionary society; missionary work is inseparably interwoven with her organic existence. It is the paramount object of organization at all. Is it, then, the more excellent way to organize societies to do the work of the Church, the special work to which she is divinely called? Whether we have not by these organizations marred the close, life-circulating relations which should always exist between the missionary work and the Church of Christ? Would we not more effectually serve our object of advancing the kingdom of Christ in the world, by teaching, and impressing upon every local Church organization the great truth, that it was raised up, and blessed with Gospel privileges and spiritual power, for the very purpose of extending them to others? Should not every Church, not by the formation of a separate society, not by formal voluntary resolution, but by Divine appointment, be considered, and, in the name of the great Head of the Church, baptized, *Missionary Society!* By such teaching we would more effectually bind the missionary work upon the heart and conscience of the Church. This idea, we think, is expressed on page 194 of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church: "The support of missions is committed to the churches, congregations, and societies, *as such*." Yet, for the present, special missionary organizations seem to be a necessity.

But to return from this speculation. If the arguments here adduced will not secure the adoption of the policy presented; if, as a Church, we must go abroad, jumping over wide wastes to get far off; if this must be so, let us, as the next best thing, consider, as a Church, our peculiarities, and select our fields and method of labor

in view of them. Individuals have their personal qualifications, fitting them for certain positions and duties; so have individual Churches their *esprit du corps* and their peculiarities, fitting them for certain fields and modes of labor in the vineyard of the Lord.

We have delineated briefly what we consider the peculiarities of Methodism in spirit, call, and organic adaptation, and have designated what we suppose to be her appropriate work in the great enterprise of saving the world. She is peculiarly adapted to civilized communities, to nominally Christian lands, to raise fallen and infuse life into dead Churches. If, then, we must go abroad, let us select fields presenting these features. Our German, Scandinavian, and Bulgarian missions are eminently of this character, and we may multiply such to any extent. All Europe is open to us, presenting fields of this description; the great empire of Russia, all South America and Mexico; in the Lutheran Church, the Greek Church, and the Romish Church; among the mountain Nestorians of Persia, and the Armenians of Asia Minor. Here are ample fields for work for which we are peculiarly fitted, and we need only to adhere to our original spirit and method of labor to accomplish a great portion of it.

More than fifty years ago the Rev. Melville Horne, successor of the saintly Fletcher at Madeley, and who at one time traveled with Mr. Wesley, in a series of spirit-stirring letters on missions, apprehends very clearly this point in connection with Methodism. In contrasting it with Moravianism, he says:

"The zeal of the Methodist blazes and burns everything before it. He is open, active, bold, and ardent. He sees himself in a pushing world, and pushes with the foremost. . . . He mixes in the world, makes a hundred attempts to effect his purpose, and if baffled in them all, directs his labors to some other quarter which affords full scope to his activity. He lives in action, and is dejected and uncomfortable if he wants active employment. The Methodists are known chiefly for what they have done at home. . . . Itinerancy is the palladium of Methodism. Fixing upon some favorable post they revolve in a circle around it, perpetually making excursions in the neighboring country, and multiplying their circuits and their preachers in proportion to their success. If they do not split of themselves there is hardly anything in the missionary line which they may not attempt and succeed in. But they will not, I fear, be able to steer clear of persecution, as the Moravians have done, nor do I conceive they have patience and perseverance for a Greenland mission. A Methodist preacher would think his life thrown away, in spending twenty or thirty years upon a few converts, *and I flatter myself that Methodists are too well acquainted with themselves to engage in such undertakings, while so many large and populous kingdoms are accessible to them.—Letter III.*

The method by which we should work these fields is worth a thought, whether by independent Church organizations, or in accordance with our primitive method. Asking no recognition as a Church where the people are already churched, and sufficiently

orthodox for salvation; disclaiming all sectarianism; going forth into the highways and hedges only to do good; breathing life into dead orthodoxy, writing salvation upon the walls and praise upon the gates of existing Church establishments. The result proves this to have been a wise course in England. And would it not now, under similar circumstances, reach and conciliate certain pastors, and open doors of access to the people for greater usefulness than could be secured in any other way? Could it not have been done in Germany, in Norway, and in Stockholm, years ago? Could it not be done in Bulgaria? Are there not always a few pastors in these national and ancient Churches who, by proper approach, would welcome such co-operation? May we not diffuse Gospel salvation throughout Germany more successfully by this method than by independent Church organization? Our missionaries have been persecuted, fined, and imprisoned in Germany, for violations of national Church laws; and only in the city of Bremen are we permitted to exist as an organized Church. Has not our choice of this method very much circumscribed our influence? There were national causes at work in Germany before we sent any missionary there, stirring to spiritual life and regeneration. Here and there the national pulpit gave out a certain sound. The spark was beginning to glow. Now might not Methodism have blown the spark of Holy Ghost religion into a flame, if our ministers had offered themselves as helpers, evangelists, and revivalists to the spiritual part of the established clergy, and might it not be to Germany what it was to England in the days of Wesley? In accordance with this view, one of our missionaries, (Brother Nippert,) in a recent letter, gives an account of a hearty welcome into the parish of the Rev. Mr. Kuntze, of Berlin, authorizing him to *form classes*, and labor in his own way for the salvation of the people. Are there not more such welcomes awaiting us? Is it too late to accept of them?

These are speculations and queries only, thrown out to call attention to a point of practicability in prosecuting our mission work. It is true this course might not reflect so much denominational glory, but our glory should be to do the greatest amount of good; and if it can be accomplished by this co-operation with established Churches, let us not falter in following in the footsteps of our founder.

Before closing this our last article on missions, we wish to notice briefly the comparison so frequently made between the contributions of the Methodist Episcopal Church for missions and other benevolent objects with those of other Churches, particularly with the English Wesleyans. These comparisons are instituted so frequently upon the platform, in the pulpit, and through the press, by our own

writers and speakers, to our great disparagement as a Church, that humble acquiescence in their truth seems to have become a virtue.

We believe that in this matter downright injustice is done us. In an article in the "National Magazine," November, 1858, p. 410, entitled "British and American Methodism compared," we find the following statement: "That British Methodism raises for missions one dollar and forty-two cents per member annually, while we (in the Methodist Episcopal Church) raise for the same object but twenty-eight cents per member annually! The American Church has more abundant means, and about double the membership, and ought, in all fairness, to outstrip the parent Church in the amount of her contributions."

Comparisons certainly are odious sometimes, and one hundred and forty-two against twenty-eight, five to one, is sufficient to make the Methodist Episcopal Church so, if it be a fair comparison. Yet, to make it still darker, it is affirmed that the Methodist Episcopal Church "has more abundant means" and about double the membership." It is true we have a much larger membership than they, but this has nothing to do with the point of the comparison. It may be true also that our aggregate wealth as a Church is greater than theirs, and it is also true that our wealth is more generally distributed, and we have more comfortable homes among us than they have, for which we are unfeignedly thankful. But even this does not determine that we have more for benevolent purposes than they have. The wealth of England is in a few hands. In the Church as well as in the world there are instances of overgrown wealth. Hence the large sums contributed by individuals to the various Wesleyan funds, which swell the aggregate so greatly. Ten thousand a year in the hands of one man ought to furnish a much larger proportion for benevolent contributions than if it were equally distributed among ten persons. Now comparatively, we presume, the Wesleyans have more persons of the greater ability than the American Church has. It does not require much arithmetical skill to discover that such a state of facts would greatly increase the ability to make a larger average contribution.

Again, to confine the comparison to missionary contributions only is unfair; it is to present a very contracted view of the subject; missionary money, as technically understood, is not the measure of a Church's labors or liberality. In this comparison home Church expenses must be taken into the account. Ours are much greater than theirs on an average of membership, thus diminishing our means for foreign contributions. Our population is sparse, expensive to reach; we are all the time beginning; everything is new;

they have finished; they are the sons, and have inherited from the fathers churches and parsonages. We are the fathers, the first generation, and are constantly making provision for the present, and can scarcely keep up with it.

Little more than *three fourths* of a century ago American Methodism in this wilderness had ten preachers and eleven hundred and sixty members; Wesleyan Methodism, at the same date, had one hundred and thirty ministers, thirty thousand members, and the experience of a whole generation: *thirteen times as many ministers*, and almost *thirty times as many members*, all the experience, and a cultivated populous country. Now with such unequal beginnings, and all the difficulties of a new country to contend with, border wars and English aggressive wars, with all we shrink not from a fair comparison. In that time American Methodism has conquered and cultivated, spiritually, more territory than England governs, notwithstanding the sun never sets upon her possessions. The cost of carrying on, to its present state of completeness, such a work, would more than reverse the ratio of one hundred and forty-two to twenty-eight! In this time American Methodism has grown from eleven hundred and sixty members to one million one hundred and seventy-nine thousand five hundred and twenty-six, and built thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-eight churches. Wesleyanism grew in populous England from thirty thousand to about five hundred thousand members, "and has six thousand six hundred and forty-nine *places of worship!*" There is some room for comparison here.

But let us take the figures of "G. R. H.," as found in the "National" referred to. He says, In 1857 the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) had eight hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and nineteen members, and six thousand one hundred and thirty-four ministers, giving one minister to be supported by about every one hundred and thirty-six members; while in 1846 the British Connection had about fifteen hundred ministers and four hundred and sixty thousand members, giving one minister to be supported by every three hundred and six members; not half the home burden in the single item of ministerial support that the Methodist Episcopal Church has, and yet we are compared disparagingly in our missionary contributions! Why not institute a comparison on this point?

The peculiar statement of "G. R. H." in regard to the houses of worship excites our curiosity. He says British Methodism "has six thousand six hundred and forty-nine *places of worship.* The Methodist Episcopal Church numbers eight thousand three hundred

and thirty-five *church edifices*." What is meant by using "places of worship" in the one case, and "church edifices" in the other? We know what the latter means, but does the former mean the same thing? It is a pity that the writer in the "National," in correcting the worthy president of the Ohio University, had not been a little more definite in his statements. We do not believe that the British Methodists have six thousand six hundred and forty-nine "church edifices," or Wesleyan chapels, or "G. R. H." would have said so. Dr. Thomson says they have in England about three hundred! Nor are the eight thousand three hundred and thirty-five church edifices all the "places of worship" occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church. If all such places are included the number will at least be doubled. Are we to understand, then, that eight hundred and twenty-thousand five hundred and nineteen members of the Methodist Episcopal Church have built eight thousand three hundred and thirty-five church edifices in the last *three quarters* of a century, and that five hundred thousand Wesleyans have built three hundred Wesleyan chapels in the same time? According to these figures, every English congregation of about fifteen hundred has built a chapel, while every American congregation of about one hundred has done the same! And yet our missionary contributions are compared with theirs to exhibit our meanness!

And further, all the missionary money of the Wesleyans, even to the children's Christmas offerings, is reported in the great aggregate. The report of the treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not include, by a large amount, all that is contributed for missionary purposes by the Church. There are many other considerations to be taken into the account, in order to do justice to American Methodism, which we may not introduce here. Take our great publishing interest sustained by the Church. The American Church is publishing as much annually as the Wesleyans have for the last generation. We confess we have been provoked by these offensive and sophistical comparisons.

The truth is, while American Methodism gives all honor to her Wesleyan mother, she has far outstripped her in labor for the salvation of the world. The difference in growth indicates more accurately the difference in doing good than the amount per head of missionary contributions. In this country "its rate of increase has been *twenty-fold*, while in England its increase has been *seven-fold*."

With equal sincerity we offer the prayer for both branches of the great Methodist family: May "the Lord God of *our* fathers make *us* a thousand times so many more as *we* are, and bless *us*, as he has promised *us*."

Art. IX.—THE WILL OF GOD.

The progress of true theology depends very much upon a growing precision of ideas in relation to the import of Biblical terms. Theological systems have a constant tendency to warp the legitimate sense of words as dictated by the Holy Spirit, and to make them speak the language of particular oracles, symbols, schools, or sects, It is for this reason that exegesis becomes so important as a final appeal, even when didactics and polemics have long given law to opinion. The Grammar, the Lexicon, and the Concordance will ever be the most weighty witnesses summoned to the stand, when a verdict is to be passed on any asserted tenet of Holy Writ. No matter how excellent a translation, it can never replace or supersede the inspired originals. No matter how long a specific doctrine may have enthroned itself in the Church, it can never plead a prescription so sacred as to exempt it from the inquest of a sound philology. No degree of metaphysical subtilty, of bold hypothesis, or ingenious speculation, can pass unchallenged by the linguistic sentinels which keep guard on the outposts of the theological domain. Sentiments that have become enshrined in the sanctity of familiar aphorisms and adages, and which are seldom thought of being questioned, are liable, like more dubious positions, to be brought to the ordeal which nothing bearing the impress of revealed truth can hope finally to escape.

The phrase, "will of God," standing at the head of the present article, would probably suggest to the casual reader as little involving matter of debate as any three words that could be conveniently framed together, yet they are not beyond the reach of a stern interrogation on the score of their genuine Scriptural significance, and we shall be somewhat mistaken if the sequel do not evince that a very marked modification must come over our conceptions of the phrase before it conveys to us the precise sense of the original. This we propose to endeavor to determine by a large induction of instances displaying the ruling *usus loquendi* of the sacred writers as concerns the phrase in question, and deducing from the whole a train of inferences bearing upon some of the most important teachings of Christianity.

That the object we propose to ourselves may be as clearly defined as possible in the outset, we remark that the term *will*, in the present connection, stands in most minds as synonymous with *purpose, resolve, fixed decree*, etc., denoting certain results that the Divine

wisdom designs to have accomplished, whether in the field of physical or moral action. The mass of readers, when they meet with the phrase, are probably conscious of no special ambiguity in it, and think of the "will of God," in its degree, somewhat as they do of the will of Napoleon, of the will of the Russian Czar, of the will of a Parliament, of a Congress, or any other legislative body. The substantive *will* carries with it, quite invariably in this connection, at least in the mind's estimate, the latent epithet *decretory*, denoting a certain *absoluteness of purpose* which it is our object to eliminate from the genuine import of the word as applied to the will of Jehovah. A subtler analysis marks the processes of didactic theology, and hence it would be easy to cite a long list of scholastic distinctions which divines have thought indispensable to a correct apprehension of the subject. Of these the most important by far is the distinction of the *secret* and the *revealed* will of God, of which the former is supposed to be the rule of his own action, and the latter of ours. The justice of this distinction we shall have occasion to consider at length ere long; let it suffice at present to remark, that the phrase, "will of God," in common parlance, conveys no very clear or emphatic idea of *emotion* or *affection* in the Divine mind, but either that of simple *arbitrium*, or *determinate purpose;* whereas *will*, in the sense of *voluntas*, points to the *affectional state* of the willer, and identifies the will with the love. Our English language suffers from the lack of that nice discrimination in regard to this class of words which distinguishes the Latin. There we have *voluntas*, *volitio*, *arbitrium*, defining distinct shades of mental status or action; while our *will*, *choice*, *volition*, etc., come far short of that accuracy of import which the exigencies of sound reasoning require.

In the exhibit which we propose to make of the Scriptural usage of the term, we assume as a postulate the reality of the all important distinction between the *intellectual* and *moral* departments of our own nature and of the Divine nature. We would have no one startled at the idea that there is a divine as well as a human psychology; for we could never conceive how we were made after the image and likeness of God, if we could not look upon the main constitution of God's being as the archetype of ours. If we have intellect, love, and volition as distinguishing properties of our own nature, why should we not recognize these as essential attributes of the Divine nature also? The assignment of the will to the *moral* or *emotional* province of our being, instead of the *intellectual*, or instead of making it a distinct faculty by itself, may not appear, at the first glance, of so much importance as our results may prove it to be. We trust at least to show that by making *will*, when predicated of the

Most High, identical with *voluntas* instead of *arbitrium*, and resolving it into a *prevailing state of affection, a ruling velleity,* we exhibit it under a very different aspect from that in which it is ordinarily contemplated. But of this the reader will judge. In the conduct of the argument we make no apology for the free array of Greek and Hebrew type, as our object cannot be otherwise attained.

To the classical scholar the fact is familiar that the leading term in Greek used to denote the act of *willing* is θελω, of which another form, governing the formation of some of the tenses of θελω, is εθελω, *ethelo.* The rendering given of the verb is *to will, to be willing, to be pleased* to do anything, *to wish, to desire, to choose, to delight in, to have pleasure in, to love.* The dominant idea is that of *complacency.* The emotion indicated by the term may sometimes be heightened to *purpose* or *resolve,* but for the most part a strong *affectional propension* toward an object is the prominent import of the word. A few illustrative examples will here be in place.

Matthew i, 19: "Then Joseph . . . *not willing* (μη θελων) to make her a public example." Not disposed.

Matthew viii, 2: "If thou *wilt* (θελεις) thou canst make me clean." If thou art *pleased* to do it.

Matthew xii, 7: "*I will have* (θελω) mercy, and not sacrifice." I have *delight* or *complacency* in mercy.

Matthew xv, 32: "*I will not* (ου θελω) send them away fasting." Here, as in hundreds of other cases in our version, the mere English reader could not determine whether the word "will" were simply a sign of the future tense, or indicated by a separate verb. The latter is the fact, and the import is clear of a peculiar state of *feeling* in the Saviour's breast, making him averse to sending away the multitude in a fasting condition. Indeed, in the former clause he says, "I have compassion on the multitude," etc.

Mark xii, 38: "Beware of the scribes, which *love* (θελοντες) to go in long clothing."

Luke v, 39: "No man having drunk old wine straightway *desireth* (θελει) new."

1 Corinthians xv, 3: "But God giveth it a body as *it hath pleased* him, (ηθελησε.)"

2 Peter iii, 5: "For this they are *willingly* (θελοντες) ignorant of."

Nothing can be plainer than that the verb *to will* in these cases carries with it a predominantly *affectional* import, and we have found no instance, either in the Old Testament or the New, where it seemed necessary to depart from this meaning. The affirmative

sense is invariably that of *predilection*, and the negative that of *aversion;* in either case the main idea being that of *emotion*.

The corresponding derivative noun *θελημα, thelema, will*, has, as might be expected, an analogous import, in which the sense of *willingness, disposedness*, rather than of *purpose* or *decree*, is the preponderant element. But this we propose to confirm by the display of the usage.

Matthew vi, 10: "Thy *will* (*θελημα*) be done in earth as in heaven." Thy *good pleasure*, or that which is *well pleasing* to thee.

Matthew xviii, 14: "It is not the *will* (*θελημα*) of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." It is not a matter of *willingness* or *good pleasure* with him.

Matthew xxvi, 42: "If this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, thy *will* (*θελημα*) be done." Let that which is the object of thy *complacency*, all things considered, take place.

Luke xii, 47: "And that servant which knew his Lord's *will*, (*θελημα,*) and prepared not himself, neither did *according to his will*, (*προς το θελημα αυτου,*) shall be beaten," etc. Did not act *toward his inclination*, or in accordance with it.

Luke xxiii, 25: "But he (Pilate) delivered Jesus to their *will*, (*θελημα.*)" Gave him up to the *ruling disposition* of their hearts.

John iv, 34: "My meat is to do the *will* (*θελημα*) of him that sent me." To act in accordance with the divine *pleasure*.

Acts xiii, 22: "A man after mine own heart, which shall fulfill all my *will*, (*θεληματα.*)" Literally, *shall do all my willings or volitions;* all that in which I take complacency.

Ephesians i, 5: "According to the good pleasure of his *will*, (*θελημα.*)" Here the introduction of a closely related word, *ευδοκια, good pleasure*, having a manifest relation to the *affections*, confirms still more strongly our leading position in regard to the genuine import of *will*.

Ephesians i, 11: "According to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the *counsel of his own will*, (*κατα την βουλην του θεληματος αυτου.*)" A case similar to that of the preceding verse; the word *βουλη* being used to indicate the divine *purpose* or *determination* accompanying the *affectional promptings* of the will.

Ephesians ii, 3: "Fulfilling the *desires* (*θεληματα, the willings*) of the flesh and the mind."

Thessalonians iv, 3: "This is the *will* (*θελημα*) of God, (even) your sanctification." The object of his *earnest desire*.

Revelations iv, 11: "Thou hast created all things, and for thy *pleasure* (*θελημα, thy will*) they are and were created."

It would be easy to multiply, *ad libitum*, equivalent examples from

the New Testament, all going to evince the soundness of our general position relative to the import of the phrase in question; but as this usage is Hellenic, and refers itself back to the diction of the Septuagint, we proceed to confirm our statement by evidence drawn from this latter source. Our concern here is indeed mainly with the substantive *θελημα, will*, and its Hebrew equivalents; but it is well worthy of remark, that in thirty-one cases out of about seventy-five, the Greek *θελω, to will*, is the rendering of the Hebrew אהב, *to love*. The following are among the instances.

Genesis xxiv, 8: "And if the woman will not be *willing* (תאבה, *θελη*) to follow thee," etc.

Deuteronomy i, 26: "Notwithstanding *ye would* (אביתם, *ηθελησατε*) not go up."

Isaiah i, 19: "If ye be *willing* (תאבו, *θελητε*) and obedient."

Ezekiel iii, 7: "The house of Israel *will* (יאבו, *θελησουσι*) not hearken unto thee; for they *will* (אבים, *εθελησαν*) not hearken unto me."

In all these cases the literal import of the Hebrew is *to love*, which of course becomes so far a definition of the Greek *θελω, to will*. The substantive *θελημα* stands in the LXX. as a representative for the most part of two Hebrew words, חפץ, *'hâphatz*, and רצון, *râtzon*, of which the English version is variously *will, desire, favor, acceptance or acceptable, pleasure, good pleasure, delight*, etc., as will appear from the ensuing array of texts.

In regard to the first of these words, (חפץ,) Chamier remarks that, "Even the tyro in Hebrew is aware that the root signifies not simply *to will*, but *to will with affectionate earnestness*, so that it properly denotes *beneplacitum*, or that which is *well pleasing*, as Ezekiel xviii, 32: 'For *I have no pleasure* (לא אחפץ) in the death of him that dieth.'" In like manner, Gerhard (in Peter) says: "It signifies more than simply *willing*, namely, to *will with desire, complacency, and delight*, as Genesis xxxiv, 19; Psalms cxlvii, 10; Isaiah lxii, 4. So as to the other term (רצון from רצה) the lexicographer Leigh observes that the verb denotes a *willing with a peculiar vehemency and delight*. "The use of the term is frequent in reference to the acceptableness of sacrifices, offerings, and prayers made to the Most High, as Job xxxiii, 26; Psalm li, 21; cxix, 122; Malachi i, 8; Leviticus xix, 7; xxii, 25. It properly signifies *to regard as agreeable, to receive with acceptance, to treat with benevolence, to will with good pleasure, to take delight in anything*. For this reason the Greek interpreters have occasionally rendered it by *ευδοκεω, to be well or benevolently affected toward any one*. In Psalm lxxxv, 2; Leviticus xxvi, 41, the word denotes *to accept with pleasure*

and good-will." Leigh further remarks of the noun רצון, "that it implies *favorable acceptation* or *good-will, gracious liking* or *acceptance*, being derived from a word which, according to the apostle, Hebrew xii, 6, *from* Proverbs iii, 12, signifies *to accept*, and also *to be well pleased* or *delighted.* Matthew xii, 18, from Isaiah xlii, 1. It is also interpreted *will* or *pleasure.* Hebrew x, 7, from Proverbs iii, 12. (See Willett on Leviticus xxii, 19.)" To this he adds the following from Graser on Daniel (Exercit. 2): "The word רצון properly signifies that affection of mind into which one is drawn with a spontaneous impulse, and in which he rests acquiescingly and with delight. Its import in the sacred writings is principally conspicuous in designating that ardent affection of love and benevolence with which the Divine Father embraces his only begotten Son and us in him." But an exhibition of the actual Scripture usage in regard to these words will be still more satisfactory. Let not the reader forget that these are the terms employed for the most part to denote the *divine will* as that is spoken of in the Old Testament.

1 Kings x, 9: "Blessed be the Lord thy God which *delighted* (חפץ, *ενδοκησε*) in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel."

Psalm xxii, 8: "He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him, seeing that he *delighted* in him, (חפץ.)"

2 Samuel xv, 25: "But if he (the Lord) thus say, *I have no delight* in thee, (לא חפצתי.)"

Isaiah xlii, 21: "The Lord is *well pleased* (חפץ) for his righteousness' sake."

Isaiah xlvi, 10: "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my *pleasure*, (חפצי.)"

In addition to the examples given a page or two below, illustrative of the sense of רצון, the following may properly be cited in this connection. The Latin and Greek equivalents to this word are thus stated from the Hebrew Lexicon of Coccceius, (ed. Schultz:) *Gratia, acceptatio, voluntas acquiescens, beneplacitum.* Greek, *ενδοκια, good-will; επιθυμια, strong desire; θελημια, will; χαρις, favor; ελεος, mercy; δεκτον, acceptable; αρεστον, agreeable.*

Isaiah xlix, 8: "Thus saith the Lord, In an *acceptable time* (בעת רצון) have I heard thee." A time of *favor* and *good-will.*

Isaiah lxi, 2: "To proclaim the *acceptable year* of the Lord, (שנת רצון.)" To proclaim the year of the *good pleasure* of the Lord.

Psalm v, 12: "With *favor* (רצון) will thou compass me as with a shield."

Psalm xix, 14: "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart be *acceptable* (לרצון, lit. *for a pleasure*) in thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer."

Psalm cvi, 4: "Remember me, O Lord, with the *favor* (רצון) which thou bearest to thy people."

But we now return to the instances where the Hebrew terms are expressly rendered by the Greek *θελημα, will.*

2 Samuel xxiii, 5: "For this is all my salvation and all my *desire,* (חפץ, *θελημα.*)"

1 Kings v, 8: "I will do all thy *desire* (חפץ, *θελημα*) concerning timber," etc.

Job xxi, 21: "For what *pleasure* (חפץ, *θελημα*) hath he in his house after him."

Psalm i, 2: "But his *delight* (חפץ, *θελημα*) is in the law of the Lord."

Ecclesiastes v, 4: "When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no *pleasure* (חפץ, *θελημα*) in fools."

Isaiah xliv, 28: "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my *pleasure,* (חפץ, *θελημα.*)"

Isaiah xlviii, 14: "The Lord hath loved him; he will do his *pleasure* (חפץ, *θελημα*) on Babylon."

Malachi i, 10: "I have no *pleasure* (חפץ, *θελημα*) in you, saith the Lord of Hosts."

Psalm xxx, 5: "His anger endureth but a moment; in his *favor* (רצון, *θελημα*) is life."

Psalm xxx, 7: "Lord, by thy *favor* (רצון, *θελημα*) thou hast made my mountain to stand strong."

Psalm xl, 8: "I delight to do thy *will,* (רצון, *θελημα,*) O God."

Psalm ciii, 21: "Bless ye the Lord . . . ye ministers of his that do his *pleasure,* (רצון, *θελημα.*)"

Psalm cxliii, 10: "Teach me to do thy *will,* (רצון, *θελημα.*)"

The reader, we trust, will compliment our veracity so far as to believe that the above constitute a mere fraction of the cases of similar usage that might be adduced in illustration of the sense which we have affirmed of the phrase "will of God." Many of the instances cited refer, it is true, to the will of man, but they are still pertinent, as bearing on the purport of the expression. It is to be observed, moreover, that in a multitude of cases the original Hebrew employs a term which is not rendered in Greek by *θελω* or any of its derivatives, and yet conveys emphatically the sense of *complacent affection* which we have developed in the preceding pages. Thus רצון, *good pleasure,* for example, which is so frequently rendered by the Greek *θελω* or *θελημα, will,* occurs in the following passages when the Greek rendering is various.

Leviticus i, 3: "He shall offer it of his own *voluntary will,* (רצון.)"

Leviticus xix, 5: "Ye shall offer it *at your own will*, (רצון.)" Comp. Leviticus xxii, 19, 29.

Deuteronomy xxxiii, 16: "And for the *good will* (רצון) of him that dwelt in the bush."

Ezra x, 11: "Make confession unto the Lord God of your fathers, and do *his pleasure*, (רצון.)"

Proverbs xii, 2: "A good man obtaineth *favor* (רצון) of the Lord."

Isaiah lx, 10: "In my wrath I smote thee, but in my *favor* (רצון) have I had mercy on thee."

No doubt can linger in the mind of the intelligent reader, that the diction in the above texts presents an additional confirmation of the truth of our main position in regard to this genuine purport of the phrase "will of God." His will pertains to his affection, and its objects are the objects of his complacency, and of nothing else. We have admitted, indeed, that in some few cases the term *will* denotes *purpose* as predicated of God or of Christ, which is the same as saying that the divine *voluntas* sometimes issues in the divine *volitio*. The following texts belong to this category:

Matthew viii, 3: "And Jesus put forth his hand, and touched him, saying, *I will*, (θελω;) be thou clean." Mark i, 41; Luke v, 13, are parallel.

John v, 21: "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom *he will*, (θελει.)"

John xxi, 22: "Jesus saith unto him, if I *will* (θελω) that he tarry till I come," etc.

We find nothing more direct to the point than these few texts, and these militate not with our main averment. They merely intimate *the going into effect of the Divine willingness or proclivity*, so far as it bears upon the objects of his complacency or choice. But it is certainly remarkable that in such a vast majority of cases the sense of *voluntas* should prevail over that of *volitio*. Indeed, a doubt may be suggested whether there is any such thing as *volition*, strictly speaking, in the Divine mind; whether his *will* (*voluntas*) be not an *infinite spontaneity*, acting from eternity and unknowing of distinct volitive operations. The truest conception, perhaps, of the Divine nature, is that of an infinite, eternal, irrepressible, and overwhelming lovingness, which yearns with ineffable longings for the highest good of every creature, and which only fails to realize its desires because it *cannot* without destroying the highest prerogative of the creature. The possibility of evil must be permitted, and if permitted, its native consequences must follow, though even here it may be doubted whether the punishment of the wicked in hell involves

any distinct volition to that effect, inasmuch as the contrariety of moral state, apart from any direct infliction from the Divine hand, will have all the effect of positive and punitive wrath. In this case infinite love will be itself the punisher. So when the eyes are diseased, the light of the sun is painful. The patient is conscious of a certain antagonism between the beams of the bright luminary of day and his own organs of vision. But no change has taken place in the sun. It still shines serene, majestic, and glorious, rejoicing all eyes that are not incapacitated by their own state for welcoming his reviving rays.

But whatever may be granted or denied on this head, the result of the whole previous induction satisfies us that the phrase in question, as defined by the dominant usage of sacred writ, is never, in a single instance, predicated of that in which the Divine Being does not take complacency. In strict propriety of speech the Lord never *wills* that which is intrinsically evil. He may permit it; he may overrule it; he may educe good out of it; but he never *wills* it. The object of his *will* is evermore the object of his *love*, and as he cannot love evil, so neither can he will it. If he can or does, where is the proof? Our display of the Scripture usage has been virtually exhaustive, and not an iota of countervailing testimony has been detected. The single text in Ezek. xviii, 23, "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith the Lord God," may be regarded as an exponent of the general doctrine of the Word on this question before us. The Greek rendering is here peculiarly emphatic: "*In willing*, or *with the will, I will not will* (μη θελησει θελεσω) the death of the sinner." Such an event is utterly without the range of the *Divine will.* With an infinite sincerity he deprecates such an issue.

If, then, our conclusion on this head may be conceded to stand unassailable, important corollaries unavoidably ensue. The distinction of the Divine will into *secret* and *revealed* vanishes into thin air. God has but one will, and that is eternally determined to ends that accord with his infinite benevolence. In the case of Joseph, for instance, it is often held that while his brethren were bound, in obedience to the Lord's revealed will, to demean themselves toward him kindly, justly, and fraternally, and thus to do him no wrong, yet that there was a secret undercurrent of the Divine will wafting him toward Egypt, and purposing to bring about the entire train of events that subsequently transpired, and which exerted such a controlling influence upon the later destinies of the children of Israel and of the Church in all after ages. But how can Jehovah be said to have *willed* the hard lot of Joseph in the

pit or the prison, or the cruel conduct of his brethren, when his inmost soul abhorred their treachery and deceit? What more can be said than that he did not prevent, that is, that he *permitted* the demonstration that was made of their dispositions toward him, and the whole train of sequences which followed? God had, indeed, a hand and a meaning in all that befell his servant, but he *willed* nothing more in relation to it than the *good* which he determined to bring out of it, and in this he exercised that prerogative of sovereignty which he never foregoes. "Ye meant it for evil, but the Lord meant it for good." That is, he willed the good of the end, but not the evil of the means. These he always can and always will keep separate and distinct from each other. In this view the doctrine of the Divine *permission of evil*, founded upon the free volitions of responsible agents, is one of the utmost importance in the great system of truth; but its importance will only appear in proportion as it is kept utterly aloof from all contact with the actings of the *Divine will.* Yet this absolute separation or segregation is not of easy attainment. In ascending to the highest plane from which to survey the bearings of our theme, and contemplating the introduction of moral evil into the universe, together with the deadly fruits which it works out in the final perdition of the ungodly, it is hard to avoid compromising the *will* of Jehovah in the fearful issues which have accrued. What takes place under his eye is supposed to take place with his concurrence and complicity, and the idea of such a concurrence naturally merges into the idea of positive and efficacious *will.* Even Edwards, in his great work on the "Freedom of the Human Will," runs the wheel of his logical chariot so extremely close to the edge of the precipice, that it is hard to say it is not sometimes carried over. From the ensuing extracts it is evident that he *intends* to steer clear of the threatening peril, and save the credit of the Divine purity and equity in their relations to evil, but we venture not to say that he has succeeded. Let the reader judge.

"There is no inconsistency in supposing that God may hate a thing, as it is in itself and considered as evil, and yet that it may be his will that it should come to pass, considering all its consequences. I believe there is no person of good understanding who will venture to say he is certain that it is impossible it should be best, taking in the whole compass and extent of existence, and all consequences in the endless series of events, that there should be such a thing as moral evil in this world. And if so it will certainly follow that an infinitely wise being, who always chooses what is best, *must choose that there should be such a thing;* and if so, then such a choice is not an evil, but a wise and holy choice; and if so, then Providence, which is agreeable to such a choice, is a wise and holy Providence. Men do *will* sin as sin, and so are the authors and actors of it; they love it as sin, and for evil ends and purposes.

God does not will sin as sin, or for the sake of anything evil, though it be *his pleasure so to order things* that, he permitting, *sin will come to pass*, for the sake of the great good that by his disposal shall be the consequence. *His willing to order things so that evil shall come to pass* for the sake of contrary good, is no argument that he does not hate evil as evil."—*Freedom of Will*, p. iv, § 9.

It is difficult to make of this anything less than a concession that the Most High, in effect, *wills* the entrance of sin into the world; that this is his pleasure; that, for the sake of a great good, he *chooses* that there shall be such a thing as moral evil; and if he thus *chooses* it, how can we avoid the inference that he exerts a *positive efficiency* in bringing it to pass? We do not characterize the theory as we should did we regard this inference as the true-meant and deliberate conviction of the writer. His better promptings would fain repudiate the Divine connivance with sin, and yet the leadings of his logic involved him unconsciously in the paradox. He imposed upon himself by means of the subtlety of his speculations, and really made God the author of sin, while endeavoring to vindicate him from the charge. "If by the *author of sin* be meant the permitter or not hinderer of sin, and at the same time *the disposer of a state of events in such a manner*, for wise, holy, and most excellent ends and purposes, that sin (if it be permitted or not hindered) will most certainly and infallibly follow; I say, if this be all that is meant by being the author of sin, I do not deny that God is the author of sin; (though I dislike and reject the phrase, as that which by use and custom is apt to carry another sense;) it is no reproach for the Most High to be thus the author of sin."

There is unquestionably a fallacy latent in the words "dispose," "disposal," "order," "orderer," etc., so frequently employed by Edwards in this connection. Thus, in speaking of the sin of Pharaoh, he says that "God *ordered* the obstinacy of Pharaoh;" in like manner that he "*ordered* the sin and folly of Sihon, king of the Amorites, in refusing to let the people of Israel pass by him peaceably;" that he "*ordered* the treacherous rebellion of Zedekiah against the king of Babylon;" that he "*ordered* the rapine and unrighteous ravages of Nebuchadnezzar in spoiling and ruining the nations round about." So, also, he remarks: "It is certain that God, for excellent, holy, gracious, and glorious ends, *ordered* the fact which they committed who were concerned in Christ's death; and that herein *they did but fulfill God's designs*. It is very manifest, by many Scriptures, that the whole affair of Christ's crucifixion, with its circumstances, and the treachery of Judas, that made way for it, was *ordered* in God's providence, in pursuance of his purpose." Once more: "It is manifest that God sometimes

permits sin to be committed, and at the same time *orders things so*, that if he permits the fact it will come to pass, because on some accounts he sees it needful, and of importance, that it should come to pass."

To a true view of this subject it is necessary, we think, to conceive of the "ordering" and "disposing" on the part of God as coming in *subsequent* to the occurrence of the evil events, and not *prior*. If we think of the Divine agency as concerned in *previously* "ordering" the actions of men in executing wicked volitions, it is next to impossible to draw mentally the line of demarcation between such "ordering" and the actual authorship of evil. But let it be understood to be the prerogative of the Most High to "order," control, and overrule the actions of wicked men *after* they are consummated, so as to educe the most signal good out of them, and we clear the skirts of the All-perfect from any positive participation in the evil which he permits. On this head we will listen a little further to the reasonings of our author, and then sum up our conclusions:

"On the whole, it is manifest that God may be, in the manner which has been described, the Orderer and Disposer of that event which, in the inherent subject, is moral evil, and yet his so doing may be no moral evil. He may will the disposal of such an event, and its coming to pass, for good ends, and his will not be an immoral or sinful will, but a perfect holy will; and he may actually, in his providence, so dispose and permit things, that the event may be certainly and infallibly connected with such disposal and permission, and his act therein not be an immoral or unholy, but a perfectly holy act. Sin may be an evil thing, and yet that there should be such a disposal and permission as that it should come to pass, may be a good thing. The crucifixion of Christ, if we consider only those things which belong to the event as it proceeded from his murderers, was in many respects the most heinous and horrid of all acts; but consider it *as it was willed and ordered of God*, in the extent of his designs and views, it was the most admirable and glorious of all events. Consequently the crucifixion *might be agreeable to his will*, though this will may be secret, that is, not revealed in God's law."—*Freedom of Will*, p. iv, § 9.

Now in all this it is evident that, before assenting to it, we require to know what idea, precisely, the author would have us attach to the terms *order* and *dispose*. They predicate some agency of the Most High put forth *before* the occurrence of the events specified, and going, it would seem, to *necessitate* the volitions which should result in them. But how can God be conceived as controlling the wills of free agents, and *determining* them to certain results without at the same time discharging them of responsibility and assuming it all himself? But how, again, can he do this in regard to an event which is directly contrary to his very nature, which he inwardly abhors, and which therefore he imperatively forbids? Can the same thing be at once the object of his

will and the object of his *prohibition?* Yet it will be observed that Edwards speaks of the death of Christ as "*willed* and *ordered* of God," and says moreover that "God's *willing* the event was the most holy volition of God that was ever made known to men." Now we are greatly in error if we have not shown that no warrant can be produced from the language of Holy Writ for applying the term *Divine will* to any action or event that is intrinsically evil. Jehovah never *wills* what he does not *love*, and such an event as the crucifixion of the Lord of life, by the murderous hands of wicked men, could never, by any possibility, come into the category of the Divine volitions. How tremendous the wo denounced upon his betrayer: "Wo to that man! it were good if he had never been born." With this denunciation sounding in our ears, can we concede for a moment that there is the least propriety in saying that the Most High *willed* the death of Christ through the guilty hands of Judas, of the Jewish priests, and the Roman rulers? Assuredly not. It was not *willed*, but simply *permitted.*

But we anticipate the objection drawn from the express words of Scripture: "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." Acts ii, 23. Our reply is drawn from the same source. The "determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God" here spoken of is not any Divine decree viewed *per se*, or as existing unuttered in the recesses of God's bosom, but simply the *futurition of the event as previously announced in the inspired oracles.* It is there that we are to look for the predetermination affirmed in the present passage. Of this there can be no doubt upon a comparison of parallel Scriptures. Thus we read, Matt. xxvi, 24: "The Son of man goeth, *as it is written of him;*" while in Luke xxii, 22, it is said: "And truly the Son of man goeth, *as it was determined.*" The *being written* and the *being determined* are plainly equivalent. The whole ground is abundantly covered by the following sentence from Paul's speech in the synagogue of Antioch: "For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, *nor yet the voices of the prophets*, which are read every Sabbath-day; *they have fulfilled them in condemning him.*" Acts xiii, 27. From his divine prescience the Lord could, of course, through the prophets, announce the fact as future, while at the same time it was wholly independent of his *will* properly so termed.

The spirit of these remarks applies to the whole theme of moral evil in all its departments. In all cases, without exception, it is contrary to the Divine will, and yet it is inevitable and unprevent-

able so long as man remains man; for freedom is essential to humanity. Let a circle once be described, and all the lines drawn from the center to the circumference must of necessity be equal. It is no impeachment of Omnipotence to say that it cannot make them unequal while the circle remains a circle. In like manner, when the Deity has once created a man, he must leave him free to will in accordance with his own will, or contrary to it. The possibility of the abuse of his liberty is as essential to his nature as the coequality of the radii to the nature of the circle. Omnipotence is as powerless in relation to the one as to the other.

Art. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Protestantism. — The Relation between Church and State is slowly but steadily transforming itself. The time when they will be entirely separated may still be far distant, but that many points must be changed, and that the interference of the State in matters purely ecclesiastical must cease, is more and more agreed upon by all parties. The disestablishment of the Church of England may still be considered by many Churchmen as a grave calamity, but they must admit that it is obviously possible. The bishops tell their clergy that the days of dependence on the State are gone by, and that if the Church will not lose her influence on the masses forever, she must re-establish it by her own energy. One of the relics of English State Churchism which had long been obnoxious to men of all parties, the "State Services" for the anniversaries of the Gunpowder Treason, (Nov. 5,) the martyrdom of King Charles I., (Jan. 30,) and the restoration of King Charles II., (May 29,) have at length been abandoned by a royal warrant. The conflict of the High Church and Low Church parties loses nothing of its violence. Rev. Mr. Cheyne having declared himself unwilling to retract those views on the Real Presence, on account of which he had been suspended by the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Episcopal Synod of Scotland has again confirmed his suspension, Bishop Forbes of Brechin only dissenting. The leaders of the High Church party, in England, condemn the decision of the Scottish bishops in strong terms. Archdeacon Denison thinks that the teaching of the Scottish bishops is the same as the pernicious doctrines of Zwinglius and Calvin, and that it is a futile thing, not to say worse, to talk, as some High Church papers have done, of a Real Presence which is not *the* Real Presence. According to a letter of Dr. Pusey, this is the first time since the Reformation that the doctrine of the Real Presence has been condemned by the bishops of a Church which is in communion with the Church of England. He consoles himself, however, with the consideration that no article or formulary of the Church, which are the real teachers of the people, has been changed. The same consideration has been adduced by the High Church party of Scotland for not executing their first design, to establish a Free Episcopal Church. Rev. Mr. Poole, of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, whose license had been withdrawn by the Bishop of London for grave charges brought against him in connection with his use of the confessional, has applied to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel the Archbishop of Canterbury to issue a commission of inquiry into the alleged ground on which his license had been withdrawn, and the court has given judgment in his favor, the Lord Chief Justice Campbell, and the three other judges present, all expressing their opinion that Mr. Poole was clearly entitled to a full investigation. Notwithstanding the estrangement which exists between the two great parties, and which seems to widen every year, they still work harmoniously together in many

societies and for many reforms in the Church. Thus the SPECIAL SERVICES, which in the large cities have been held for the special benefit of the laboring classes, are warmly recommended by both. These extra services have been everywhere a great success. The opening of St. Paul's, London, on the first Sunday of Advent, attracted from 80,000 to 100,000 people, many of whom, being unable to gain admission at St. Paul's, thronged the majority of the city churches. The church has ever since been crowded, but the High Churchmen complain that none of their party has been selected to preach except Dr. Hook, the Vicar of Leeds, whose views, morcover, have considerably "lowered" in late years. THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS are about to abandon formally some of their distinctive peculiarities. A conference of three hundred of the members of the Society was held in London recently, at which it was agreed to sanction marriages between individuals of this community (although not in membership) by allowing them to take place in its religious meetings, and that all restrictions in regard to what is called plainness of speech, behavior, and apparel, may also be discontinued, but confirming its ancient testimony in favor of Christian moderation in these respects.

The Roman Catholic Church.—As the feelings of a large portion of the Protestant population are obviously opposed to the annual support of the Roman Catholic COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH, suggestions have been lately made to substitute for the annual grant a gross sum. The *Freeman's Journal*, the old daily organ of the Irish Roman Catholics, thinks that the Roman Catholic bishops might not be altogether indisposed "to terminate the bitterness which sectaries have extracted out of a national right to a national exchequer for the education of the national clergy," and suggests, at a rough guess, that the grant might be exchanged for £1,000,000 pounds sterling, reserving to the college the present building and land. The *Tablet*, a Catholic weekly, says that rumors are afloat that CATHOLIC LITERARY ENTERPRISES are, for the most part, a losing speculation; that there is everywhere, more or less a decline in the sale of Catholic books, and a certain absense of literary enthusiasm on the Catholic public.

GERMANY.

Protestantism.—THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE EVANGELICAL PARTY in all Germany is likely to be considerably advanced by the establishment of a new central organ, the *New Evangelical Church Gazette*, which is published in Berlin since January, 1859. For many years no new paper has appeared under the auspices of so many illustrious names, the prospectus being signed by nearly all the great theologians of Germany, and by a number of laymen, who rank among the greatest scholars of our times, such as Professor Karl Ritter, the celebrated geographer, Professor H. Ritter, the author of the History of Philosophy, and Professor Fichte of Tubingen, one of the most distinguished German philosophers. In Prussia the government of the State Church is at present under the control of the evangelical party, for the Prince Regent has called Herr Von Bethman-Hollweg, a leading man in the party, to the Ministry of Worship. In the new second Chamber, however, the Rationalistic Union Party is believed to have a very strong majority. In the Grand Duchy of Baden a great excitement has been created among the people by the known intention of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, to introduce, in accordance with a resolution of the last General Synod, a new liturgy, which contains the principal parts of the Lutheran mass. The remonstrances and petitions of a large number of Church Councils have induced the Grand Duke to order the postponement of its obligatory introduction until the next General Synod. In the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, the friends of an Evangelical Union have held a conference at Friedeberg, which was largely attended by clergymen, and in which also many distinguished laymen, as the Prince of Solms-Lich, took part. In Wirtemberg, one of the six diocesan synods has almost unanimously expressed the wish, that a General Synod of the Evangelical State Church may be convoked soon, and that the Church may be placed more independent of the state. THE LUTHERAN PARTY has improved its organization in the three Hessian States, (Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Cassel, and Hesse-Homburg,) where they now hold semi-annual conferences, the last of which took place at Marburg, and was presided over by Professor Vilmar, of Marburg, so well known for his Romanizing tendencies. In Prussia several clergymen of the State Church, with a part of their congregations, have joined the old Lutheran Church. In Baden the Lutheran party is now nearly extinct, as its last leaders among the

clergy have left the State Church. The Rationalistic Party has made attempts to rally in Baden, and especially in the Bavarian Palatinate, but it has hardly gained any ground. It places great hopes on the change of government which has taken place in Prussia, though the free congregations and German Catholics have been again forbidden, in several places, to hold their regular meetings. Protestantism in Austria must have made some progress in the northern provinces, for the Bishops of Bohemia have found it necessary to warn the Catholics against the Protestant propaganda. In the Tyrol they have at length received the right to purchase landed property and to bury their dead according to the rites of their Churches. But the urgent petitions of the Hungarians for permission to frame a new ecclesiastical constitution have not been granted, and in the Lutheran Church of the German provinces, the preaching of missionary sermons has been forbidden by the Protestant Consistory, from fear they might be considered as a demonstration against the Jesuits.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Catholic Church of Austria has held provincial synods in three of the seventeen ecclesiastical provinces. Great efforts have been made by the bishops, by the Catholic press, and the official papers of the government, to awaken in the people an interest in these assemblies, but with very little success. The emperor, however, has availed himself of this opportunity to assure the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Vienna, that their endeavors to give to the development of a stronger ecclesiastical life a well-considered, firm foundation, meet with his warmest sympathy. A new decree on the Reorganization of Public Instruction provides that even every private school must have a denominational character, and that children of Catholic parents cannot be admitted to any non-Catholic schools; while, on the other hand, the Catholic schools are permitted to admit a limited number of children of other denominations. Circulars have been issued from all the departments of the ministry, by which the subaltern officers, the burgomasters included, are apprised of the determined will of the emperor, that all the public officers shall set an example to the people in respecting the Church and the clergy. Encouraged by such extraordinary favors, the Catholic party has even dared to propose the re-establishment of the censorship of the Church over all literary productions. If, nevertheless, the Catholic Church in Austria increases but slowly in power and influence, it is, for a great part, owing to the dissatisfaction of a large portion of the priesthood with both the institutions and the doctrines of their Church. The Catholic party will be the last to deny this important fact, as during the past year the bishops, to whom Rome has committed the reformation of the monks, have met, on the part of most convents, with an obstinate resistance. These facts being generally known, a rumor that upward of five hundred priests had petitioned the bishops for the abolition of celibacy, and for other reforms, was readily believed, though no proofs have as yet been adduced for its truth, which is denied by the Catholic press. The Catholic Party in Prussia has gained, at the last elections of the Second Chamber, a few members, and its talented leader, August Reichensperger, of Cologne, has, in consequence of the coalition of the Catholics with the Liberals, been again elected first vice-president of the Second Chamber. The party intends, however, to drop its former name in the Parliament, in order to give to the Prince Regent, who has appointed a Catholic his Prime Minister, a proof of their confidence. The relation of the other German States to Rome has changed but little. In Wirtemberg there still exists a great excitement on account of the Concordat, and it is believed that the Second Chamber will refuse to ratify it. In the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau, the first Catholic church has been consecrated in the capital by the Papal Nuncio of Munich, who has been highly gratified at the very liberal disposition of the duke toward his Catholic subjects. A new proof of the strong attachment of the Catholic Aristocracy to their Church has been furnished during the past year by the considerable increase of candidates for the priesthood and monastic orders from their midst. Thus a daughter of the richest nobleman of the Prussian Rhine provinces, the Count of Furstenberg-Stammheim, has lately taken the solemn vows as a nun, and on the same day a cousin of hers was received as a novite.

The Greek Church.—As Russia does not cease to make secret efforts for inclining the United Greek Church toward a separation from Rome, the Papal Nuncio at Vienna has made a tour through

Hungary and Transylvania, in order to obtain reliable information concerning the real state of affairs. Catholic papers say that he is fully satisfied with the result of his investigations.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—A large portion of THE LUTHERAN CLERGY of Sweden and Norway continues to be strongly attached to hierarchical principles, and are opposing, to the utmost of their ability, though without success, the efforts of the many dissenting denominations, which on all sides are extending their operations. Foremost among these are still THE BAPTISTS, who spread in Sweden, in spite of continuing persecution, with extraordinary rapidity. From the small beginning made in 1849, when the first Baptist Church was organized, they have increased to forty-five churches, sixty-two pastors and colporteurs, and two thousand one hundred and five members. A gentleman who is not a Baptist, annoyed by the intolerance and bigotry of the teachers of the national schools, has offered twenty thousand Swedish dollars for the erection of a school on Baptist principles. Colporteurs are at work in every province except the eastern ones, where the prejudice against all lay agency is so powerful that it shuts it out almost completely. Also in Denmark the work is onward, and promises a glorious future. THE METHODISTS have been equally successful in Norway. They have seventy members at Fredericksbald, and one hundred and fifty-six at Sarpsburg, and small congregations have been collected in two other places. They have also commenced operations in Denmark, and the superintendent of the Scandinavian mission has taken up his permanent residence in Copenhagen. A bill for establishing a Supreme Ecclesiastical Council in the NATIONAL CHURCH OF DENMARK has been defeated in the Lower House of the Diet by a considerable majority, and there are no prospects for the Church to extricate herself soon from the disordered condition in which she has been since 1849.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE LIBERAL PARTY is unrelenting in its efforts to arrest the progress of ultramontane principles. The book-market abounds in anti-Catholic books, but most of the liberal writers know not what religious belief to substitute for that which they attack, and have no other cause to plead than that of Atheism and Materialism. Some towns have tried to take the public instruction out of the hands of the priesthood; but the Liberals, as a party, have not yet been able to unite on a scheme for organizing a system of public instruction independent of the influence of the bishops. An ultramontane professor of the State University of Ghent, who taught the temporal power of the Pope, has been promptly removed, and a distinguished Protestant of Germany has received a call to the same university as Professor of Chemistry. THE BISHOPS, at their last meeting at Malines, have resolved that no clergyman shall teach at a school which does not adhere to the principles of the Convention of Antwerp, by which a compromise between the government and the bishops with regard to public institutions was effected. They also recommend to the Flemish congregations the new Flemish translation of the Holy Scriptures, made by Professor Vraten of Louvain. THE INTEREST IN FOREIGN MISSIONS shows itself, especially with regard to the United States of America and Scandinavia. The Ecclesiastical Seminary founded at Louvain for supplying America with European priests, has about twenty students, and has already fitted out several priests for the United States. The superior states that he can find an almost unlimited number of candidates, if the necessary pecuniary means can be procured. For the new Vicariate Apostolic of Greenland and of the northern parts of Norway and Sweden a similar scheme of special support is under deliberation.

Protestantism.—The last annual report of the *Société Evangelique Belge* states that, during the past year, besides the opening of evangelical worship in several other places of greater or less importance, the society has founded new stations in Namur and Louvain, two of the most important towns in Belgium. All the stations have witnessed, during the past year, a great progress, especially those of Lize-Seraing, Jumet, and Charleroi. A very encouraging report on the PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM was likewise made by the Committee of Evangelization of the Evangelical State Church, which held its last annual synod in August. The committee supports six Protestant schools with four hundred and fifty children.

HOLLAND.

Protestantism.—THE LUTHERAN CHURCH, which since 1791 has been divided

into two different bodies, generally called the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Reformed Evangelical Lutheran Church, is likely to be soon reunited, both parties having made some advances for this purpose. The want of interest in FOREIGN MISSIONS, with which the Protestant Churches of Holland generally have been charged for many years, is especially felt by the sister Churches in view of the great openings for Christianity in Asia. The few persons who go out from Holland as missionaries are scarcely sufficient to meet the wants of a hundredth part of the heathen and Mohammedan population of Java and the surrounding islands.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Pope, notified by THE JANSENISTS, who call themselves the unhappy and disowned sons of the Catholic Church, of the election of a new Archbishop of Utrecht, has answered with a new brief of excommunication. The denomination has decreased, since the beginning of the present century, in numbers, and counts at present some five thousand members. But since the proclamation of the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception, new sympathies for it have sprung up in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, and it is thought that a combination of these elements may lead to a new episcopalian reaction against the strictly Papal system which at present prevails in the Roman Catholic Church.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church. — THE CATHOLIC PARTY has taken great offense at the warlike demonstration of Louis Napoleon against Austria, for it is the favorite dream of the *Univers* and its followers, that France and Austria are designed by Providence to reconvert, by their combined influence, and if necessary by force of arms, the whole of Europe to the Roman Catholic Church. Not less have their feelings been wounded by a report of Prince Napoleon, the governor of Algeria, to the emperor, on the expediency of having the Jewish population of the colony represented in the Councils-General, in order to manifest, by an act of government, that the equality of creeds before the laws of France is absolute and complete. Prince Napoleon has never been considered as a docile son of the Church, but the appointment of four Israelites as members of the Councils-General of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, has furnished a new proof, that even the emperor cannot always be relied upon. The marriage of Prince Napoleon with the eldest daughter of the King of Sardinia, displeases the Catholic party likewise; for the King of Sardinia is looked upon as the banner-bearer of an anti-Catholic liberalism among the European princes. On the other hand, the Catholic party feels great satisfaction with the progress of the French-Spanish expedition against Cochin-China, where an important town has been taken and declared French property. They hope that the French government will seize on the whole territory, and make it a French-Indian empire, with the Catholic Church as the State Church. THE MONASTIC ORDERS AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS continue to multiply. Among the former, the *Petites Sœurs des Pauvres*, (Little Sisters of the Poor,) spread with unusual rapidity. Though founded only a few years, (the foundress, formerly a female servant, still lives,) they have at present fifty houses. Their object is to establish homes for poor old men and women, and to nurse them. They have received calls from nearly every large city of France, and a house and furniture is generally given them by the city councils. Some of the orders, however, commence again, as in former centuries, to occupy themselves with very worldly pursuits. Thus the austere Trappists have commenced, in Algeria, to manufacture and sell perfumes in such quantities as to injure the business of other manufacturers, who declare themselves unable to compete with the Trappists, because the latter are subsidized by the government. Among the associations, the new Society of St. Francis de Sales, which was founded about a year ago, and whose object is to counteract the success of the Protestant missionaries among the Catholic population, has been prominent for its zeal. A most fanatical sermon was preached at its first anniversary, held in Paris, in November, by its president, the blind Monseigneur de Segur, who represented history as a warfare between the Lord of Creation, Jesus, his angels, saints and Christians, his Roman Catholic Church, with its visible head, the Pope, on one side, and the first of created beings after the Holy Virgin, namely, Lucifer, the revolted archangel, his demons, hypocrites, infidels, heretics, with all his emissaries, without a visible head, on the other. The annual report furnished numerous items showing the great progress of Protestantism in all parts of France.

Protestantism.—The constant progress of Protestantism is attested, as we have shown above, by the Catholics themselves. Numerous other proofs are furnished by the Protestant papers of every week, while the cases in which French Protestants are received into the Roman Catholic Church are extremely rare. The Evangelical Church of Lyons counts at present about six hundred members, nearly all of whom were formerly Catholics. The same was reported at a late meeting of the French branch of the Evangelical Alliance by one of the Baptist pastors of his denomination. Three out of four pastors, and three hundred out of four hundred members, have come from the Catholic Church. By this great progress new acts of oppression are occasioned, especially in the provinces. A glaring case occurred recently in the department of Haute Vienne, where, in 1852, twelve evangelical schools had been closed at a time by order of the government. After many fruitless efforts to obtain an authorization for reopening them, the Protestants at length flattered themselves with the hope that all the requisites of the law had been complied with, that the Minister of Public Instruction was in favor of their request, and that no opposition would any longer be made to them. Nevertheless the Prefect and the *Conseil Academique* of the department persisted in refusing the demanded authorization, and the *Conseil Departmental*, the highest authority in such matters, when appealed to, confirmed, "after a mature deliberation," as the Minutes say, "unanimously in the interest of public morality," the decision of the Prefect. The number of Protestant Periodicals having been, during 1858, again increased by two, amounts now to twenty, among which there are two weeklies and fifteen monthlies.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church. — The Establishment of a new Ecclesiastical Seminary at Tomsk, for the Eparchez of Tomsk, which comprises the two large governments of Tomsk and Yeniseisk, is the first step taken for the education of priests of the Russian Church in those distant regions, and a new proof that the emperor does not mean to exclude the National Church from his vast projects of reform. The confidence of the Greek Clergy in the Emperor has been greatly strengthened by the strict observance of the religious rites and customs which on several occasions he has recently displayed. He has called his youngest son after one of the favorite saints of Russia, St. Sergius, and he has twice visited the monastery of this saint near Moscow, the first time for the special purpose of imploring the help of the saint for the safe delivery of the empress, and the second time for returning thanks. The Sects of the Russian Church have been lately made the subject of an elaborate article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, which maintains that the measures adopted against them by the Emperor Nicholas have not only failed, but have had the effect of increasing their numbers. They enjoy now a greater toleration. Their marriages and children are no longer considered illegitimate, but passports for traveling in foreign countries are still refused to them.

The Roman Catholic Church. — Several new cases of persecution against the Roman Catholic Church have been reported by the *Univers* of Paris. The inhabitants of the village Pawlow, near Vilna, though not slaves, are said to have been compelled by the Governor General Nasinov to join the Russian Church, and even the knout, according to these reports, has been again employed to prevent former members of the Greek United Church from reuniting with the Catholic Church, which they had expressed the desire to do. The *Nord*, a Russian paper in Brussels, has denied the truth of these reports, but has admitted that the laws which forbid the reception of any member of the Greek Church into that of Rome, are maintained by order of the emperor in their full vigor. The statements of the Catholic press, on the other hand, are corroborated by the Russian correspondents of the paper published by Alexander Herzen, a Russian refugee in London, so that it is likely that they are substantially true. Still the relations between Russia and Rome are of a more amicable nature than they were under Nicholas, and some more of the vacant bishoprics have been filled. Among a part of the aristocracy a Romeward tendency undoubtedly exists, which has induced the Pope to provide for a regular Russian service in the city of Rome. A celebrated Russian member of the Redemptorist order, Father Petcherine, has for that purpose been called to Rome. A strong opposition to Rome is arising in Poland, partly from a new sect, founded by the mystic poet Towianski, who believes himself to be a new Messiah

for the reformation of the Catholic Church, partly from writers who proclaim either the radicalism of Young Poland or the Pansclavonian doctrines, which begin to agitate the whole east of Europe. The Roman Index Librorum Prohibitorum proscribes one Polish book after another. But the thunder of the Vatican has lost its effect; instead of striking terror into trembling authors, it is welcomed by them as a cheap and efficient means of attracting general attention to their works.

Evangelical Lutheran Church.—The publication of a Theological Quarterly, which the faculty of the University of Dorpat has started at the beginning of the present year, is likely to prove an event of importance. It will give to Russia a more learned Protestant clergy, and thus strengthen the present ascendancy of Protestant ideas in the rising literature of Eastern Europe. At the same time it will aim at bringing about a closer union between the Lutherans of Russia and those of other countries, and thus be another step for the consolidation of the Lutheran Church in Europe, and for her final deliverance from the fetters of the State. Her prosperity in Russia, it is hoped, will be increased by the authorized establishment of a central Ecclesiastical Fund, from which schools and churches will be built, pastors and teachers supported, and all the enterprises of the Church promoted. This authorization, which had been in vain solicited during the reign of Nicholas, cannot fail to prove highly advantageous to the interests of Russian Protestantism.

Buddhism.—Buddhism, though on the decrease, is not yet extinct in Russia. According to a work of Bishop Nil on Buddhism, there were, at the beginning of the present century, two Buddhist bishoprics in Russia, one in Nerchinsk, the other on this side of the Yablonoi mountains, on the lake of Gunse. Now only the latter is in existence. In 1822 there were in Russia 2,532 lamas, now only 285, with a Buddhist population of about 124,000 souls.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—The fanaticism of the Mohammedan population still remains unabated, and gains new strength from the increasing progress of Christianity. According to the *Univers* fanatic Shciks are going over the whole country, especially the Asiatic portion, to preach a crusade against the Christians, and are forming in the cities confraternities for the defense of the faith. In several, and perhaps in all the mosques of Constantinople, the people have been warned against buying and reading the Bible, and the call for the Bible has consequently diminished. The government, however, has given another proof of its liberal disposition toward the Christians, by ordering the execution of the instigators of the great massacre of Christians at Jiddah, in Arabia. Social improvements, also, are carried on with undiminished vigor. In Europe the proportion of Mohammedans is constantly decreasing, and the power of the Mohammedan element is moreover broken by the springing up of new sects, the last of which made its appearance during the past year at Gaza, and is said to hold Pantheistic doctrines, and to say nothing about the prophet.

The Greek Church.—The Reorganization of the Greek Church is proceeding very slowly. At length a council of reform has been convened, consisting of seven clerical and thirty-one lay members. Two months have been consumed by the new council in discussing the mode of electing the Patriarch of Constantinople. The laymen demanded that he be elected by a direct vote of the Assembly, which would secure to them a majority, while the prelates called this a violation of the sacred canons, and claimed the right of being the sole electors. The parties being unable to come to an agreement, it has been proposed, as a compromise, that the sacred synod shall elect the patriarch among five candidates proposed by the council of administration. The influence of Russia on the Greek Church of Turkey seems to be increasing. Seven new establishments for the clergy and pilgrims of Russia are in the course of building in Palestine, and the Archimandrite Njegush of Montenegro has been induced to go to St. Petersburgh and not to Constantinople, to receive the consecration as bishop.

The Roman Catholic Church.—Some of the Bishops are displaying a great zal for advancing the interests of Rome. The Vicar Apostolic of Bosnia has built in his diocese, during the last three years, twelve new churches and seventeen new schools. The Pope's late delegate in Syria, Archbishop Brunoni, has witnessed, during the five years

that he has resided in Syria, the reception into the Roman Catholic Church of five thousand members of the Eastern Churches. Having been recently transferred to the Vicariate Apostolic of Constantinople, Archbishop Brunoni has paid an official visit to the patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian Churches, which is considered as the forerunner of new attempts to effect a corporate union of those two Churches with Rome. The United Greek Church has been greatly disturbed during the whole past year by the attempts of its patriarch, and of Rome, to introduce into the calendar the new style instead of the old. The patriarch, seeing himself unable to overcome the resistance of a large portion of his people, and, it is said, even fearing for his life, resigned in August, and returned to the convent of the Basilians, in which he had lived before his elevation to the patriarchate. His resignation having, however, not been accepted by the pope, he has been compelled to return to his patriarchal see. The controversy, and the excitement arising from it, are not yet settled, and the bishop sent by Russia to Palestine has been invited by the leaders of the anti-Roman party to Damascus, in order to bring about a union between them and the Orthodox Greek Church.

Protestantism.—The Protestant Schools which have been established by the American missionaries enjoy a great prosperity. Thus, a girl's school at Nicomedia, which is now self-supporting, has fifty-seven pupils, chiefly from the higher families of the Armenians, who are very well pleased with it. At Sidon the Protestant school was so generally attended by Catholic children that it required threats of excommunication on the part of the Bishop of Tyre to cause the withdrawal of some of them. Greater attention than before will be paid to European Turkey as a missionary field. The whole country has been mapped out and divided between the American Board and the Methodist Episcopal Church. Both have lately increased the number of their missionaries, and extraordinary prospects are there opening to them. The Evangelical Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, Prussia, have now four establishments in the East, at Constantinople, Jerusalem, Smyrna, and Alexandria. Their school at Smyrna is nearly self-supporting; their hospital in Constantinople is supported by the German Benevolent Society of that city, and the other two establishments by voluntary contributions, mostly collected in Russia.

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review, January, 1859.—1. Natural Intimations of a Future Life: 2. Proverbs: 3. Recent German Apologetics: 4. On the Authorized Version of the New Testament: 5. Miscellaneous—Slight Foot-prints of Good Men; Bishop White on Episcopacy and the Succession.

II. The American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register, January, 1859.—1. The American Union; its Nature and Origin: 2. Theodore Parker and the Newest Theology: 3. Parton's Aaron Burr, dissected by a Nonagenarian: 4. Church Universities: 5. St. Patrick no Romanist: 6. The New Liturgy in Harvard University: 7. Letter to the Editor—Bishops, Successors of the Apostles: 8. A Word for our Fathers, in a Letter to an English Layman: American Ecclesiastical History—Early Journals of General Conventions.

III. The North American Review, January, 1859.—1. Canonical Compurgation and the Wager of Battle: 2. The Mount Vernon Memorial: 3. Edmund Burke: 4. Life and Writings of De Quincey: 5. Abelard: 6. Thompson's History of Boston: 7. Bible Revision: 8. Cotemporary French Literature: 9. Thompson's Life of Stoddard: 10. White's Shakspeare.

IV. The Evangelical Review, January, 1859.—1. The New Testament Bishop a Teacher: 2. The Sabbath: 3. A Want in the Lutheran Church met by the Founding of the Missionary Institute: 4. Is it right to Baptize the Children of Parents not in Connection with any Christian Society? 5. The Relation of the Family to the Church: 6. Baccalaureate Address: 7. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 8. What is the Result of Science with regard to the Primitive World?

V. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January, 1859—1. Praying and Preaching: 2. Religion in Colleges: 3. Sawyer's New Testament: 4. The Book of Hosea: 5. The Unity of Mankind.

VI. The Christian Review, January, 1859.—1. The Evangelical Armenians of Turkey, the Reformers of the East: 2. Angels: 3. Longfellow as a Poet: 4. The Domestic Constitution: 5. The Heathen Witnesses of the Progress of Christianity before 200 A.D.: 6. Harrison on Greek Prepositions: 7. The Baptism of Basil the Great—Was it in his Infancy? 8. Buckle's History of Civilization: 9. Early German Philosophers.

VII. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, January, 1859.—1. Enthusiasm—Its Nature and Conditions: 2. Truth, as a Dogma and as a Principle: 3. Our Helps and Hindrances: 4. Mohammedanism and its Founder: 5. The Aggressive Spirit of Christianity: 6. Divine Sovereignty: 7. Clapp's Theological Views.

VIII. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, January, 1859.—1. Re-union of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia: 2. The Publication Cause: 3. The New England Theocracy: 4. Foundation of Faith in the Word of God: 5. The Revival.

IX. The Southern Presbyterian Review, January, 1859.—1. The Astronomical Argument against Christianity: 2. The Statesman: 3. The Fullness of Time: 4. Morality of the Legal Profession: 5. The Support of Superannuated Ministers, and the Indigent Families of Deceased Ministers: 6. The Prophetic Period of 1260 years: 7. The Early Presbyterian Immigration into South Carolina.

X. The Christian Examiner, January, 1859.—1. The Moravian Brethren: 2. Francis Quarles: 3. Imagination in Theology: 4. Carlyle's Frederic: 5. The Two Religions: 6. Dr. Furness and Dr. Bushnell—A Question of Words and Names.

XI. The Theological and Literary Journal, January, 1859.—1. Dr. Hickok's Rational Cosmology: 2. Notes on Scripture—Matthew xiv, xvii: 3. Haven's Mental Philosophy: 4. Religious Lessons of the Deluge: 5. The Miracle, the Discourse, and the Persecution—Acts iii and iv: 6. The Formularies of the Church of Holland.

XII. Brownson's Quarterly Review, January, 1859.—1. Usury Laws: 2. Catholicity and Civilization: 3. The Humanists: 4. Primitive Elements of Thought: 5. Conversations on Theocracy: 6. Popular Amusements.

XIII. The New Englander, February, 1859.—1. The True Style and Measure of the Higher Education: 2. The New Andover Hymn Book: 3. Roman Catholic Contributions and Missions: 4. China and the Chinese: 5. Revision of the English Bible: 6. Dr. Cleveland's Reply to the New Englander: 7. Palestine a Perpetual Witness for the Bible: 8. Nature and the Supernatural.

XIV. The Mercersburg Review, January, 1859.—1. The Synod at Frederick, Md.: 2. The Heidelberg Catechism—Its Formation and First Introduction in the Palatinate: 3. The Human Body and Disease, considered from the Christian Stand-point: 4. Introduction to the Study of Philosophy: 5. The Office of Bishop: 6. The Palatinate—A Historico-Geograhical Sketch.

XV. The Congregational Quarterly, January, 1859.—1. Thomas Prince: 2. Congregationalism—its Features and Superiorities: 3. The Massachusetts General Association: 4. A Lesson from the Past: 5. The American Congregational Union: 6. Father Sawyer—A Biographical Sketch: 7. The Office of Deacon: 8. The Congregational Library Association: 9. John Norton's "Orthodox Evangelist:" 10. American Congregational Statistics, for 1858.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The London Review, (Wesleyan,) January, 1859.—1. Early Christian Monachism: 2. Scotch University Reform: 3. Memoirs of Saint Simon: 4. Comparative Literary Rank of Nations: 5. The Ministry of Life: 6. Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern: 7. Literary Skepticism: 8. Illustrated Works: 9. Christianity and Ethics: 10. Fiji.

II. The Journal of Sacred Literature, January, 1859.—1. The Franks, and their Metropolitan: 2. Chinese: 3. Babylon and its Priest-kings: 4. Notes on John xvii: 5. Exegesis of the Book of Job: 6. Analecta Syriaca: 7. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John. (Rev. vii.)

III. The Christian Remembrancer, January, 1859.—1. Old English Chronicles: 2. Pastoral Poetry: 3. What is wanted in the Church's Missions: 4. Life of Mrs. Schimmel Penninck: 5. Inett's English Church: 6. The Bishop of St. Andrew's on the Aberdeen Appeal: 7. Anti-Confessional Agitation.

IV. The National Review, January, 1859.—1. Crabbe: 2. The Autobiography of Catherine II.: 3. The Results of Short Imprisonments: 4. Virgil and his Modern Critics: 5. Count Miot de Melito and the French Revolution: 6. False Morality of Lady Novelists: 7. The Religion of the Working Classes: 8. Longfellow: 9. Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought: 10. Parliamentary Reform.

V. The British Quarterly Review, January, 1859.—1. Physical and Moral Heritage: 2. Dalmatia: 3. Religious Systems—Ancient and Modern: 4. Bolingbroke: 5. Serf-emancipation in Russia: 6. Masson's Life of Milton: 7. France and England: 8. Carlyle's Frederic the Great.

VI. The Westminster Review, January, 1859.—1. Reform of Parliament: 2. The Religious Policy of Austria: 3. The Sanitary Condition of the Army: 4. Chloroform and other Anæsthetics: 5. Spiritual Destitution in England: 6. Carlyle's History of Friedrich the Second: 7. Recent Cases of Witchcraft.

VII. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1859.—1. Friar Bacon and Lord Bacon: 2. Dr. Pusey on the Election of Bishops: 3. John Wycliffe—His Writings, Opinions, and Influence: 4. Spiritual Discipline of the Jesuits: 5. The Religious Awakening of 1858: 6. The Codex Vaticanus and Biblical Criticism: 7. Professor Stuart and Mr. Barnes on Romans v. 12–19: 8. Lives of Ursinus and Olevianus, and the Reformation in the Palatinate.

VIII. Revue des Deux Mondes, Nineteenth Volume. Paris. January, 1859.—1. Religious Controversies in England—F. Newman, J. Martineau, W. Greg, The Evangelical Alliance. By Charles De Rémusat, of the French Academy: 2. Recollections of the Court of Dresden—Mlle. De Haltingen. By Madame Dora d'Istna: 3. Byron, Shelly, and English Literature—A Review of the Last Days of Shelly and Byron, by E. Trelawney. By Edmond de Guerle: 4. The Europeans in Oceanica—Australia Colonized and Savage. By Alfred Jacobs: 5. Marguerite de Tanly. By Amédée Achard: 6. Representative Monarchy in Italy—King Charles Albert and Count Cæsar Balbo. By Albert Blanc: 7. Scientific History in the Nineteenth Century—M. Biot. By Auguste Langel: 8. Poetry—Maritima. By J. Autran: 9. Political and Literary Record of the fortnight: 10. Musical Review: 11. Bibliographic Bulletin.

IX Theologische Studien und Kritiken.—Herausgegeben von D. C. Ullmann und D. F. W. C. Umbreit. Jahrgang, 1859, erstes Heft. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes. *Treatises.*—1. A Theological View of Capital Punishment. By Mehring. 2. An Exegetical and Doctrinal Elucidation of 2 Corinthians iii, 17: "The Lord is that Spirit." By Krummel. *Thoughts and Observations.*—1. Kamphausen's "Observations on the Tabernacle." By Fries. 2. Supplementary Observations on the Tabernacle. By Kamphausen. 3. Another Word on James iv, 5, 6. By Köster. *Reviews.*—Ritschl on the Origin of the Early Catholic Church. Reviewed by Weiss. *Miscellany.*—Programme of the Society at the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion.

The article on Capital Punishment is clear, pointed, and logical. It is a subject which for many years has been a Gordian knot to the prominent Christian nations. In our own country, as well as in England and Germany, capital punishment has been more unfrequent of late. Prelate Mehring takes the ground that it is wrong, and he argues his point with earnestness and ability. The passage that is most commonly cited in its defense is Genesis ix, 6. This is discussed exegetically, and the conclusion is arrived at that it is not strictly a command. Ezekiel xxxiii, 11, is referred to this life, as is the case in the preceding verse. The main argument advanced is, capital punishment is contrary to the *spirit of the Gospel.* This vein runs through the entire article. Capital punishment has been advocated on three grounds, namely: justice, expiation of crime, and punishment of the criminal. These are all discussed from a Bible standpoint. Most pains have been taken, however, in elucidating the first. This we consider the *gem* of the treatise. The aim of justice is not merely negative, but positive. Divine justice is not alone contented to deny injustice, which is the disturbance of divine order, but aims at maintaining that divine order. Plato thus understood it, and Rothe, in his *Ethik*, affirms that it is "a half and poor justice which strives after nothing further than cooling the spirit by penal retribution." But Rothe, in the subsequent part of his work, is a warm defender of capital punishment. The whole revelation of God is one of justice. Now were justice merely negative, then has the world's history been much too long. Yea, it would have closed long before the time of Christ. The object of Christ's coming was to bring man back again to his God: I am the bread of *life*, I am the resurrection and the life. It has therefore been God's wish not only that something should not take place, but, besides this, that something should happen for man's good. Not death, but life is the ultimate aim of justice; here lies the deep secret of *satisfactio vicaria.*

The article on *The Lord is that Spirit*, is a good elucidation of that much disputed passage. It embraces sixty-one pages, which, with all deference, we think could have been condensed into twenty-five. It is the most learned paper in this number of the *Studien und Kritiken*, and displays an acquaintance with Church doctrine and authorities that commands the attention to the very last. Every part beams with erudition and research, but of originality we can scarcely detect a trace. In the early part of the chapter, 2 Corinthians iii, St. Paul speaks of Moses and the Old Testament. Moses was the mediator there as Christ was in the New Testament dispensation. God manifested his will to him in the law written on tables of stone. The essence of the Old Testament is understood by the word γράμμα, *letter;* while that of the New

Testament is implied in πνεῦμα, spirit. Πνεῦμα is from πνέω, and signifies *a blowing, a breath.* St. Paul, therefore, supposes the new dispensation to be introduced by a person who breathes out the spirit of God in every step of his life. *The Lord is that spirit:* ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦνα ἐστι. It was the opinion of Chrysostom, and many others since his time, that *the Lord* is the predicate, but the connection of this with the preceding verse precludes such a view. The writer opposes every explanation which divests the three words, *Lord, is,* and *spirit,* of their solemn meaning. Mosheim, Bolten, Billroth, and others, suppose *the Lord* to be the doctrine of Christ; the essence of Christianity is the *spirit* of Christ. Wetstein explains the passage thus: The Lord *signifies* that spirit; but ἐστι has no such meaning either here or in Luke xxii, 19. Others have held another meaning: The Lord *communicates* that spirit. Erasmus and Calvin: *That spirit* is the spirit of the law which first became *viva* or *vivifica,* when inspired by Christ, through whom the spirit comes to the body. Likewise Olshausen: The Lord is that spirit spoken of in verse 6. The writer identifies *the Lord* and *spirit,* and argues that St. John does so in his Gospel, and Paul in many places. Compare Romans viii, 9, which is but an *e pluribus unum.* The three modes of explaining this passage before the eighteenth century may be classified under three heads: The *Church traditional,* which holds that *that spirit* is the subject, thereby proving the divinity of the Holy Spirit. This view is obsolete. The second explanation is the one marked out by Origen, and afterward followed by Erasmus, and defended by Calvin: *The Lord* is the subject; *the spirit* is that through which the law becomes vital and efficient in us. The third is that of the Arians, of lowering the divinity of Christ because the word κύριος and not θέος is employed. It errs, too, in making *that spirit* only a signification of the essence and not of the grace of Christ, thus making this passage parallel with John iv, 24, just as if the *spirit* were without the article. Baur maintains this view, and his opinions are discussed at length.

It gives us pleasure to read such a review as Professor Weiss has written on Ritschl's work on the origin of the early Catholic Church, a book written in reply to the attacks of the Tubingen school on the evangelical view of the early history of Christianity. Since the relations of Christianity to the Mosaic law caused so many discussions in the first century of the Christian era, our author considers them at length. His conclusions are these: Neither did Christ abolish circumcision or the privileges of the Jewish people, nor did his disciples cease to observe the Mosaic manner of worship. Christ embraced the law of love to God and man as the principle of the Old Testament law, and what does not correspond, or is involved in this principle, Christ considered of no value. But the perfecting of the Christian law, as the weaning of his disciples from the worship of their fathers, Christ left for future development and to the guidance of the Spirit. The reviewer thinks that the author's epitome and representation of St. Paul's system contain the best views ever advanced on the subject. Essenism was a society of priests, formed on the basis of a universal right of priesthood. This view Professor Weiss holds on the ground of their holy supper, lustrations, and their white linen clothing; but still he allows them to have appropriated certain heathen elements. A prominent

division in the work reviewed is, "Catholicism of the great anti-Gnostic Church." Here are shown the deviations of Romanism from the doctrines of St. Paul; this is at the bottom of all their misconceptions and deformities. The work closes with a view of the development of the episcopacy and a description of monasticism. Ritschl's book denotes a strong tendency in Germany in the right direction. It has been the especial aim of Rationalism to subvert the evangelical view of the early planting of Christianity. This has been bravely resisted, and we are glad to find that Neander has left those behind him who are willing and able to defend the cause which he loved so much.

This number of the *Studien und Kritiken* is one of no little value. Some of its articles abound in bold and original views, while others bear traces of the most laborious study and research. It is heartily gratifying to every lover of Scriptural religion to observe the tone which pervades its pages. It is one sign, and no mean one, that the clouds which have for a hundred years been lowering over the Protestant German Church, are breaking away and giving place to the pure light of Gospel truth. Theological magazines are the tide-gauges that denote the rise and fall of the religious current in every land.

Apropos of the everywhere-talked-of question of baptism, we have thought it worth while to epitomize for the Quarterly an article in a back number of *Studien und Kritiken*, by Pastor Laufs. Baptism, says he, was not a movement proceeding from Christ, but one toward him. Christ gave no especial instructions to his disciples as to how they should act in regard to baptism after his death, as indeed he did not on any other subject. The apostles understood baptism to be a pledge to God to be useful in the spread of the Gospel. It was not passive, then, but active. In apostolical days there was no established custom in regard to baptism. Converted and unconverted persons were baptized; and the doctrine of the Baptists, that only those who had been born again should be baptized, never came into use before the second half of the apostolical age. When Philip went through Samaria he baptized many persons, though many of them did not receive the Holy Spirit until some time afterward, at the laying on of the hands of the apostles. The strongest point which the author makes is on infant baptism. This has always been a great means of strengthening and enlarging the Christian Church. Martensen maintains that infants were not baptized originally, but that they have a right to know it now. Zwingli went on the supposition that the children are God's, they belong to God's people, therefore they are entitled to a pledge of unity with God. Baptism takes the place of circumcision, and if the children are not God's, then would Christ have less power than Moses. The children are God's, *in dubio*, until they prove to the contrary. Augustine baptized children because they have original sin, and are freed from it through this sacrament. Zwingli says it is good that children be recognized by the Church, as those who wish God to be their God. The paper closes with an exegetical notice of the Greek passages on baptism found in the Acts of the Apostles. The Socinians maintain that *βαπτιζοντες* is a mere figure of speech, similar to the Latin *imbuere*. Hence the dictum of Socinus: *Etsi is ritus* (that is *Johannis*) *ab apostolis in ecclesiæ initus servatus fuit, cum sc. evangelicæ disciplinæ adhuc rudes erant homines.* The author fears much from the grow-

ing prevalence of this Socinian view. Just at this time baptism is exciting no little attention in our own Church as well as in Germany. It is to be hoped, however, that the agitation of the subject may contribute to a more general and Scriptural understanding of it, instead of involving it in darkness and unsettling the minds of the unwary.

We have in the same *Heft* an instructive paper on the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles. The first part of it is an inquiry into the governorship of Felix, while the last is an excellent sketch of Paul's missionary travels, together with names and dates. We subjoin an extract from it:

U. C.	A. D.	PAUL'S LABORS.
797	44	Paul and Barnabas in Jerusalem. Return to Antioch.
798	45	Paul and Barnabas enter upon their first missionary tour, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Antiochia ad Pisidiam.
799	46	Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, then return to Antioch.
800	47	Apostles' Meeting in Jerusalem.
801	48	Second missionary journey, Syria, Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Phrygia, Galatia.
802	49	Macedonia, Greece. Return to Corinth in autumn.
803	50	Paul in Corinth.
804	51	Paul leaves Corinth, and goes by way of Jericho to Antioch.
805	52	Paul's third missionary journey, Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Phrygia, and arrives at Ephesus in the autumn.
807	54	Paul in Ephesus.
808	55	Paul goes from Ephesus to Macedonia and Greece, where he remains during the winter.
809	56	Paul goes from Greece, through Macedonia, to Jerusalem, where he is taken prisoner at the feast of Pentecost.
810	57	Paul in Cæsarea.
811	58	Paul in Cæsarea; the transactions of Festus.
812	59	Paul comes in the spring to Rome.
813	60	Paul's two years' stay in Rome.
814	61	

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.* By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church." (8vo., pp. 297. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) Dr. Eadie, of Glasgow, is sending forth to the world a series of commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, of which this is the first that has come under our notice. The Carters announce the volume on

Ephesians as in press, and that on Galatians as in preparation. Judging from the specimen upon our critical table, they are to be among the most valuable contributions to exegetic literature in the English language. Indeed, the hand that produced this volume will never afford to publish anything secondary in that department.

As stated in the title, the comment is directly upon the Greek text, assuming in the reader some mastery of the original language. The author professes (and displays what he professes) a familiarity, from long and intimate acquaintance, with the character both of the apostle's Greek and of his method. He discusses, with trained acuteness, the true text. His reading of commentators, ancient and modern, especially the German, is extensive. In his style, in contrast with his German rivals, he is eminently clear, somewhat antithetical, grasping nice meanings in phrases of neat precision, and often eloquent. He possesses the religious depth of old Scotland, united with something of the stirring ardor of modern religious movement. He is *soundly* Calvinistic, but not obtrusively. In his exegesis, for instance, on Phil. ii, 13, he makes the inworking of God not merely produce the *power* of our holy willing, but *shape* the volition. This he holds to be consistent with the *freedom* of the will, because thereby no violence is done to the voluntary nature; on the contrary, it precisely accords with our voluntary nature, for our volitions are always shaped by an omnipotent creation. And as the process is thus normal and ordinary, and not *forced* or *driven*, the man, in *exercising* the volition which God *shapes*, is *free*. To be volitionally free, therefore, is to be caused to choose, in the ordinary course of nature. And this accords with the fine old Calvinian view, which affirms that as the intellect does freely conclude, according to a mathematical demonstration, which necessarily determines it, so the will is free whenever it chooses according to the motive which naturally and necessarily determines it. Volition is thus no more free than intellection, both being necessitated, but necessitated not *violently* or *forcefully*, but normally and naturally.

Mr. Eadie pleases us better than our German friends for another reason. The German is run away with by the analytical. To avoid the being governed by the spirit of system, he is lax and wayward, if not, on the whole, inconsistent; scarcely knowing at the commencement, often, where he is to land in the conclusion. In his own mind, at any rate, Mr. Eadie has his synthesis fixed; and thus his analysis is never meandering or diffuse, but, while free and exhaustive, is regulated and synoptical.

The thanks of biblical scholars are due to the Carters for the prompt issue of this valuable series; which it is to be hoped the author will prosecute through the entire series of the apostle's productions.

(2.) *Selections from the Writings of Fenelon;* with a Memoir of his Life. By Mrs. Follen. New edition." (12mo., pp. 374. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1859.) This work is the production of the accomplished widow of the late Dr. Follen, who, though theoretically a rationalist of the most unequivocal stamp, impressed his friends with reverence for his pure piety. We have indeed in this volume the special phenom-

enon of a work of exalted piety, written by a Romanist, translated by a Unitarian, and presented acceptably to the heart of the evangelical Church. It offers a problem which it is unnecessary for us to attempt either any theoretical solution as to the whole, or any practical solution as to individual cases. We can leave to the omniscient Heart-searcher to decide how far theoretical error, vincible or invincible, may be blended with that state of will or affections which Infinite Mercy will accept. We cannot presume to gauge how the "spirit of faith," and "the heart of faith," may exist in spite of the failure of the understanding. Thus far we know, that without faith it is impossible to please God, and that the true object of faith, which alone we can present for salvation, is Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Fenelon belonged, with Leighton, Fletcher, and Edwards, to that order of piety—the order of St. John—which lies deeply in the subjective, and borders upon mysticism; and which stands in contrast, though not in opposition, to that of Howard, Wilberforce, and Asbury. Paul and Wesley blended both the subjective and the active. Subjective writers of the Fenelon school are sometimes somewhat one-sided, and productive of danger to a certain class of minds; a class which is prone to a strong affinity for them; a class which loves the indulgence of religious emotion as a sort of spiritual luxury, and in whose minds it dwells, a sanctified revery, productive more of inordinate self-confidence than of any external fruits of religious consistency and beauty, or well-directed activity. Yet such writers have their own great value to check the too strong tendency to the merely external, and to draw an objective age into deep self-searching. To such writers the actors in the great field of Christian enterprise should ever resort as fountains of clearness and spiritual refreshment, in whose transparent mirror they may scrutinize the purity of their springs of action, and from whose freshness they may draw renewed strength for the race of holy well-doing.

Let us accept Fenelon as a cheering proof and reminder that even in the bosom of Romanism there may exist a saint of the true stamp, needing no papal canonization. This need check no earnestness for truth, no dread of error. The fact that piety may exist in spite of error does not contradict the fact that moral error destroys its millions, and that truth, pure truth, and the purer the better, is the great instrument for a world's salvation. But where, in the midst of surrounding gloom, a light like Fenelon's shines out, let us not refuse to love its glow or accept its guidance; but render thanks to God for such omens that the condition of the world is not as bad as total darkness.

(3.) "*The State of the Impenitent Dead.* By ALVEH HOVEY, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Newton Theological Institution." (18mo., pp. 168. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington-street. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Cincinnati: George Blanchard.) Professor Hovey's brief treatise is considerably less generic than its title. It is a vigorous and compact essay, embracing both the rational and Scriptural argument against the theory of Annihilationism, especially as held by Ham and Hudson. It was originally prepared and read before a conference of his brethren in the ministry, and is now published at their unanimous request.

Professor Hovey first establishes, as propositions concerning the soul, that the Scriptures recognize an original and important difference between the soul of man and his body; that this original difference essentially underlies an adaptation to different durations; and that the soul possesses qualities specifically adapted for endless existence. On this last point the professor makes the following suggestive remarks:

"We do not hesitate to trace all the fatigue which results from intense and protracted thought to the material organ of the mind. Our best intellectual processes never flag until the brain begins to suffer."

On the basis of these three propositions the professor prepared to construct a Scripture argument. He shows the nature of the original death penalty, and its antithetic life. Of his soul, in its own nature indestructible, death is by necessity a condition of continued existence. He next investigates, from Scripture and reason, the nature of the intermediate state, and demonstrates its consciousness from the words of Christ and his apostles. He next investigates the history of opinions in the time of the Saviour. He then examines the theories, and meets the various objections, Biblical and rational, against the doctrine of conscious eternal punishment.

Had Professor Hovey treated this subject in a full and exhaustive extent, the talent and learning of the present essay show him fully competent to the production of a standard work upon the subject. A work of that character is still a desideratum, which, we are happy to say, will soon be furnished by the press of Carlton & Porter.

(4.) "*Practical Sermons.* By NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR, D.D., late Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College." (8vo., pp. 455. New York: Clark, Austin, & Smith. 1858.) The genius of Dr. Taylor, his high position as Yale Professor of Divinity, and his leadership of a new movement in the theology of his denomination, conspired to render his name somewhat celebrated in our country. *New Divinity* and *Taylorism* were, not many years since, ordinary theological technics. To some men there is a temptation in the notoriety won by the heresiarch; but Dr. Taylor evidently thought with a spirit of independent integrity, and he ventured upon innovations from a real difficulty in accepting old Calvinism, and a real sense that the spirit of the age demanded modifications. No one can read these faithful and searching sermons without feeling that the author feared God, and desired to fill men with that fear, that he might lead them to repentance and holy life. Sin, death, and hell, on one side, and repentance, faith, and eternal life, through Jesus Christ, are the topics upon which, in a spirit of solemn reverence, he ever dwells.

Dr. Taylor does not run his trains of thought through the details of ordinary life. His sayings do not reach you like a sudden reminder in some detail of business or social intercourse. On the contrary, they dwell within the domain of theology, and bring Scripture science to bear upon the great points of conversion from sin, and submission of entire life to God. They assume that if you are truly penitent and truly changed in heart, the details of holy living will all come right. They could not have been heard, they

cannot be read, without impressing the mind with the power of these great themes.

We have received from Clark, Austin, & Smith, two stately volumes on Moral Government, the great subject of Dr. Taylor's life's study; but as these require a more extended examination than we can now command, we shall reserve them for a farther review.

(5.) "*Hermeneutical Manual;* or, Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament. By PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Principal and Professor of Divinity in the Free Church College, Glasgow." (8vo., pp. 859. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1859.) Dr. Fairbairn is favorably known in this country by his work on the Typology of Scripture, a volume published some time since by the Carters, in which, with no little originality of view and accuracy of logic, the writer rescued the types of Scripture at once from the extravagance of the spiritualizers, and the scorn of Rationalists, and restored them to their proper place as possessed of a character at once truly spiritual and truly rational. The present is a more miscellaneous work, yet divisible into a few generic subjects. In style, both of mind and language, it strongly reminds us of the Biblical dissertations of another celebrated Scotch theologian, Dr. Campbell.

The work is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the Greek of the New Testament as a matter of idiom and style. The second contains dissertations on particular subjects connected with New Testament exegesis. Among these subjects, Christ's two genealogies; Angelology; the titles Christos and Son of Man; the antagonistic titles, Antichrist, etc; Baptizo, Hades, Διαθήκη, μετάνοια, παλιγγενεσία, ανακαίνωσις, ἀποκατάστασις, and others. Part third, New Testament quotations from the Old Testament.

The lovers of Biblical literature will find a rich treat in these pages.

(6.) "*The Evening of Life;* or, Light and Comfort amid the Shadows of Declining Years. By Rev. JEREMIAH CHAPLIN, D.D. A new edition, revised and much enlarged." (12mo., pp. 281. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) "It may be proper to add that this volume has been so prepared that it may be hailed as a friend in the family of any Christian denomination." So says Dr. Chaplin in his preface. But it is a curious fact that while his book is made of extracts from near two hundred and fifty authors, not one of them is Methodistic—unless we except the Bible. This might not be marked as anything special, did not the above sentence indicate that the matter of denominationalism was present to his view. And such being the fact, we may say that the volume has not the slightest right to expect any welcome among the millions of Methodist families in America or Europe.

Nevertheless, denominationalism apart, the book is a good book. It is a charming volume to read when the shadows of life grow solemn and expansive around us. To us, Cicero on Old Age is one of the best remnants of classical antiquity; and, pagan as he is, we have expected, if permitted to

walk pensively down the vale of the evening of life, to take his words of wisdom in our hand among the aids enabling us to walk cheerfully, and with conscious self-possession. From a wide range of Christian literature, Dr. Chaplin has culled a wreath to wind around the staff of age, containing brighter thoughts and firmer faith than were vouchsafed the noble Roman.

(7.) "*The Extent of the Atonement, in its relations to God and the Universe.* By the Rev. THOMAS W. JENKYN, D.D., late President of Coward College, London. Third edition, carefully revised by the Author for the American edition." (12mo., pp. 376. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) The former edition of this work, published some years since in this country, was well received by the Christian public; and by a large amount of the evangelical Church of our country was accepted as a standard. It is marked by eminent ability. It elucidates the principles upon which atonement can be defended, as against skeptics, with much clearness. It is very decided against what is sometimes called the *commercial* view of the atonement; and considers the sufferings of Christ as a visible exhibit of God's regard for his law, so that consequently, upon such a manifestation, the sinner may be safely pardoned.

He defends the *universality* of the atonement; herein standing at broad issue with the able work of Symington on the same subject. We fully agree with cotemporary Reviews on the Calvinistic side of the question, that from the premises in common assumed by the two, Symington is by far the more logical reasoner. Jenkyn and all other believers in predestinarian reprobation, maintain a universal atonement only by being inconsequent logicians.

(8.) "*Salvation by Christ;* a Series of Discourses on some of the most important Doctrines of the Gospel. By FRANCIS WAYLAND." (12mo., pp. 386. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1859.) This volume is mostly a republication of Dr. Wayland's "University Sermons;" but a number hitherto unpublished are added, and a certain system seems to be given to their arrangement as a whole. Indeed, they form a sort of body of popular divinity, though not much the less profound for being popular. The being of a God, the fall and consequent condition of our race, the preparation and coming of the Messiah, justification by faith and not by works, conversion, renewal, sanctification, the Church, and the moral duties of Christians, are the great topics developed. The last three sermons are on the relations of the Christian to the magistrate, and are a noble rebuke of the servile atheism which not long since prompted the political denial of the existence of a higher law than a mortal could enact; a denial re-echoed by a servile section of the clergy, who demonstrated that even the pulpit of this day is not free from time-servers that would readily, at the demand of corruption in power, abjure the Divine government, and perhaps deny the Divine existence.

These sermons exhibit the traits which we have already ascribed to Dr. Wayland's productions. They are solid, stately masses of fine old evangeli-

cal theology and morality; clothed in that style of pure, nervous, and most appropriate English that belongs to the best age and the purest school of our language and literature.

(9.) "*Promise of the Father;* or, a Neglected Speciality of the Latter Days. Addressed to the Clergy and Laity of all Christian Communities. By the Author of 'The Way of Holiness.'" (12mo., pp. 421. Boston: Henry V. Degen. 1859.) Mrs. Palmer has, during the last twenty years, sent forth a number of publications on the highest of all possible themes, and taking the highest ground of Christian experience. Their broadcast diffusion in England and America attests their power. Not inferior, indeed, can be that power which spreads volumes of purest piety into a breadth of circulation which none but rare minds can command, even for works which appeal to the imagination, and the universal passions of our earthly nature.

The present volume has a title which but enigmatically indicates the object of the work. Its purpose is to spread before our Christian Churches of all denominations the arguments in behalf of the exercise of female gifts in the direct promotion of the Gospel. She does not propose any introduction of woman into the pulpit. She claims no unfeminine woman's rights. She simply proposes that the mind and heart of woman may furnish their contributions for the active work of animating and edifying the heart and soul of the Church. The Christian public will give her an ample hearing.

(10.) "*Sermons for the Sick Room and Fireside;* or, a Series of Discourses on the Divine Nature, Offices, and Kingdom of Jesus. By Rev. J. R. Anderson." (12mo., pp. 464. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1859.) It is not to be inferred from the title of Mr. Anderson's volume that the sermons are upon subjects particularly suited for invalids. They are able treatises upon great Christian doctrines. We trust that the increasing number of readers who love to include excellent sermons in their library will include this volume. Among the topics are the Incarnation of the Word, Christ as the Root of Jesse, and Christ's Transfiguration. There are several on the resurrection of Christ, and several impressive sermons on the last great transactions of the world.

(11.) "*Pleasant Pathways;* or, Persuasives to Early Piety: containing Explanations and Illustrations of the Beauty, Safety, and Pleasantness of a Religious Life: being an earnest Attempt to persuade Young People of both Sexes to seek Happiness in the Love and Service of Jesus Christ. By Daniel Wise, author of the Path of Life," etc. (12mo., pp. 285. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.) Mr. Wise has become almost unrivaled among us in the art of winning a large circle of readers to the perusal of books that propose to lead them in the paths of piety and heaven. It is a blessed talent this, and well worthy to be plentifully employed, to show that wisdom's ways are pleasantness, and all her paths peace. Let parents who would have their children *love* piety, love the Church, and love God, place this incentive in their hands.

(12.) "*Illustrations of the Divine Government in Remarkable Providences.* Collected and arranged by S. HIGGINS and W. H. BRISBANE. With an Introductory Essay on Providence. By Rev. JOSEPH CASTLE, D.D." (12mo., pp. 425. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1859.) This work is popular in its substance and style, and attractive to the ordinary reader as a series of extraordinary narratives. It is beneficial as a whole to the popular mind, as tending to implant decisive notions of Divine agency, and to supplant the flimsy dreams of atheism and pantheism, to which the natural heart of the moral "good" is inclined. It furnishes to the philosophical Christian many an incident to illustrate the argument on either side in regard to special providences. The introductory essay, by Dr. Castle, is worthy his able pen.

(13.) "*Now.* By NEWMAN HALL, L.L.B." (48mo., pp. 116. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) The little word *Now*, which forms the very brief title of this little book, is the starting point of one of the most impressive exhibitions of the inducements to immediate repentance we have lately seen. Its mode of presenting and expressing its train of thought is unique and striking.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(14.) "*The Emancipation of Faith.* By HENRY EDWARD SCHEDEL, M.D., Laureate of the Hospitals at Paris; author of a Treatise on the Diseases of the Skin; a Clinical Examen of Hydropathy, etc., etc." (2 vols., 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co.) This work has a twofold attraction. It is the fruit of immense studies in the field of that highest thought, What do we know of God, and how do we know it? It is additionally attractive from the lamentable fate of its author: while traveling among the Alps in July, 1856, he ventured to climb alone, in the night, Mount Pilate, (ominous name for a student of such themes,) and, falling from a precipice, perished. For many years he had separated himself that he might intermeddle with all wisdom. He started as a chemist and physician; and while very young attained great eminence in these kindred pursuits at Paris, their metropolis. The above mentioned treatises are yet the great authority, in Europe and America, on the subjects they handle. Exhausting these studies, his mind craved new stimulants; and what but the strongest meat could satisfy it? A prize was offered in England for the best essay on "The Origin of Theology, including an examination into the extent to which that science concords with the divers systems of ancient and modern philosophy, to establish the basis of this alliance, and to demonstrate how the liberty of conscience in man can subsist in the midst of the moral circumstances that press upon him."

This discordant union of great themes perhaps accounts for much of the disorder that characterizes the work. Caught with the greatness of the subject, he began to prepare for the undertaking, but probably had not accomplished half of his preliminary studies before some unknown weakling bore away the honor and the purse. Born in England, of an English mother and

a German father, and brought up in Paris, he was virtually a native of the three ruling tongues of the world, and thus inherited as a birthright what but a few can ordinarily purchase, and they only at a great price—the *entree* to all the languages of civilized man. He acquired a language and its treasures in a marvelously short time. The acquisitive faculty exercised in studies, not unlike the same faculty when employed in material enterprises, is often attended with great ignorance as to the attractive way to unfold its treasures. The great student is apt to be as awkward in expression as in manners. Kant, Neander, Bentham, are eminent examples of a numerous class. Rarely do the fullest learning and the most felicitous style exist in one man. When they do, they place their possessor among the everlasting rulers of man. Schedel is of the former class. He cannot mold his gold into artistic shapes. His learning is almost *rudis indigestaque moles.* The work is therefore for scholars rather than for the people. It is not then without its uses. We need receiving as well as distributing reservoirs to convey the water of life, mental and spiritual, to every human soul. While he is thus shut off from the crowded auditory in his future, as he has been in his past, he may nevertheless rule those who rule the world. What are his prospects for this high seat?

He undertakes to answer the question, *What is the knowledge the human mind has of God, and how do we obtain it?* This great query he answers from a faithful study of the history of religion in all ages and races. He then inquires what is the relation of the human reason, the liberty of the will, the Bible, Christianity, theological and ecclesiastical ideas and forms, to this fundamental idea. The undertaking is vast, and if success is not complete, it may still be far from a failure. He declares that the human mind cannot, by any original suggestion or spontaneous impulse, nor by any fullness of reflection, attain to the knowledge of the existence or the nature of God. Hence his starting point is that God *reveals himself to man as existing* under the name of Almighty. His nature he conceals. *His existence as the inconceivable, supreme in power, wisdom, and goodness, is the sum total of our knowledge of him*, and we acquire this solely by *revelation.* This word he does not refer to the Bible, but to the direct inspiration of every man with this divine fact. Divine faith, he declares, is the trust which man imposes in God thus revealed. Christian faith is trust in Christ, as identical with the Almighty thus universally revealed, the revelation renewed, as he terms it, for the salvation and regeneration of man. He devotes the first half of his work to the dethroning of the positive faith, or that which gives to human reason, pure and intuitive, or logical and reflective, the power to discover the existence and nature of God. He says:

"If it be asked whether this work adopts either the *à priori* or the *à posteriori* doctrine respecting man's belief in God; that is, whether this belief be an intuition or a fruit of reflection, we reply, unhesitatingly, neither. We attempt to adduce no evidence of an existence which we deem so far above human conception. We merely adduce rational evidence of the *fact* of *the revelation* of the Almighty. We have collected a certain amount of evidence respecting this eventful fact, but we go no further. We agree decidedly in admitting, with the Materialist, that, without revelation, man knows of no God. We conceive him to be in the right when he maintains that neither

human intuition nor human conception can stand forth adequate to the undertaking; but we deny his conclusions when he maintains that since the notion of God is neither an intuition nor a judgment, it is therefore a fancy."

The evidence of this fact of a revelation is proved first, negatively, by an exhaustive examination of the failure of human thought in this direction. He shows how all the great thinkers, from Plato and Aristotle, through Lucretius and Cicero, to Des Cartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, Leibnitz, and their dead and living successors, have utterly failed in their attempt to scale, on the ladder of finite thought, the mount of God. After proving the incompetency of these efforts, he seeks to establish his statement as to the fact of this revelation, or the inspired illumination of the race, by an appeal to the universal language in which the idea of God is expressed. Here is another exhibition of great learning, in tracing this primitive notion through all its multitudinous forms of expression in the religious language of the world. He discovers that the root of them all is certain primal and universal syllables that express the ideas of power and unity—One Almighty Being. With these are others, expressing life or spirit, wisdom and goodness. Around these central radicals have grown up a mass of symbols and myths, that have encumbered and degraded, but not destroyed them. This innate or Divine faith is renewed in the incarnation of the Son. "This involves strict theism," he says. "The unity of the Son and Father constitutes the connection between *the* revelation, or communication to man of God's existence, and his revelation in Christ. The unity of the Trinity is the real test of the worth of Christianity." He then shows how trust in Christ is symmetrical with, though superior to, the natural faith of man. He denies all power in man to pierce the mystery of the incarnation, as that would involve an apprehension of the *nature* of God, which never can be known, only his existence under certain names being revealed. We must trust in Christ as the one who never heard of Christ trusts in God; only with greater clearness as to our needs and his power, and a greater consciousness of the exercise of that power to relieve our wants and woes, as becomes the superiority of this revelation.

The office of reason in respect to these matters of faith is well set forth. "Rational evidence," he says, "can never rise above the level of human reason, whose highest point is intuitive belief in *relative* existence." Hence it can never find out of itself the absolute and infinite, but must take these as a revelation made not to reason but to faith. Divine faith depends on the fact of Divine revelation. Reason can ascertain whether that fact be revealed, whether it is universally impressed on the soul. When it has done that, it must stand reverently at the feet of the great revelation, and follow the orders of its vicegerent, faith. He thus crushes two errors with one blow—local faiths and conceptions taken for universal, as Spiritualism, Mormonism, Romanism, the *sensus communis*, or universal sense, being the only basis on which any claim can be established; and the infidel chatterings of Newman, and Parker, and Emerson, and their German progenitors, about "the absolute," as discoverable by the reason, and their freedom, therefore, from all revelations, especially that made in Christ. Reason is thus made the body-guard of faith, as stalwart warriors of their king, who rules serene, by

right Divine, as well these, his highest officers, as the lowest menials of his realm.

This is his Emancipation of Faith; a deliverance of the original and renewed revelation made to every man from all theologic, and philosophic, and ecclesiastic formula, and the placing of it, solitary and sublime, before every eye. He is exceedingly bitter against theology, or the science of God. The lash if not undeserved, is administered without due discrimination. We must, it seems, abandon all attempts to construct such a science, and take the simple lights hung in the firmament of revelation as our guides, without hope or desire to scientifically *understand* and classify them. The word *theology*, is faulty; the idea it embodies is blasphemy, not yet accounted sin, because of our ignorance, but certain to become so felt and feared in the advancing faith of the Church. We are to infer that much of the labored argumentation of the fathers about the revealed attributes of God is folly, greater than it would be to waste reams to prove that the sun had the attributes of light and heat. Much of it is worse than folly, because it attempts to explore the depths of the Divine nature and working, never revealed, and hence never within the reach of the reason. Such are discourses on the *rationale* of the Trinity, the incarnation, the atonement, etc. Hence religion, so far as it is a science, or intellectual system, woven by the reason, must be merely a system of proofs of the existence of these facts from the Scriptures, and their harmony with the moral nature and needs of humanity.

He advocates a National Church as the proper embodiment of this universal faith, and declares that the lack of it in America will yet require the English monarch to interfere for our salvation. He fails to see how his universal revelation renewed in Christ must subdue all reason and faith, however hostile the life may yet remain, not by the arm of the state, but by the arm of the Almighty; and a universal faith may exist, not as the servant, but sovereign of the state; not in uniform modes of worship and ecclesiastical machinery, but as life, vegetable, animal, or spiritual, an omnipotent unit in infinitely diversified manifestations.

We consider the work to be an able, but not entirely safe, contribution to the literature of religion. Though excluded from the popular favor by its style as well as subject it will not be without its influence on our most active thinkers upon the subject which dwarfs all surrounding themes as an Alp its shrubs—the study of God as related to man, and of man as related to God.

H.

(15.) "*Rational Cosmology;* or, the Eternal Principles and the Necessary Laws of the Universe. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College." (New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: 16 Little Britain. 1858.) This work of Dr. Hickok, like his Rational Psychology, is a marvelous product of abstruse thought, without a parallel in the English language in the department of metaphysics. It is generally clear and often eloquent in its style, and yet such is the remoteness of the range of argument from common thinking, that language seems incompetent to convey the thought, and the reader struggles to get at the meaning, and often finds himself baffled, until

after he has made several vigorous endeavors. But in the end he will find there is a meaning, and it abundantly rewards his exertions; for though it may not always secure conviction, it will give pleasure to the imagination. The object of the work is to attain to the ideal of the Creator in the universe by developing the principles which must have originated the facts of the universe, and then from the facts and their laws, as they are cognized by us, gaining a confirmation of these principles; which procedure, though it may not fully attain to a discovery of the Divine idea in creation, will clear the way to it, and be in itself, as far as it goes, a true rational cosmology. Before entering into the proposed disquisition, he glances at the history of philosophy in relation to cosmology, beginning with the Ionic school, and passing on to Plato, who attained to the idea of an absolute, personal God, who originated the universe, according to principles and ideas, or archetypes in his own mind; and also to the conception of a true cosmology, by accounting for facts from the eternal principles, though his apprehension of principles was imperfect, and often erroneous, and his application of them to facts was very superficial in consequence of his want of information respecting facts. Having, through the reason, arrived at the knowledge of an absolute Creator, our author proceeds to inquire how a world must be created, if it be created, and thus gains an insight into the eternal principles; and finally, the facts of creation are taken to detect their laws, and these laws are shown to be the necessary determination of the eternal principles. Thus in both surveys these principles are brought out clearly to view, and we shall find in them, or suggested by them, the Divine ideal of creation.

As a specimen of the book, take the elucidation of the eternal principles that determine matter. What is matter? Is it inertia? No! for it would then fail to reveal itself to the senses. It must have force to become known. If there be force there, then the inert mass is superfluous. Let it drop, consider it as not being, and you have force left. That force is matter, the whole of matter, and not merely something put into matter. But let the book speak:

"We must therefore wholly renounce such a conception of matter, for indeed, upon rational examination, it will be found to be an impossible conception, a mere negation in thought. Let us, however, keep this *force*, which we have supposed to be supplied to matter, carefully subjected to a rational insight, and determine whether this force, that does all that is done, is not matter itself. Simple activity is spiritual activity, and has nothing in it that can awake the thought of force; and it is only as it meets some opposing action, and encounters an antagonist, that we can have the notion of force." "Conceive of two simple activities meeting each other and reciprocally, holding back, or resting against each other, and thus of the two making a third thing at the limit of meeting, which is unlike to either. In neither of the two activities can there be the notion of force, but at the point of antagonism force is generated, and one new thing comes from the synthesis of the two activities. To distinguish this from the other forces hereafter found, we call it antagonistic force. In this position is taken, and there is more than the idea of *being*, which the simple activities each have; there is being standing out, an existence; being *in re*, *reality*, *a thing*." (P. 93.)

So much for the constitution of matter, considered merely as substantial matter; it is not *inertia*, but a *vis inertiæ*. To make the varied attributes

of matter, other activities or movements of spiritual agency are to be conceived. Matter then is nothing but the forces generated by the various movements of spiritual activities.

So much for the constitution of matter. How was it created? His account of creation will explain what has seemed obscure in the exposition of the constitution of matter:

"The axiom, 'Out of nothing, nothing comes,' is to be taken as universally conclusive. There can be no creation without a Creator." "With the distinct conception of force as the essence of all material being clearly in mind, we seek to apprehend how, where force is not, it may begin to be." With all rational spirits there is a capacity of initial causality, and thus of all free and responsible beings, we affirm that their personal acts are their own origination, and can no more be transferred to any other person than their separate identity. Men and angels can in this sense truly originate." "But man cannot create new forces, and thus man cannot create matter. He is himself incarnate, utterly merged in matter, and can thus put out no act that shall immediately meet another act in counteraction, but his every act of energizing must first encounter the forces in which he is incorporated. This activity meets forces, and moves matter already created; but his activity cannot, with nothing between, meet itself in counteraction and take a new position, and thus begin a new space-filling operation. Yea, if we mean to conceive of angels as pure spirits, activities without corporiety, and thus competent to make one act counteract and hold another in position, yet these counteractivities could only be within their own subjective spheres." "But with the conception of a Supreme Absolute Mind, all these difficulties are excluded. He can begin action, and he can put action in counteragency, with no forces intervening, and whatever position he may thus take and hold by permanent forces, *though subjective to himself*, or *within his own spheres of agency*, they may be objective to all other being, for all being will be alike subjective to him in whom all live, and move, and have their being."

Is not this bordering hard on Pantheism? The material world is nothing but the activities of the absolute Spirit moving in different directions in space. You think you tread upon solid ground; but the earth around you and the heavens above you are only a spiritual theater, made by actions and counteractions of Divine volitions. And all this you must conclude, because "from nothing nothing can come;" and as God is not matter, as men commonly understand matter, but pure spirit, all that proceeds from him must be spirit, or the movements of spirit.

This is a splendid theory to be sure, but many will prefer the old notion, that *at God's command* matter, in all its inert form and active properties, sprang out of nothing.

Dr. Hickok's elucidation of the essence and origination of matter reminds us of Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture that it is the resistance by the power of God to the advance of finite spirits into space. "We may be enabled to form some rude conception of the creation of matter, if we suppose that God, by his power, had prevented the entrance of anything into a certain portion of pure space, which is of its nature penetrable, eternal, necessary, infinite; for henceforward this portion of space would be endowed with impenetrability, one of the essential qualities of matter; and as pure space is absolutely uniform, we have only again to suppose that God communicated the same impenetrability to another portion of space, and we should then obtain, in a certain sort, the notion of the mobility of matter, another quality which is also very essential to it;" and he may as well have added extension and figure.

The difference between Newton and Hickok is, that the former makes matter to be the Divine agency resisting the action of finite spirits, and the latter considers it the force produced by the action of the Divine agency against itself, and in divers other ways, so that it would exist without any sentient creature to realize it.

Neither of these opinions will be confounded with the idealism of Berkeley, who held that the essence of matter was nothing but our perceptions, the mind being so constituted as to have these perceptions where no object really existed, just as we see things in our dreams. In this theory matter is wholly internal to finite minds; in the others it is external to finite mind; in Newton's it is relative to finite mind, but in Hickok's wholly independent of finite mind, for God can set his activity in counteraction and diremption, whether there be any finite spirit to cognize it or not. T.

(16.) "*Sight and Hearing:* how Preserved and how Lost. By J. Henry Clark, M.D. Fifth thousand; carefully revised; with an index." (12mo., pp. 351. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.) The examination of Dr. Clark's work will surprise most men not only with the amount of its valuable information but with the great deficiency of needed and available knowledge on the subject. Of a large mass of matter, important to our highest well-being, the public mind is not only greatly unaware, but greatly ignorant of its own injurious ignorance. From this ignorance, the wise laws of God in the structure of our noblest faculties are under wholesale violation, a violation involving just so much of self-destruction—a partial suicide. It is a great pity that the volume has to be read before the need of the perusal has to be felt. And it is a great pity that the need of the knowledge it affords will too seldom be felt until its suggestions will come too late. To every man then who is obliged or is habituated to task his eyes, to every literary man, and students especially, we say here are the last words of thorough science addressed in momentous warning and kindly direction to your special case.

Dr. Clarke's work is the result of profound study and great practical experience. It is full of the suggestions of wisdom, expressed with a happy clearness and directness of style. It is a model of a popular treatise by the scientific master. And we may, by the way, add, as no mean merit, that it is a model in the matter of book-making, being so well prepared with indexes and marginal titles of topics, that it is delightfully easy of reference, and so clear in type and space as to inflict but slight trial upon our shrinking optics. The book ought to be scattered broadcast through the land, and especially through our literary institutes, and the science it contains be concocted into popular knowledge and ordinary common sense.

There are valuable chapters on near-sightedness, middle-aged sight, artificial lights, overwork; glasses, when and what kind to be used; artifical eyes. The chapter on overwork is timely and important.

(17.) "*Lectures and Addresses on Literary and Social Topics.* By the late Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, M.A., of Brighton." (12mo., pp. 318. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.) Of Mr. Robertson we have given some account

in a notice of a volume of sermons of his in the last number of our Quarterly. The present volume consists of two addresses to the Working Men's Institute of the city of Brighton; two lectures on the influence of poetry, before the same institute; a lecture upon Wordsworth, and several speeches delivered upon various topics in the same city. Mr. Robertson was latitudinarian in his theology, and hence liable to the pressure of opposition from the orthodox community. His religion may perhaps appear to have consisted rather of a union of poetical moral sensibility combined with humanitarian tendencies, than in any deep views of what we consider the Gospel of the Redemption. His views, such as they were, he was well able to invest in the most attractive garb of language. This, together with his natural gifts for finished and thrilling oratory, gave him an extraordinary popularity in the city of his residence. "To those who never heard Mr. Robertson speak, it may be interesting to learn that he was gifted with a voice of wonderful sweetness and power. So flexible and harmonious was it, that it gave expression to the finest tones of feeling; so thrilling, that it stirred men to the heart. His gesture was simple and quiet, his whole soul so thoroughly absorbed in his subject that all was intensely real, natural, and earnest."

The lectures upon poetry evince high powers of criticism, and high sympathies with his subject. The lecture upon Wordsworth shows Mr. Robertson to have been an enthusiastic admirer of that poet, and to have shared much of his contemplative nature, and transcendental proclivities. The perusal of Mr. Robertson's productions fully justifies the admiration of his friends; and their publication will secure him a wide circle of readers and admirers. We are continually reminded in his pages of strong points of resemblance in his character, position, principles and style, to those of Henry Ward Beecher. He possessed, perhaps, more grace but less vigor.

(18.) "*Christian Morals.* By JAMES CHALLEN, Author of 'The Gospel and its Elements,' 'Christian Evidences,'" etc. (24mo., pp. 199. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; Lindsay & Blakiston. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1859.) This very neat little manual assumes as its basis that Christianity contains the only sure and true code of morals, God's law being the standard, and his word the exposition of his law. Thence the author deduces the principles of practical and prudential morality. His style is neat, pure, and perspicuous; his morality elevated, and truly Christian.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(19.) "*The Land and the Book;* or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy land. By W. M. THOMSON, D.D. Twenty-five years a Missionary of the A. B. F. M. in Syria and Palestine. With maps, engravings, etc." (In two volumes, 8vo., pp. 560, 614. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) Mr. Thomson's book marks an advancing step in the progress of Palestinian geographical investigation. Hitherto our books on the Holy Land have been the product of transient

visitors. Those visitors have indeed been men of accomplished scholarship rare talent, and high enthusiasm, endowed with keen powers of investigation and attractive eloquence in the descriptive. Of all this the names of Robinson, Olin, Durbin, Bonar, and Prime, and, still later, we may add Professor Osborn, are an abundant demonstration. But accomplished as were the men, and rich as were the spoils and the laurels won from the sacred soil, they were but *visitors* still, liable to all the erroneous impressions, and capable of but the superficial observation of the rapid passenger. But Dr. Thomson is a *dweller in the land.* And all the superiority which we might anticipate, á priori from such a circumstantial advantage, will be found realized beyond our most sanguine fancy in the qualifications of the author and the qualities of his book, Born on the banks of the Ohio, Dr. Thomson has, during his quarter of a century's residence, not become indeed a *native* of the vales of the Jordan; but he has mastered with a wonderful completeness all that belongs to the topography, the history, the genius, and the destiny of that land and its occupants that can illustrate the sacred records or interest the Christian heart. Dr. Thomson's work stands eminent, nay, alone among all the publications in our language.

Dr. Thomson's mode is necessarily unlike that of ordinary tourists. It was of course out of the question for him, who had for twenty-five years itinerated like a roving Bedouin over all the territory, until he had formed a home familiarity with all its objects and modes, to narrate an actual journey. He therefore, somewhat after the plan of Barthelemi in his Classical Travels of Anacharsis, imagines a tour in which he is accompanied by a neophyte visitor, (with whom the reader may please to identify himself,) into whose mouth he puts all the *green* reflections and raw inquiries that naturally arise to a new traveler's mind and tongue. To these tentative efforts of his freshman, Dr. Thomson replies in a style so natural, so free, so simply colloquial in its ordinary level, yet so mounting into eloquent description or earnest declamation when borne by his subject, so copious, minute, and masterly in its information, so abundant in its illustrations of the narratives and solutions of the problems of the Holy Book, that we found ourselves spell-bound to its pages, and delightfully haunted by the reveries left on the memory.

Dr. Thomson does not make Egypt his starting point and work his way upward through the Holy Land. On the contrary, starting from Beirut, in the far north, he first skirts southwardly along the Mediterranean shore, through ancient Tyre and still more ancient Sidon, unfolding at every step, before the eyes of his questioning satellite, objects replete with profoundest interest. Thence slowly crossing, he descends through Banias, passing Lake Merom, to the shores of the ever memorable Gennesareth. Around these shores he makes the complete circuit, examining each locality with a mastery arising from complete familiarity, unfolding history, developing the peculiarities of the present age, and leaving his permanent mark upon the science of its geography. Thence bearing southward, covering by various detours the breadth of the land, Dr. Thomson gathers within his scope the varied interests that belong to Tabor, Nazareth, Cana, Esdraelon, Carmel, the sacred localities of Judea, verging at last to Jerusalem, (which, however, he but lightly touches,) and finally vanishing with sudden abruptness on the Mount of the

Ascension! To Dr. Thomson we think must be awarded the credit of decisively fixing the site of Capernaum. Indeed, the very etymology of the word, associated with the modern name of the locality, a name which is exempt from the slightest suspicion of imposture, fixes the site at Tell Hum. A Tell is a hill or an ancient site, and a Kefr is a village. How clearly then is the modern Tell Hum the same as the ancient Kefr na Hum. Dr. Thomson has also abolished the second Bethsaida, invented by Reland and imaginatively located by modern geographers on the western shore of Lake Gennesareth. The two Bethsaidas, erronously supposed to be demanded by the sacred text, are reduced to a double Bethsaida on the opposite sides of the Jordan at its disemboguement into the lake. On the plains of Butaiha, curving around the northeastern margin of the lake, Dr. Thomson finds the grassy spot where the five thousand were fed, bounded by the high mountain of the Saviour's nightly prayer. He decides that the miracle of the two demoniacs could not have taken place at Gadara; which is twelve miles distant from the shore; but at Kerza, whose name, with a modified guttural and a reduplication, becomes Gergesa. At this place, and here alone, Dr. Thomson finds the proper proximity of the scene to the lake, and a mountain descent to its surface, down which the devils could precipitate the swine. Ranging along the southeastern circuit of the lake, Dr. Thomson unfolds to us the mysterious history and character of the fierce Bedouins, who with their whirlwinds of rapid cavalry, are sweeping farther and farther into the very heart of Palestine. At the southern extremity of the lake he recognizes the lost Dalmanutha in Dalhamia. Prosecuting his circuit, he lands at Tiberias; in whose history and character he finds many a pregnant topic of interesting remark.

Dr. Thomson frequently refers to the alarming rapidity and fearful devastation with which, in the present enervated state of the Turkish government, the Bedouins are spreading from the East, westwardly over the entire surface of Palestine, threatening to erase all traces of existing semi-civilization. Europe's "sick man," the grand Turk, is unable to take care of his patrimony; and the destructive freebooters of the East, as well as the civilized conquerors of the West, are pouncing upon his effects. At the present moment the freebooters are securing the start; and unless the sure progress of conquering civilization hastens its march, Dr. Thomson considers the case as approaching desperation.

It is wonderful to note how the immutability of eastern customs, even in the most trivial and spontaneous circumstances of action and idiom, has preserved to the present day the most striking proof of the truth of the Old Testament narratives. Nothing but detailed accounts and delineations, like those of Dr. Thomson, can convey a full impression of the reproduction at the present hour of the very form of character, slight peculiarity of action and spontaneous turns of expression, not only of the apostolic age, but of the most primeval patriarchal times. During the ensuing century all these peculiarities are to be swept away by the overwhelming tide of western civilization. Christianity, once sent from this land to the west, will again return to her ancient birthplace. It will be as a second advent of Christ; he will come clothed in the power of his kingdom. His Christi-

anity will carefully gather up, in imperishable daguerreotype, these treasured evidences of the truth of her own primeval history. She will erase, with a relentless yet beneficent hand, from the face of the land, all traces of the facts and customs that have waited for this daguerreotype before they disappeared at her advent. Then shall a new heaven and a new earth overarch and overspread her land. Again shall Christ establish his throne upon Moriah, replace his oracles in his ancient temple, and from Zion shall go forth his law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

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(20) "*Trials of a Public Benefactor, as illustrated in the Discovery of Etherization.* By NATHAN P. RICE, M.D." (12mo., pp. 460. New York: Pudney & Russell.) This work narrates a disheartening tale, not of the ingratitude of republics, but of perfidy added to ingratitude on the part of the National Government of our own republic. It sets forth that Dr. William T. G. Morton, a young dentist of Boston, was led by gradual steps, during the practice of his profession, to the discovery and application of the anæsthetic properties of the sulphuric ether. With great perseverance, and in spite of dangers and misfortunes, he prosecuted his discovery to a practical perfection. Etherization is set forth as being a safe and widely extended means of performing the most difficult surgical operations upon individuals soothed into a state of harmless insensibility. While chloroform is charged with the causation of death, etherization, it is said, has never been clearly proved to have produced injurious results. As to the merits of etherization, and the justice of Dr. Morton's claims to its discovery, Dr. O. W. Holmes renders the following testimony.

"This discovery, it is conceded, is one of the most beneficial in its results that science has bestowed upon our race. The gratitude of all mankind belongs to those who have given it to the world, for all countries have received it, and all ages will accept it as one of the most signal triumphs of art over one of our most deadly and constant enemies, bodily pain, against which, in some form or other, it is half the business of life to struggle.

"If the discoverer has received no direct profit or indirect advantage from his labors for his fellow-creatures, everybody remains his debtor. If he has suffered in health and estate, the debt becomes one of honor, which it is a shame to the community to leave unpaid. He has a right to look to his country for it; its government is in the habit of voting swords and medals to its heroes, and can, if it will, reward its other benefactors.

"It is a notorious and wholly undisputed fact that Dr. Morton in person instituted the first decisive experiments at the risk of his reputation, and with a courage and perseverance without which, even had the idea of the possibility of such effects been entertained, the world might have waited centuries or indefinitely before the result was reached."

For his discovery Dr. Morton, by the advice of friends, took out a patent. But the government of the United States, it is averred by an arbitrary stretch of power, introduced the use of the discovery into army and navy, in total disregard of Dr. Morton's rights; and following its example, the institutions and professions generally of the country made free use of the discovery in unlimited violation of the chartered rights of the patentee. Discouraged by the universal defeat of his arrangements for the diffusive prosecution of the profitable use of his discovery, Dr. Morton, on consultation with wise advisers, concluded

to lay his claims for compensation before the national Congress. Three times was it brought before that body, at three successive sessions, and though supported by such men as Webster, Sumner, and Robert J. Walker, it was thrice defeated. Appealing from the ingratitude of the government, this book lays the case before the judgment of the nation and of history.

(21.) "*The Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold.* By his son, BLANCHARD JERROLD." (12mo., pp. 459. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.) To Douglas Jerrold is doubtless due the memory we attribute to a wit of great colloquial powers and rich imaginative style. In these respects he is to be ranked we suppose with a Hood, a Sidney Smith, a Sheridan, and an Oliver Wendell Holmes. To men like these we pay the double tribute of an admiration and a sigh. That they are endowed with brilliant powers, finished with rare culture, and capable of rare achievements, and in their own way achieving rare results, we fully feel and abundantly acknowledge. But when we remember what were those results, and what the responsibilities imposed upon the powers that produced them, the smile of admiration is dimmed, and we grow pensive.

Yet the biographer and the friend claim for Jerrold that he was something above a mere wit; and that, if amusing effect was often his entire object, a more earnest purpose animated his heart, and his sprightly style and brilliant powers were in their boldest efforts directed to the highest aims of humanity. His filial biographer not only maintains, but almost threatens those who "doubted, insolently, his Christianity." A humanitarian aim, indeed, earnest, and we doubt not sincere, animated many of the contributions with which he enlivened the pages of Punch. As a satirist, he portrayed the lively contrast between the mercy and the charity of the Gospel, and the pride of the English hierarchy. He pleaded the cause of the poor. He directed the attention of the oppressive aristocracy to the sorrows of the starveling and the pauper. Yet in exhibiting the strong contrast between the benevolence of the Gospel and the haughtiness of the hierarchy, Mr. Jerrold carelessly leaves the strong impression that the hierarchy are the true representatives of the professed religion of the day, and that therefore all the professed religion is factitious, and all the true religion is with those that profess no religion, or nowhere at all. This is the assumption often made by men who, upon the strength of their strong advocacy of humanitarianism, and a bold but very unjust impeachment of the liberality and benevolence of the existing Church, claim to themselves a sort of supposititious righteousness, which effectually prevents their feeling of the need and their acceptance of the Divine atonement for many a sad delinquency of which they are, but too insensibly, guilty. To the brilliant pen of Jerrold, the London Punch owes much of its notoriety and power. Some of the specimens of satire selected in this volume are from his contributions to that periodical.

(22.) "*Experience of German Methodist Preachers;* collected and arranged by Rev. ADAM MILLER, M.D.; with an introduction by CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D., and a preliminary discourse by L. L. HAMLINE, D.D." (12mo., pp.

430. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern for the author R. P. Thomson, printer. 1859.) Our Cincinnati Book Rooms send us here a volume of biography and history combined, of a very suggestive as well as interesting character. It is the serial narrative of the pioneers of our Methodist "German work," beginning with its first originator, Dr. MILLER, the collector and writer of the whole, and his early distinguished coadjutor, Dr. William Nast. Like many a noble work, this new German reformation in America began as from a slender point, yet with many indications of suggestion from a Divine source, and opening with a gradually expanding prospect to which human vision can assign no limit. The book, though essentially a series of autobiographies, is written in a style of unassuming simplicity; and the entire work is expressed in clear, pure, manly idiomatic English. The substance of the biographies strongly reminds us of the histories of Mr. Wesley's early "helpers;" and furnishes us a singular and pleasing exemplification that the vital matter of primitive Methodism is yet living and strong in our day. There is in these biographies the same early groping for truth and thirst of the burning heart for salvation, turning every way for some relief, as the eye thirsting for light amid darkness turns to drink in the ray which it knows by its own instinct; there is the same depth of simple, heartfelt experience; the same weary seeking, the same joy in finding, and the same burning zeal for imparting to others the heavenly gift, finding in the very success of its work an ample reward for every privation. Thus by a singular providential demonstration do we find that at the close of her first century, Methodism "renews her youth, like the eagle," and reproduces the phenomena of her early day. Wesleyanism now repays to Germany the gift that the German, Peter Bohler, imparted to Wesley. And such is the deep and solid spiritual character of this volume, that we would not hesitate to present it to the acceptance of every truly Christian heart of every section of the Church, whether Romanist or Protestant, Churchman or Puritan, as demonstrative proof that our German work is truly a gracious work, and that the life that animates it is truly the life of New Testament Christianity.

And now the "history and mystery" of our German home movement is here, in its most interesting form, laid before the Church. Every mind awakening to its importance, and desirous to know its depth and breadth, has here the information. We trust that a renewed interest, deep and broad, will be felt in its prosperity by the heart of our entire Church, and that this book will find a spontaneous diffusion among our ministers and people.

(23.) "*Biographies of Distinguished Scientific Men.* By FRANCOIS ARAGO, Member of the French Institute. First series." (12mo., pp. 444. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.) This is an American reprint of an English translation of a French work; another illustration of a fact of which illustrations are numerous, that science talks all languages, and belongs to the world. It is a philosopher's history of philosophers. The author, M. Arago, was born in 1786, in the department of the Eastern Pyrenees. He showed in very early life a taste for mathematical studies, entered the Polytechnic School at Paris in 1803, was made secretary at the Astronomical Ob-

servatory in 1805, and in 1806 was sent to Spain to measure an arc of the meridian, and after all sorts of adventures, returned to Paris in 1809, and was elected the same year a member of the Academy of Sciences, and a Professor of Geometry in the Polytechnic School.

As a member of the Academy, he was frequently called upon to read papers before the Institute, a number of them being memoirs of scientific men. In process of time he attained a degree of fame which renders it not immodest for men to assume that the public would like to know something about the process by which they have become famous, and an age which renders it not unbecoming to gratify that curiosity, and he accordingly wrote an autobiography.

These scattered memoirs have been collected and translated, and the first of the two volumes contemplated is before us. It consists of five memoirs, viz.:

1. An Autobiography of Francois Arago.

2. A memoir of John Silvain Bailly, who was a *savant*, and a patriot after the French style, the first President of the National Assembly after the quarrel with the throne; began, the first Mayor of Paris under the revolutionary *regime*, and one of the first victims of the revolutionary guillotine.

3. A memoir of Sir William Herschel, a Hanoverian musician, who emigrated to England, officiated as the leader of the band in an English regiment, gave private lessons in music, and finally applied himself to astronomy, and who, aided all through his career as a practical astronomer by a sister, as devoted to the science as himself, distinguished himself among the mighty men who have cultivated this noble science.

4. A memoir of the Marquis de la Place, Peer of France, the well-known author of the *Mécanique Céleste.*

5. A memoir of Joseph Fourier, academician, orator, traveler, who was one of the *savants* who accompanied Bonaparte in his expedition to Egypt, and who wrote the *Theorie Mathematique de la Chaleur*, which constitutes his principal claim to scientific celebrity.

This volume of biographies is a book exceedingly interesting to all classes of readers. The lover of general history will find in it new items illustrative of great men, great events, and memorable times; scientific men will prize it as a record of the progress of modern science; and the general reader will be delighted with its vivacity, humor, and stirring incidents. C.

(24.) "*Palestine, Past and Present.* With Biblical, Literary, and Scientific Notices. By Rev. HENRY S. OSBORN, A.M., Professor of Natural Science in Roanoke College, Salem, Va., member of the American Scientific Association, and Honorary Member of Malta (Mediterancan) Scientific Institute. With Original illustrations and a new map of Palestine, by the author." (8vo., pp. 600. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, No. 25 South Sixth-street; J. B. Lippincott & Co.; Lindsay & Blakiston. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory, & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.) Few pilgrims from our country have set out for the Holy Land equipped with a completer intellectual armor for a suc-

cessful foray upon her sacred treasures, or more likely to come off with richer spoils, or able to raise a nobler trophy. He is furnished with all the qualifications of finished scholarship, and equally qualified to unfold the recollections of history, to apply the tests of chemistry, or to analyze the roots of philology. He is an enthusiastic surveyor and an acute observer. His pencil is ever ready to portray the elaborate scenery, or to sketch the casual but characteristic object or incident. A genial and manly temper, expressing itself in a style of flowing amenity not often rising to elaborate eloquence, leads the willing reader with a gentle power. Typography has done her best to sustain, with consistent elegance, the product of the professor's mind. The finest material, liberal marginal and spacial distances, the richly colored engravings and extensive maps, are combined to furnish forth a very luxury of a book.

(25.) "*The Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney.*" (12mo., pp. 281. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.) From the imperfect records in the meager biographies left by Fulke Greville, by Dr. Zouch, and from the fragmentary sketches scattered through biographical summaries, an attempt is here made to reproduce, as completely as possible, a true picture of Sir Philip Sidney. This eminent character is distinguished in history, less for what he accomplished than for what he was. Amid the constellation of illustrious men who adorned the age of Elizabeth with great exploits of war, profound researches of philosophy, or perpetual monuments of literature, he was able to be strikingly eminent by the rare perfections of his own being and nature. Noble in birth, beautiful in person, accomplished in manners, brilliant in genius, generous in soul, the completeness of his character disarmed all envy, and impressed his cotemporaries as a paragon of human nobleness, while he appears to posterity a myth of romance,—an ideality.

The style of the present biography is polished and graceful, and well adapted to present and preserve the unbroken ideal of elevated character. The volume, finished in the usual style of Ticknor & Fields, is a beautiful specimen of English biography.

(26.) "*A New History of the Conquest of Mexico;* in which Las Casas's denunciation of the popular Historians of that War are fully vindicated. By Robert Anderson Wilson, Counselor at Law, Author of 'Mexico and its Religion.'" (8vo., pp. 539. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.) The title of this work indicates mischief, and its omens are prosecuted to a decidedly destructive result. Mr. Wilson maintains that the historians of Mexican conquest were stupendous romancers; that the splendid cities of Mexico and Tezcuco were rude Indian towns, composed of mud huts; that the nations of the Mexican race were mere Indian tribes, and that Cortes was a mere fillibuster, of a model and magnitude little above General Walker. All this is serious enough; but the worst of it is that Mr. Wilson makes a strong case of it. The apparent consequences are that some splendid fictions must disappear from the story of our continent, and some of the most valued volumes, not only of Robertson but of Prescott, must leave the department of history, and take their position in the domains of romance.

(27.) "*Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, compiled by his son, Rev. William George Hawkins, A.M." (12mo., pp. 433. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. Cleveland, Ohio: Henry P. Jewett. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1859.) This volume will be prized by the friends of the temperance cause throughout our country, both from the revered memory of the celebrated subject, and the intrinsic interest of its pages. Of that great cause Hawkins was a product, a phenomenon, and a faithful and untiring champion, until dismissed to his reward. He was a man of noble nature; and when the Washingtonian movement brought him before the public, his striking history and his marked ability gave tokens of a career which his unswerving history has nobly verified. He was a faithful Christian; and he never set his humanitarianism at antithesis with his religion. He was a consistent member of the Methodist Church, and rejoiced in the universal and hearty co-operation of her ministry and membership in his great cause. Blessed in its results to the world is such a life as his. The work of filial piety has been well performed in the preparation of this volume.

(28.) "*Passages from My Autobiography.* By Sidney, Lady Morgan." (12mo., pp. 381. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.) Lady Morgan still survives the age in which she shone; as the contemporary of Moore, Curran, Byron, and Shelley, she exhibited talents and faults akin to theirs, sharing their political if not fully their religious liberalism. Her France and Italy were piquant and perhaps truthful pictures, for the day, of those countries. The Quarterly Review endeavored to pour elaborated contempt upon her talents and pretensions; but the energy of the effort proved the insincerity of their disdain, while the spirit and brilliancy of her pages secured her the attention of the public, and a steadfast circle of admirers.

The present volume is a diary of forty years ago! In it La Fayette, Moore, Lady Caroline Lamb, and their compeers, live again. Its airy style, its womanly vanity, its reproduction of the brilliant past, render its pages not a little fascinating.

(29.) "*St. Augustine.* A Biographical Memoir. By the Rev. John Baillie, Gonv. and Caius College, Cambridge. (24mo., pp. 305. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.) The remarkable series of experiences which distinguished Augustine's life, and of which his own pen has left so vivid a portraiture; the vast events, both secular and ecclesiastical, which filled the period of his existence; the resplendent genius of the man, the powerful impress which his mind stamped upon the theology of the West; the massy structure of the writings, brilliant with the luster of his splendid mind, which still stand in the library of the Christian Church, all combine to render his one of those characters in whom the interest of the world never dies. The little volume before us is written by a profound admirer of his greatness, and believer of his doctrines, and designs to exhibit the man as he appears in the light of our modern modes of thought.

(30.) "*History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain.* By William H. Prescott, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France,

etc., etc. Volume 3." (8vo., pp. 476. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. A melancholy interest now encircles this volume, arising from the demise of the celebrated author, which has lately awakened so deep a public regret.

The work now stands like a broken column, attractive alike from its own majesty and from the abruptness with which its completion has been interrupted. Yet though the power of the master will doubtless be missed, we are given to understand that a competent hand will bring the work to a suitable termination, from materials left by Mr. Prescott in his possession.

(31.) "*The Servant of his Generation.* A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.; being a Sermon Preached, on the occasion of his Death, in East Brook Chapel, Bradford, Yorkshire, July 18th, 1858; with a Sketch of his Character and Services. By FREDERICK J. JOBSON, D.D. (12mo., pp. 134. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Sold by John Mason, 14 City Road, and 66 Paternoster Row. 1858.) Dr. Jobson's name is familiar to our minds from his brief mission as English delegate to our General Conference, and his powers as an able writer were fully recognized by the reception of his book of travels in our country. The sermon (received from the author) sustains his high reputation, and is well worthy its noble subject. The memoir which follows notes with conciseness the leading points of Dr. Bunting's life, and draws with skilful pencil the portraiture of his character.

(32.) "*Lives of the Queens of Scotland, and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vol. 7." (12mo., pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) The present volume by this highly talented authoress contains the concluding part of the melancholy narrative of the life of Mary Queen of Scots. It closes with a thrilling description of the execution of that unfortunate princess.

(33.) "*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* Being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M.'s Government in the years 1849–55. By HENRY BARTH, Ph. D.D.C.L., Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Asiatic Societies, etc., etc. In three volumes." (8vo., pp. 800. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) This great work of Dr. Barth's is now brought to completion. Of the previous volumes we have given ample notice. All who are interested in lifting the vail from the face of this dark continent will find this great work an indispensable aid.

(34.) "*La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay;* being a Narrative of the Exploration of the Tributaries of the River La Plata and adjacent countries during the years 1853, '54, '55, and '56, under the order of the United States Government. By THOMAS PAGE, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition. With Map and numerous Engravings." (8vo., pp. 632. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) This massive and richly illustrated volume will tend to throw new light into a country which, standing in close relation, geographically, with us, is almost as closed to our view as Africa or Asia.

(35.) "*Fankwei;* or, the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China, and Japan. By WILLIAM MAXWELL WOOD, M.D., U.S.N., Author of 'Wandering Sketches in South America, Polynesia,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 545. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) Dr. Wood is a lively and piquant writer; and, we doubt not, a reliable narrator of travels ranging through regions of great and increasing interest to the civilized world.

(36.) "*The New American Encyclopedia;* a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. Vol. 4. Brownson—Chartres." (8vo., pp. 766. New York: Appleton & Co.) This volume appears promptly, and in the usual fine style. Among the names occurring are Brownson, O. A., Jabez Bunting, Prof. Bush, Horace Bushnell, the noted Stephen Burroughs, Elihu Burritt, John C. Calhoun, Alexander Campbell, and Dr. Capers. A cruel process this of making living men into a dictionary!

IV.—*Educational.*

(37.) "*Le Cabinet des Fées;* or, Recreative Readings, arranged for the express Use of Students in French. By GEORGE GERARD, A.M." (12mo., pp. 332. New York: Appleton & Co.) The compiler of this book intends it as a reading book in French, less elaborate than Telemaque or Charles XII, but more elevated than a series of fables. It consists of the Fairy Tales of Charles Perrault and Madame de Beaumont. It has no vocabulary, and very few notes.

V.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(38.) "*The Methodist;* or, Incidents and Characters from Life in the Baltimore Conference. By MIRIAM FLETCHER. With an Introduction by W. P. Strickland, D.D. In two volumes." (12mo., pp. 384, 360. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.) We have many volumes of fiction sent us, very few of which obtain notice, and still fewer a perusal. The reason is that we have arrived very fully at the age of realities, and have a most decided impatience of nonentities. Time is to us more than money; and we cannot expend it in swallowing vast volumes of vapor that leave us vacant and flatulent, with a consciousness of poorly performing the duties of brief life or preparing for the solemnities of long eternity. We do not wholly condemn fiction; but feel a dread of yielding any allowance to its claims, lest when an *inch* is given an *ell* will be taken. The reader of the right kind of fiction takes his place on the first descent of an inclined plane, and the difficulty is, no one knows where his slide will land him.

Yet there are some fictions, paradoxical as it seems, that are the most impressive conveyancers of truth. Others, so far as we can judge, are vehicles of salutary lessons, or exemplifications of great principles. And there are millions of minds for whom pure and concentrated truth is an indigestible and most distasteful aliment. An infusion of fiction is necessary to their receptivity. There are not a few fictions of the present day written with a truly religious purpose, and perhaps, upon the whole, productive of a salutary effect upon the

Christian community. These the veteran champions of "old-fashioned Methodism" can hardly condemn by wholesale, when they remember that Mr. Wesley not only read well selected works of fiction, but edited at least one of that class for the mass of his readers.

Our first impression on receiving the volumes before us was, that Methodism is in truth becoming *popular!* Dr. Stevens is investing us with magnificent history; we are now enveloped in the folds of romance; and doubtless we shall next etherealize into poetry. In this narrative Methodism, her institutes, sentiments, usages, and modes of expression, are all made to flow forth into streams of most mellifluous prose. Prismatic hues are made to fringe details hitherto of the most colorless brown. And why not? Does not romance, as well as Methodism, love to walk down along the vales of humble life, and blend her lights and shades in picturesque effect on scenes and dramas in which the actors themselves never dreamed of the poetry that was around and in them? Is Methodism out of the sphere of such effect because she ignores cold formalism and dry technicals, and, under a fresh effusion of the primitive spirit, dwells amid the holy emotions, and refuses content with anything less than assured divine communion with her God? Now Miriam Fletcher is decidedly a daring pioneer in the performance of making religious emotion and elevated spirituality very much the staple which, in a genuine novel, she essays to beautify to the æsthetical sense, and blend into harmony with our most refined susceptibilities. Others have portrayed prudential morality but ignored Christian piety; others again have, like Wordsworth, painted the picturesque associations that lie around religious establishments; others still have embodied polemics and defended dogmas or ecclesiastical systems in fictitious drama; but we do not now remember the instance in which, in the complete form and magnitude here presented, the strongest aspects of religious experience and movement portrayed with the geniality of a friend and the skill of a master. The style is chaste and flowing, the spirit is high-toned, the characters are graphically drawn, the dialogue is fluent and natural, the narrative is of absorbing interest, and the book is a decided success. Miriam Fletcher is, we understand, a fancy name; the wearer may doff her domino, and find she has a reputation to sustain.

The scene is laid in the sunny climes of Maryland and Virginia; where Methodism is supposed to prevail in her primitive and most luxuriant forms. Slavery, that topic of sorrow and rebuke, is depicted with neither an aggressive nor an apologetic hand. It is naturally flung into its prominent but subordinate relation, as an incidental but marked peculiarity of the society she describes. She truly depicts the undergrowth of affections which render even the tie of bondage sometimes a tie of heartfelt attachment, which modifies even what Wesley calls "the vilest system that ever saw the sun," and which Mrs. Stowe herself has fairly and genially painted in the proper place. Nevertheless the heart of the writer sighs with the sigh of the bondsman, beats for his good, and dwells in contemplation on the time and mode when the fetters shall melt and the oppressed go free. It is not indeed an anti-slavery novel, but its sympathies are on the side of truth and righteousness, and its tendencies are favorable to the sacred cause of human freedom.

VI.—*Miscellaneous.*

The following works our space does not allow us to notice in full:

"*The Mine;* or, Darkness and Light. By A. L. O. E." (48mo., pp. 212. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*The Poor Girl and the True Woman.* A Book for Girls. By WILLIAM M. THAYER. (24mo., pp. 353. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.)

"*Mendip Annals;* or, a Narrative of the Charitable Labors of Hannah and Martha More in their Neighborhood. Being the Journal of Martha More. Edited, with Additional Matter, by ARTHUR ROBERTS, M.A., Rector of Woodbridge, Norfolk." (24mo., pp. 253. New York: Carter & Brothers.

"*Onward;* or, the Mountain Clamberers. A Tale of Progress. By JANE ANNE WINSCOM, Author of 'Vineyard Laborers,'" etc. (Appleton & Co.)

"*What will he do with it?* By Pisistratus Caxton. A Novel. By SIR E. BULWER LYTTON, Bart." (8vo., pp. 311. New York: Harper & Bros.)

"*The Foster Brothers;* being a History of the School and College Life of Two Young Men." (12mo., pp. 405. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Sylvan Holt's Daughter.* By HOLME LEE." (Harper & Brothers.)

"*Letters of a Traveler.* Second Series." By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT." (12mo., pp. 277. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.) This elegant volume arrived too late for a full notice. Its announcement must suffice, and will be sufficient for the countless host of Bryant's admirers.

"*European Life, Legend, and Landscape.*" (8vo., pp. 154. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859.) The artist deals with a graphic pen, but furnishes no product of his pencil.

"*Struggles of the Early Christians from the Days of our Saviour to the Reign of Constantine.*" (Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. 1858.) The wonderful history of early Christianity, by no ordinary pen.

"*A Yacht Voyage.* Letters from High Latitudes. Being some Account of a Voyage in the Schooner Yacht 'Foam,' 85, O. M. to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen, in 1856. By LORD DUFFERIN." (12mo., pp. 406. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.) His lordship handles a graphic pen.

"*The Persian Flower.* A Memoir of JUDITH GRANT PERKINS, of Oroomiah, Persia." (24mo., pp. 204. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Cleaveland: H. P. B. Jewett. 1858.) A beautiful memorial, internally and externally.

"*The Higher Christian Life.* By W. E. BOARDMAN." (12mo., pp. 330. Boston: Henry Hoyt. Chicago: Wm. Tomlenson. 1858.) We regret that space does not permit a fuller recommendation of this interesting and valuable volume.

"*The Mustee;* or Love and Liberty." By B. F. PRESBURY. (12mo., pp. 487. Boston: Shepard, Clark, & Brown. 1859.)

"*The Laird of Norlaw.* A Scotch Story." (Harper & Brothers.)

Notices of the following works may be expected in our next number:

Prof. Masson's "Life and Times of John Milton," by Gould & Lincoln.
Guthrie's "Inheritance of the Saints," by Carter & Brothers.
Boardman's "Higher Christian Life," by H. Hoyt, Boston.
Jukes's "Types of Genesis," by Longman, London.
Bunsen's "Bibelwerk," first half volume. Leipsic: from Westerman.

THE

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ART. I.—LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

A new Latin-English School Lexicon on the Basis of the Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. C. F. Ingerslev. By G. R. CROOKS, D.D., late Adjunct-Professor of Languages in Dickinson College; and A. J. SCHEM, A. M., Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1859.

FROM the fact that the Latin classics form part of the sources of our own and modern European culture; that they are excellent drill-masters of the intellect, and form a harmonizing equipoise to the study of the physical sciences; that they constitute a large and important element in our own and other modern languages; that often the thorough knowledge of a subject involves a knowledge of its historic development, which history lies in the Latin; that they are the best of a large literature, time having kindly destroyed the worst; that without them the student cannot be fully admitted into the real life, the inmost nature, of the grave, aggressive, objective, and practical Roman, whose character, and in a great measure the language, is to this day perpetuated in a degenerate Church, with its excess of concrete symbolism, its official genealogy, external pomp, and justification by works: these facts, together with the intrinsic excellence of the literature itself, will guarantee for the Latin classics, not a pre-eminent, but a co-ordinate position in a system of liberal culture; and without them one must feel, to the extent of that loss, like an alien in the commonwealth of letters. The lexicon at the head of this article professes to give an easy, and rapid, yet thorough and scholarly, introduction to this language. These claims, together with the wide popularity of its German prototype, which has gained the praise of eminent German critics, and has been translated

into Dutch, demand more than a passing notice; and especially so since the authors, instead of making a servile translation of the German work of Ingerslev, claim it only as the basis of a more thorough work and one better adapted to the wants of students. We shall return more directly to the lexicon itself after giving a brief historical sketch of Latin lexicography.

Among the Greeks the sophists are said to have given the first effective impulse to lexical studies, and after these the grammarians. The term *grammarian* is best defined by the terms *philologist* and *critic*, for his labors extended over the broad field of interpretation, revision, criticism, compilation, and research into the origin and structure of language. Words that were peculiar in form or signification the grammarians style λέξεις. Words obsolete, difficult, rare, foreign, or provincial they styled γλῶσσαι. Hence the origin and application of the terms *lexicon* and *glossary* to such and similar collections of words. There were lexicons of this imperfect sort among the Greeks, before the Roman conquest; Homeric lexicons particularly, in which the Greek youth sought for elucidations of their great poet.* The Romans, stimulated by the lectures and example of Crates Mallotes of Cilicia, about 158 B. C., began in earnest to study the etymology and grammar of their own language, and to write critical commentaries on their own prose writers and poets. Being acquainted with the Greek language, and the labors and methods of the Greek grammarians, they made quite a rapid progress in their philological studies, the results of which were included sometimes in their commentaries and sometimes in separate treatises.

Among the Romans lexicography had its most marked beginning in the elucidation of the meaning and etymology of the old law terms and legal formulas. Before the Augustan age there were glossaries or special dictionaries, particularly of terms pertaining to law, such as that of Ælius Gallus on the origin and meaning of terms of jurisprudence; the Glossarium of Varro; the work of Quintus Cornificius, famous among the ancients as a curious and learned treatise on etymology, and written about 44 B. C., and often quoted by Festus, and in which, for the sake of illustration, Roman antiquities and the Greek language are frequently quoted. Among other glossographers of this and the succeeding age† Varro,

* Quarterly Review xxii, p. 207.

† Some of the most noted were L. Cincius, *De Verbis Priscis*, fragments of which were preserved by Festus; Veranius Flaccus, *De Verbis Pontificalibus*, and *Priscorum Verborum Liber;* Antistius Labeo, noted for his skillful elucidation of law terms; Ælius Stilo on the Salian Verses; Santra, *De Verborum Antiquitate;* Publius Luvinius, *De Verbis Sordidis:* Modestus, *De Vocabulis Rei Militaris.*

De Lingua Latina, and Verrius Flaccus, *De Verborum Significatione*, demand special notice, as their works embodied most of the results gained in the study of language up to their time, and so represent an early stage in Latin lexicography. Of Varro's most famous work, *De Lingua Latina*, only six books of the original twenty-four are extant, from the fourth to the ninth inclusive, and these in a mutilated form. The first three books are taken up with a defense of the study of etymology; the fourth and fifth with etymology itself; the sixth with poetic terms and common terms used metaphorically, and the rest of the work chiefly with grammar and syntax. We have in Varro mainly the two lexical elements, etymology and definition; which last, though now the chief element of lexicography, receives but a meager treatment; while the first, a minor element, is amply discussed. The etymologies are often fanciful or absurd, showing an ignorance of the principles of etymology; a casual similarity of form was enough of itself to ally one word with another. The arrangement of the words was not the simple and natural alphabetic one, but a complicated classification of subjects; first of *places* and *things in places*, and secondly of *time* and *things done in time*, with their subordinate groups relating severally to heaven, earth, sea, air, gods, men, clothing, months, days, thoughts, deeds, and the like. The work of Verrius, the freedman, was superior to that of Varro, and much more like a modern dictionary. Verrius himself was a famous rhetorician, and the head of a celebrated school of grammarians in the reign of Augustus, of two of whose grandsons he was tutor. His chief work, the lexicon referred to above, was probably quite large, as the abridgment, which Festus made of the work, consisted of twenty books, each book generally comprising a letter, under which the words came usually in alphabetical order. This work was valuable not only for its interpretations and etymologies, but also for its historical notices and antiquarian details. The work of Verrius is lost, but the epitome of Festus is, in part, still extant. Among the grammarians of the first and second centuries, A. D., were several lexicographical writers of some note.*

Nor were the synonymes of the language neglected. Cato is named as the first Roman writer who drew distinctions between synonymous words; also Rhemnius Palæmon, one of the most cel-

* Gavius Bessus, contemporary of Trajan and author of *De Origine Verborum;* Suetonius Tranquillus, the secretary (magister epistolarum) of Hadrian; Valerius Probus, *De Litteris Antiquis.* About A. D. 500, F. Planciades Fulgentius wrote two philological works, *Expositio Sermonum Antiquorum* and *De Expositione Virgilianæ Continentiæ.*

ebrated grammarians and teachers of his day, about A. D. 50, wrote *De Differentiis Sermonum;* Cornelius Fronto, *De Differentiis Vocabulorum*, fragments of which are extant; Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina de Proprietate Sermonum*, wherein distinctions are drawn between such words as *augurium* and *auspicium*, *urbs* and *civitas*. This was also valuable for its abundant quotations from previous authors. Before A. D. 476 Agrœtius wrote *De Orthographia, Proprietate et Differentia Sermonis*, generally reckoned as a supplement to a similar philological work by Flavius Caper. A very useful work in its bearing upon the language, antiquities, and history of the Romans, was the epitome of Verrius, made probably in the third century, by Sextus Pomponius (Pompeius) Festus, whom we have already named. This epitome omitted the obsolete words found in Verrius, and yet added many examples of old words. Such, however, was its extensive use that it caused the partial neglect and subsequent loss of the original. In the eighth century Paulus Diaconus (Paul Winifred) made an abridgment of Festus, whose work it rapidly supplanted, as his had that of Verrius. In the beginning of the sixteenth century an incomplete copy of Festus, beginning with the letter M, was discovered, and by Aldus Manutius united with a copy of Paul into one work, which was printed in 1513. Subsequently other union editions were published, and from a copy before us, published in 1584, in Paris, we judge the abridgment of Paul to have been about one third the size of the original.

Of great value to lexicography in particular, and to literature in general, were the *Origines sive Etymologiæ*, in twenty books, of Isidore of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis), who flourished about A. D. 600, and was reputed to be the most learned man of his age. These were mainly compilations, and valuable as showing the progress of lexicography and other branches of learning at the beginning of the seventh century. They form a sort of encyclopedia, were much consulted in the middle ages, and are even now of eminent service, not only in explaining the meaning of terms, but also in matters of literary antiquity, embracing as they do words pertaining to philosophy, theology, arithmetic, music, astronomy, jurisprudence, philology, logic, rhetoric, etc. The last ten books are mainly devoted to etymology, which is often fanciful and sometimes absurd. Thus *gladius*, sword, is derived from *gula*, throat, inasmuch as the sword was sometimes used to cut the throat. Death closed his life before he had completed this work, which was finished for him by Braulio, bishop of Saragossa. He wrote also a work on synonyms, entitled *Differentiarum sive de Proprietate Sermonum*, two books. His

treatment of synonyms is brief but clear; thus: "Inter undam et aquam: unda semper in motu est, aqua vero stativa." Also, "Inter leges et jura: jus dicitur, lex scribitur. Unde et Virgilius; jura dabat legesque viris. Item leges humanæ jura divina sunt." We have also Latin glossaries of his, which have been formed into a *Liber Glossarum.* For many centuries the works of Verrius, Festus, Isidore, and others, had done good service in the advancement of learning, yet as they were deficient, as dictionaries, in matter, and method, and scope, and were unsuitable for the intellectual wants of the advancing ages, the restless spirit of man, striving toward perfection, summoned other laborers into this inviting field of patient study.

Passing into the middle ages we meet with the glossographer, Aelfric, an Englishman, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 994, and was author of a *Glossarium Latino-Saxonicum.* This was afterward published at Oxford, together with a *Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, written by one Somner. To this Aelfric we are indebted for much of the Anglo-Saxon literature that has come down to us. Papias, a noted grammarian, born in Lombardy in the eleventh century, was the author of the *Catholicum Lexicon*, later styled *Vocabularium Elementarium.* This was printed in Milan, in 1476, and also passed through several editions in Venice, the last one in 1496. Papias was followed by De Garlandia, an Englishman, who wrote, besides special dictionaries, *Synonyma et Æquivoca;* and by Hugutio (Uguccio) of Pisa, whose Latin dictionary in manuscript form was to be found in many libraries. A better work than either of these was that of John Balbus, born in the thirteenth century in Janua, a town of Upper Italy, and hence surnamed De Ginoa, De Janua, or Januensis. His dictionary, under the usual title of *Catholicon*, consisted of a Latin grammar and dictionary, both copious and excellent for that age. Its full title, as printed in 1460, by Faust, was *Summa Grammaticalis valde Notabilis quæ Catholicon nominatur.* It was one of the earliest of printed books, and in spite of its defects passed through many editions in Lyons, Venice, and Paris. Balbus made a large use of the works of Hugutio and Papias, as Hugutio himself had of the works of Papias. Several indifferent abridgments of the *Catholicon* appeared near the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Two centuries after Balbus we meet with John Reuchlin, who was born in Pforzheim, in Suabia, in 1454. He was the preceptor of Melancthon, was an eminent Hebraist, author of the first Hebrew grammar and lexicon for the use of Christians, and in his day the equal of the *literati* of Italy in the style of his scholarship, and their

superior in erudition. In accordance with a pedantic custom of the times he changed his German name for the more euphonious Greek equivalent of Capnio. In like manner, meeting in Hesse a precocious youth, ten years of age, and named Schwartzerd, he caused his name to be changed to its Greek equivalent, Melancthon. His *Breviloquium sive Dictionarium* was issued at Basel in 1480. The words were arranged in alphabetic order, accompanied by brief explanations only. His personal influence and scholarship did far more for the cause of learning than his dictionary. Nicolas Perotti, born in 1430, in Sassoferrata, and bishop of Siponto, in 1458 was the author of the *Cornucopia*, a commentary on the Spectacles of Martial, to which was added an alphabetical list of the words explained in the text. There were in it numerous citations from the best classics; the style was clear, and the explanations lucid, but rather prolix. Perotti was one of the first to assist in freeing the Latin language from the many barbarisms which had crept into it. Martial was often obscene, and as Perotti had fully performed his duty as a commentator, he refused the publication of his commentary as out of keeping with churchly dignity and morality. It was, however, freely used by his friends during his lifetime, and published after his death by his nephew. Calepin is said to have rather surreptitiously incorporated this work of Perotti into his own dictionary. Ambrosius Calepinus, an Italian monk and philologist, finding himself not very well adapted to the clerical office, devoted himself to letters, and freely using the works of his predecessors, compiled his *Lexicon Calepinum*, a polyglott dictionary, which in the Basel edition was extended to eleven languages. It is true he relies too much for his Latinity upon the Church fathers, but that had been the practice of most of the previous lexicographers, owing to the fact that the writings of the fathers were read and consulted far more than the Latin classics. The first edition was issued in Reggio, in 1502, nine years before his death, and was quite faulty in its deficiency of good words and abundance of unauthorized ones, in its errors of quantity, and in examples cited from the ecclesiastical instead of the classic writers, and, like other dictionaries, in its confused arrangement of meanings. Still it was in use for nearly two hundred years, and was used by many succeeding lexicographers as the basis of their own works, which is a practical proof of its value in spite of its errors and deficiencies. By the revisions and additions of the subsequent editions it ultimately became a tolerable Latin dictionary, and one of the best polyglotts in Europe.

In 1520 Mario Nizzoli published his *Observationes in Ciceronem Ordine Literarum Digestæ*, which in later and improved editions

was styled *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*. It passed through many editions, the best of which is that of Facciolati, published in Padua in 1734. To other writers and works, of more or less note, in the period we have passed over since the time of Isidore, we can only refer below.*

The *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ* of Robert Stephens, the famous Protestant printer and scholar, indicates a marked advance and an era in Latin lexicography. Heretofore the dictionaries lacked orderly arrangement and fullness of definition; but little distinction was made between the different degrees of Latinity; no eclectic process to limit the words to any authors or to any age, but the exhaustive process whereby words obsolete, current, classical, ecclesiastical, or medieval were alike used to swell the dictionary to an inconvenient and useless size, for modern students at least. The *Thesaurus* of Stephens was published in 1535. He very properly began his work by a careful examination of the works of Terence and Plautus, whose words he arranged alphabetically and made the basis of his lexicon. The good degree of precision and thoroughness of the definitions, supported by the best classic authority, rather than ecclesiastical or post-classical; and the interpretation of idioms and a definition in French, made it a lexicon much superior to previous ones as a help both to the study of the language and to a purer style. Some of the defects of this work lie in its frequent mistranslations of difficult phrases, or no translation at all of the same; an occasional confusion of adjectives, adverbs, and substantives; and a use of defective commentaries, without any critical sifting of their contents. Improved editions were published in 1543, 1573, 1576, and the revised London edition bears the date of 1735.

The *Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ* of Basil Faber, a learned German Protestant, was published at Leipsic in 1571. It was chiefly valuable for its details in mythology, history, biography, antiquities, and idiomatic usages; yet that value was lessened by its admission of barbarous and doubtful words, without any caution to the learner. Improved editions have been published by Thomasius, Gesner, and others.

* Matthæus Silvaticus, *Liber Pandectarum Medicinæ*, compiled from ancient authors, 1297; Junianus Maius, *De Priscorum Proprietate Verborum*, 1480. William Brito, an Englishman, and author of a *Glossarium;* Johannes Tortellius, a learned grammarian of the fifteenth century, and a friend of Valla, and author of *Dictionarium Vocum Latinarum*, which was of considerable value in orthography; *Vocabularius Compendiosus ex Summa Januensis, Hugutione, et Papia excerptus*, 1490; R. Veisius, *Catholicon Parvum*, 1491; *Catholicon Armorico-Franco-Latinum* a Johanne Lagadec, 1499; *Vocabularius Optimus, Gemma Vocabulorum Dictus*, Deventer, 1502.

Jacobo Facciolati, born near Padua in 1682, educated in the University of Padua, in which he was afterward professor, and Egedio Forcellini, born at Treviso, were two eminent lexicographers. In 1719 they published a revised and enlarged edition of Calepin. They were also the authors of the famous *Ortografia Italiana*. While preparing Calepin for the press, Forcellini conceived the plan of a better lexicon. Assisted by the advice and labor of Facciolati, he began the work in 1715 and ended it in thirty-eight years, 1753. Two years more were spent in revising, and eight in copying it for the press. Forcellini, the chief author, died in 1768, and his work was printed at Padua in 1771, with the fit title *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, four volumes folio. To each Latin word its equivalent was given in Latin and Greek. To the work was added an index of barbarous Latin words. The scope of this work came near the modern idea of a good lexicon. The aim was to give every word; and with the word all the meanings, arranged systematically, and illustrated by citations from classic authors. He was careful and critical in his etymologies, rejecting many of the far-fetched ones which had passed down from Varro; equally careful in orthography, and quite full in the grammatical connections of words. Still, with all its excellences, which have made it a source of material for most dictionaries since, it is far inferior, as a scientific work, to our best Latin dictionaries. A glance at Bailey's edition of the same, and then at Andrews' Lexicon, will confirm this.

An edition of Faber's *Thesaurus* was prepared by John Gesner in 1726, who in 1749 also prepared for the press an edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus*. This last was of great value to students and scholars. The text of Stephens received numerous corrections, and additions of phrases and illustrative passages to such a degree that the work may be considered an original one. In fullness of vocabulary no lexicon had surpassed it. A practical defect, however, lay in the order of the articles. The root and compound words being in alphabetical order, but their derivations grouped under these in their etymological order. This alphabetico-etymological method is clumsy and inconvenient, and wrong in its assumption of a linguistic subordination of derivatives to primitives.

A Latin dictionary which had for many years a more extensive use than any other, was that of E. J. Gerhard Scheller, born in 1735, in Lower Lusatia. He was indebted to Forcellini, Faber, Gesner, and others, but made no acknowledgment to the first. Its excellence secured its translation into Dutch by Ruhnken and into English by Riddle. In exegesis he was somewhat in advance of

previous lexicographers. The first edition appeared at Leipsic in 1783, in seven volumes, five of the Latin-German and two of the German-Latin part. Scheller prepared an epitome of his larger lexicon as a school lexicon, which passed through several successive and improved editions under the care of G. Lünemann, and the last edition of which, in 1831, was of signal merit on account of its completeness and accuracy. This edition was the basis of Leverett's lexicon.

Before the time of Robert Ainsworth* English scholars had done good service for the advancement of Latin lexicography in England. True, they were then as now mainly indebted to their continental German neighbors, as these had on their part made use of the labors of their predecessors. A brief sketch of English lexicography is of some interest in view of the fact that dictionaries yet in use among us have an English lineage. We name the most important only.† The *Ortus Vocabulorum*, an English-Latin and Latin-English work, compiled from the *Catholicon*, *Breviloquium*, *Cornucopia*, and other continental works, was issued in 1516. In advance of other English works was the *Bibliotheca Eliota*, of Thomas Eliot or Elliott, printed in London in 1542. The vocabulary was fuller than that of previous English lexicons. Thomas Cooper, in 1552, edited the *Bibliotheca* of Elliott, and enlarged it by the addition of several thousand words, taken chiefly from Stephens and Frisius. Subsequent editions were so much improved and changed that they received from Cooper the title *Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Brittanicæ*. This was characterized by fuller definitions. Superior to Cooper's was the Cambridge Dictionary, first issued at Cambridge in 1693, with the title *Linguæ Romanæ, Dictionarium Luculentum Novum*, and designed as an improvement on Dr. A. Littleton's dictionary, which had gained some fame and an extensive use, and was considered second only to the Cambridge work which supplanted it. In the Cambridge work a careful perusal of ancient authors was made in order to more exactness and

* Between Stephens and Ainsworth, and largely indebted to the labors of Stephens, were several continental lexicographers, such as Cœlius Secundus Curio, *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ sive Forum Romanum*, Basel, 1576; Th. Trebellius, *Promptuarium;* Johannes Frisius, Latin-German dictionary, which ran through near a dozen editions.

† Other writers and works were Richard Pynson, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, an English-Latin dictionary, 1499; the dictionary of Thomas Thomasius which passed through fourteen editions; the dictionary of John Rider, bishop of Killaloe, a compilation from the best dictionaries then extant; Rider's work was enlarged successively by Francis and Thomas Holyoake and Nicholas Gray. For other writers and fuller notices consult preface to Ainsworth's Dictionary.

fullness of signification, many fanciful etymons were corrected, much bad Latin expunged, and poetic words distinguished from prose. The editors made use of the lexicon of R. Stephens and of certain manuscript works on the best Latin writers written by Milton. But surpassed by no previous Latin lexicon, taken as a whole, in England or elsewhere, was the English-Latin and Latin-English dictionary of Robert Ainsworth, first issued in 1736, and which came rapidly into general use in the English schools. The Latin-English part has the elements and the general features of the best lexicons of the present day. The defects lie rather in the execution than in the plan. The scope of the work includes all good words in Latin authors. The exegetical department aims at a logical order in the statement of the different senses, which are based on the etymological sense of the word, which is the method now adopted by the best Latin lexicographers. The meanings are illustrated by citations, inconveniently, however, separated from them. Idioms and phrases are found under the sense to which they naturally belong. Words are indicated as frequent, rare, poetic, and the like, according to their speciality of use. It is something more than a mere word book, although not up to the continental position of philology even of that day; if it was not as abundant in quotations, nor so complete in detail, as some German contemporaries, it was at least founded on a better plan. Several abridgments have been made of the work, and manifold editions of the same published in England and the United States; one as late as 1856.

Of American works, the dictionary of F. P. Leverett, published first in 1837, is of interest as in its turn supplanting other dictionaries in extensive use among us. It was a compilation and translation mainly of Lünemann's Scheller, and of Forcellini. Its chief defect is a lack, especially in the longer articles, of a well-connected and perspicuous arrangement of significations. Also the mode of treating the synonyms is inconvenient for use. The Complete Latin-English Dictionary of Mr. Riddle, of England, which appeared a short time before that of Leverett, was taken chiefly from Lünemann's edition of Scheller, and supplanted the use of Ainsworth in most of the English schools, but is somewhat behind the philology of the age, deficient in etymology, in precision, and in the development of the definitions.

The labors of modern philologists and critics, particularly the German, had gathered a large amount of lexical materials, and brought about more scientific methods of treatment in lexicographical study; and etymology, on which the exegetical department of lexicography

rests, had become a science based on philosophical principles in the hands of Bopp, Donaldson, Pott, and others. These facts demanded a lexicon more in accordance with the advanced position of philological science and the practical spirit of the age. This demand, mainly in its scientific aspect, was answered by the publication of the first volume of William Freund's *Worterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache* in 1834, and the fourth and last volume in 1845. In the same year, 1845, appeared Freund's *Gesammtwörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache*, (condensed dictionary), intended as a school lexicon, and which Mr. Riddle made the basis of his Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, printed in London in 1849. Lexicography was now a science with its own clearly defined elements, the difference in the treatment of which determined the differences, and hence the superiority or inferiority, of the various dictionaries. Dr. Freund's lexicon marks the beginning of the most thoroughly scientific era of Latin lexicography, particularly in the exegetical department. The value of his work is attested by the use made of it in this country and in England. The lexicon of Dr. E. A. Andrews, which appeared in 1851, is founded on the larger, as that of Riddle on the smaller work of Freund. This work, which is the best of the kind among us, and that of Riddle, are of great value to both students and teachers; and though neither is a *thesaurus* of the language, yet both have retained from the original German work the excellent characteristic features of plan, illustrative references, philological remarks, thoroughness and logical connection of definitions, and have added to its vocabulary, particularly in proper names, and occasionally retrenched examples of needless length. The quotations and references to Latin authors are much fuller and more precise in Andrews than in Riddle. This is owing to the fact that Andrews used the larger work while Riddle used the abridgment of the same. The dictionary of Freund, and consequently those of Andrews and Riddle, with all their superiority, nevertheless show us that a perfect Latin lexicon, with the comprehensive plan as given, cannot be accomplished by one man. Freund fails not in plan, but in execution. He is considerably behind the present position of the science in etymology, in completeness, and in critical accuracy.

Four years ago appeared in London the Latin-English dictionary of W. Smith, editor of the dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, and Geography. This work was based on the works of Forcellini and Freund; and so far as Freund is concerned, it is mainly an altered reprint of the American edition of the same by Andrews. Wherein it differs from the American edition,

it follows the Lehman text less closely. Nor is it always the better for that. The etymological element is, however, treated by Smith with unprecedented excellence; the latest results in philology, comparative and special, are incorporated into the work, together with kindred illustrative words from cognate languages. In some cases the multiplicity of the chronological divisions in Freund have been wisely rejected. But to students, at least, the value of Smith's work is seriously injured by the omission of proper names, and, as a consequence, the frequent omission of the figurative uses of the same and their derived adjectives. We know the apology for this omission, yet wonder at the blunder which thus excludes a large class of words that are constituent parts of the language, and not simply subordinate parts of proper names. It is a short-sighted defect, for which the classical dictionary supplies but an imperfect remedy, and which assumes a fixed relation of dependence between primitives and derivatives which the usage of language will not always warrant. Smith compromises the matter, however, by giving some of the figurative uses of proper names, and a few of their derived adjectives. This meager attempt to repair the mistake and consequent inconvenience of these omissions, still leaves the learner to grope his way in the dark in regard to many words he meets with. This dictionary can have but a very limited use among students.

When Lünemann died, Georges was employed to superintend the issue of his edition of Scheller. In so doing, Georges made so many changes and additions that he soon afterward published the work in his own name; and the edition printed in Leipsic in 1855, in two large volumes, is of great value for its full vocabulary, etymology, and the lucid statement of the meanings. Of a still fuller vocabulary and more numerous authorities is the Latin-German dictionary of Reinhold Klotz, completed in 1857. This last is very defective in etymology, giving nothing outside of the Greek and Latin, and but little in these. It is less clear than Georges in the exegetical part also. But the critical accuracy of both Georges and Klotz, obtained by a careful sifting of doubtful readings, by a careful study of the best, and most recent, and most critical editions and special lexicons of Latin authors, and by verifying the citations, give these an authority beyond that of any other similar work. Future lexicographers, for the latest and best results of lexical criticism, must consult Georges and Klotz rather than Freund, whose labors are considered as rather of a philosophical than a practical cast. The larger Latin-English lexicons now in use, and their originals also, belong to an inferior age of critical accuracy in lexicography. Germany is still supplying England, France,

Italy, and Spain, as well as ourselves with lexical materials; and her present position in critical exegesis and philology, her grand collections and best editions of the classics, enable her scholars to supply the classical book market of the world.

We will close this brief sketch by a reference to the proceedings of the Philological Congress held last September in Vienna, from which we learn that the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, par excellence, is now in course of preparation by some of the first scholars of Germany. It will include all the words of the Latin language from the earliest ages to about A. D. 1550. In etymology, where it is possible, words are traced to their origin, whether in the cognate Indo-Germanic, or in unallied languages, and then the changes are shown which the words have passed through in the Romanic languages. It will omit only doubtful etymologies. The plan of preparation of the work is the only method of obtaining accuracy and thoroughness. Special lexicons are to be prepared on Latin authors, in accordance with the present condition of philological criticism, and from these the *Thesaurus* itself is to be compiled. It will be the joint labor of many scholars, working by the same plan. Ten years hence is the time spoken of for its completion.

In the arrangement of words in a dictionary two systems have been in prominent use, the *alphabetical* and the *alphabetico-etymological.* The first ranges all the words alphabetically; the second ranges the root and compound words alphabetically, while their derivatives are grouped under these according to the degree or form of the derivation. Of this last method, Gesner's *Thesaurus* in Latin, Scopula in Greek, and Richardson in English, are examples. The alphabetic is the most convenient and not a whit the less philosophic. The etymological method is based on the genetic connection of words; but this connection is simply a fact of pedigree and not of dependence; of origin, not of subordination; and when a word has become a part of the language by standing as a sign of a determinate idea, then the genetic connection with the parent word is broken and its history is its own.* Each word, then, is an independent monograph of the language, requiring a statement of its form and grammatical connections, which are its outward nature; and the statement of its meanings, which are its inward nature. Hence the object of Latin lexicography is to give the history of each word, which thus constitutes a species of verbal biography, and is a science having a two-fold object: first, its own perfection or completeness, that is, finding its end in itself; and secondly, the interpretation of Latin authors. Freund recognizes the first, and repu-

* Freund's Preface in Andrews's Latin Lexicon, p. xviii.

diates the second, in his preface to his work; but in the work itself the practical element has outwitted the refined speculative ideal of the German, and he acknowledges the latter also by giving the history of words only so far as they are used in Latin authors of the national language, and by thus leaving the history of words incomplete, confesses that Latin lexicography modifies its objective character by its relation to Latin literature.

Medieval lexicographers were fond of swelling their vocabularies with all words within their reach, whether classic, current, or obsolete. Modern lexicography usually, however, employs the selective, not the exhaustive process; and hence usually rejects words that live only in the traditions of the grammarians, and words and meanings found only in the middle ages. The lexicon of Messrs. Crooks and Schem is an adaptation to the wants of college students, rather than of professional philologists. A text-book for students, not a *Thesaurus* for scholars, a work for the recitation room, not of reference for libraries, being needed, the present lexicon omits the Latin of the Church fathers and of the brazen and middle ages, as also many words belonging to writers on medicine, architecture, and natural history, and also to writers in bad repute for morals and style. By these omissions the work becomes a standard of a purer Latinity, and greater space and attention are given to the best classical writers, such as Cicero, Sallust, Nepos, Cæsar, Livy, and Tacitus, and others among the prose writers, and Horace, Virgil, and Ovid among the poets. It also contains a full list of proper names in mythology, history, geography, and antiquities, whereby it supplies the student with that use of a classical dictionary which is needed in translating. This is an excellent feature of the work, and its completeness in this respect gives it a marked superiority as an educational instrument. The authors have aimed at making a lexicon that shall include the latest and best results in philology, and, while strictly scientific in its principles, shall yet be brief, clear, thorough, and to the point, in whatever pertains to students in their collegiate course.

The elements of Latin lexicography in its present high scientific character admit of a three-fold classification: 1. The linguistic; 2. The exegetical; 3. The statistical. We shall briefly consider these with special reference to the lexicon at the head of this article.

The linguistic elements. A cultivated language groups its words into classes characterized by certain peculiarities of gender, declension, and the like. The lexicon designates the class or characteristic of the word by certain abbreviations or signs easily understood, and at the same time gives such anomalous forms as will give com-

pleteness to the external history of the word. This is the *grammatical element.* For a clear, logical interpretation, the necessity is clear, of starting with the primary sense of a word, to gain which the word must be traced to its root; this is the *etymological element*, which has been treated with great care and fullness in the lexicon before us. Thus: "MAGNUS . . . [root MAG, which appears also in *mactus, macto*—cf. Gr. *μέγας*:]" also "ARS . . . [from *ἄρω*, 'to join;' prop. *skill in joining.*] Etymology opens a wide and inviting field for word hunters. Such in some cases has been the absurd and fanciful nature of its deductions that etymological science is not held in the highest repute among all scholars, even with its present sound principles and method in the hands of modern philologists, such as Bopp, Diez, and others. From Varro to Vossius inclusive, in the seventeenth century, etymological investigations, although of great service to lexicography, were nevertheless loosely conducted on assumed analogies and casual similarities of form. This lexicon contains not only the carefully considered etymologies of Dr. Ingerslev, but matter from the recent results of philology, and the best German and English lexicons, such as that of Georges, which is one of the foremost of the age in critical accuracy. Closely connected with etymological is the *comparative* element, or the comparison of the Latin with kindred words in other languages for the purpose of illustrating a *form* or *meaning*, or showing some important *analogy.* Thus, quoting from the lexicon, "FERO, tuli . . . [*φέρω*; cf. *τλάω*:]" so, also, "TALIS, [the demonstrative force of the 't' appears in Sansc. *ta* (this,) Gr. *τό*, English this—cf., also tam, and, for the ending, qualis.]" It is not difficult to avoid trenching too largely upon comparative philology, as the polyglott editions of Calepin have done, by giving the equivalents from several affiliated and unaffiliated languages. We commend the use of words from any other language whenever they offer a more radical meaning, or a clearer illustration of the force of a word, than the Latin itself. Especially do we commend, as quoted above, this use of the Sanscrit,* where the radical forms are generally purer than in the Latin and Greek. This can be done without interfering with the due speciality of Latin lexicography. And again, for an exact use of language, synonymous words must be discriminated; hence the *synonymous element.* The benefit of the study of a foreign language is partially lost if the scholarly habit of discrimination in the choice of words is not exercised. Of this element Andrews offers but a meager treatment, Riddle none at all, and Leverett gives the

*A Sanscrit lexicon, far superior to any now in use, is in process of publication at St. Petersburgh.

synonymous words with their distinctions under one of the synonyms, but has the unfortunate defect of no reference to these under any of the others. In no other Latin-English lexicon is there such a full and convenient treatment of synonyms as in the present work. It will suffice the student for a text book of synonyms. The following example will show its method: "HOSTIS, . . . *an enemy*, (that is, an armed enemy with whom the state, not the citizen, stands in hostile relations—cf. inimicus;)" and under this last we have, "INIMICUS . . . *hostile*, (in private relations; it refers to one's personal feeling—cf. hostilis, hostis.)" Here the specific difference between hostis and inimicus is clearly pointed out as a difference of *national* and of *personal* hostility. The mutual references bring the word within easy reach of the student, and the concise method and the accurately drawn distinctions are worthy of praise.

The *exegetical element.* This is the chief element of lexicography. In arranging the significations three methods have been in use: the method of *generality*, the *purely historical*, and the *genetico-historical.* The first starts with the most general signification of a word, and subjoins the others in the order of their frequency of use, but as it is often difficult to decide on the comparative generality, this method must speedily degenerate into a confused assemblage of meanings. The second, or the chronological, gives the meanings in the order in which they occur in successive writers. On this plan the first meaning will be taken from the oldest Latinity, the last from the writers of the latest ages to which the dictionary refers, and the intermediate ones from writers in their chronological succession. This method commends itself for the precision with which it exhibits the external history of a word, but it lacks logic, and is liable to a confused interchange of the primitive and derivative, literal and tropical significations; for the primitive sense is not always found in the earliest writers, and is sometimes obtained only from other forms of the word; nor are the transferred senses found in the latest writers only. The genetic order of the various meanings not unfrequently varies from the chronological succession; hence the occasional confusion in this historic method, which does not attach to the *historico-genetical*, wherein the logical development combines with the history of a word. In this method the primary or root meaning, or if that cannot be determined, then one of the earliest occurring material significations, is taken as the point of departure in collating the significations as they appear to have proceeded from that primitive, and thus there is a genetic connection of the transferred senses with the original, and also with each other. Moreover we often wish to know at what period a cer-

tain meaning or word was in use. But in the multiform transitions in the uses of words from one sphere of life to another, and in the occasional alternation of primary and derived meanings, the logical does not always coincide with the chronological; hence the *chronological* feature, which fixes the historic position of a word by notations, such as ante-classic, classic, and the like. This historico-genetic method of exegesis must, from its scientific accuracy and historic convenience, win its way over the purely historical to a general acceptance, as the best method of tracing out and arranging the significations. No other method combines so many excellences and avoids so many defects. The lexicon of Messrs. Crooks and Schem follows this method, and is pre-eminent for the precision and naturalness obtained both in the divisions of the articles and the logical order of the meanings. By the conditions of their task, which was a text-book for colleges and the higher classical schools, not a *thesaurus*, some of the numerous subdivisions of the longer articles were avoided by giving the tropical usage in immediate connection with the proper signification from which it is derived.

The *statistic element.* We often need to know whether a word or a meaning occurs once, rarely, or frequently; whether it is a technical expression in art, science, poetry, rhetoric, prose, low life, law, or religion. These statistics are indicated by certain convenient signs or abbreviations. We may justly lay stress upon this element, seeing that words are an index of a nation's life. The rarity of philosophical, metaphysical, and æsthetical terms, and the abundance of military, practical, legal, and materialistic, infallibly mark the material, earthly, warlike, unpoetic, legal Roman. The names of the Muses and Graces are Greek; but Faith, Concord, and other personifications of the more practical and businesslike virtues, are Latin.

There are other peculiarities of the work that demand notice. The profuse mass of citations in the larger lexicons, which are mustered about the definitions, and which, though valuable for the mature scholar, nevertheless weary and distract the student, are here dismissed, and only enough retained to fully illustrate the uses of the word; and even these are stripped of their superfluous portions, and so presented as a clear and direct illustration. Thus under *immensus* both Leverett and Andrews quote from Cicero as an illustration: *Si immensam et interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videretis.* In this the illustrative words are *immensam, magnitudinem,* and *regionum,* and these only are needed; hence we have *immensa magnitudo regionum,* which contains the gist of the illustration in by far the most serviceable form.

And again: in most lexicons the inconvenient and absurd etymological method is retained for adjectives derived from proper names; but here, excepting in a few special cases, they are placed in their alphabetical order, which facilitates the reference to them.

This lexicon will be found to combine, in a high degree, thoroughness with facility of use, as will be seen from a comparison of an article with the same one taken from Andrews's Dictionary.

CROOKS AND SCHEM.

Supplĭcium, ii, *n.* [supplex.] Prop., *a kneeling down for prayer, or to receive punishment:*—1: A) AN HUMBLE SUPPLICATION *offered to a deity*, A PRAYER; hence also (ante-cl.) sometimes=*an act of worship*, in gen., *a sacrifice, offering:* ss. deorum, *to the gods;* placare deos suppliciis: B) (Sall.) *an humble entreaty*, in gen. 2) A PUNISHMENT, esp. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT: sumere (capere, exigere, etc.) s. de aliquo, afficere aliquem supplicio, *to inflict capital punishment;* dare alicui supplicium, *to be punished by any one;* ultimum s., *suicide.* Hence: A)=TORMENT, PAIN: cruciatus et supplicium: B)=NEED, SUFFERING *from a wound, etc.*

ANDREWS.

Supplĭcium (subpl.,) ii, *n.* [supplex; prop., A KNEELING DOWN, either as a suppliant or to receive punishment.]

I. In religious lang., *Humiliation before God, a public prayer* or *supplication, an act of worship, sacrifice, offering*, etc. (so mostly ante-Aug. and in prose after the Aug. period; not in Cic. or Caes.): nunc pergam, ut suppliciis placans coelitum aras expleam, Att. in Non. 398, 19; cf., deos suppliciis, sumptu, votis, donis, Precibus plorans, obsecrans, Afran. ib. 398, 22; and, suppliciis votisque fatigare deos, Liv. 27, 50, 5; cf. also, non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur, Sall. C. 52, 29: nihil ei (Jovi) acceptum est a perjuris supplicii, *offering, sacrifice*, Plaut. Rud. prol. 25; cf., in suppliciis deorum magnifici, Sall. C. 9, 2; and, precibus suppliciisque deos placare. Liv. 22, 57, 5; cf. also, quos (boves) ad deorum servant supplicia, Var. R. R. 2, 5, 10; and, "*supplicia* veteres quaedam sacrificia a supplicando vocabant," Fest. p. 308 and 309.

B. TRANSF. out of the relig. sphere, *An humble entreaty* or *petition, a supplication* in gen. (extremely rare): Vagenses fatigati regis suppliciis, Sall. J. 66, 2: igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, id. ib, 46, 2 Kritz.

II. (Prop., a kneeling down to receive punishment; hence, transf.) *Punishment, penalty, torture, torment, pain, distress, suffering* (the prevalent and quite class. signif of the word:) (*a*) *Sing.:* dabitur pol supplicium mihi de tergo vestro, Plaut. Asin. 2, 4, 75 *sq.;* cf., illi de me supplicium dabo, Ter. Heaut. 1, 1, 86; de homine nobili virgis supplicium crudelissime sumere, Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 37, 91; so, sumere (de aliquo,) Plaut. Pers. 5, 2, 72; id. Merc. 5, 4, 31; Ter. Andr. 3, 5, 17; Cic. Inv. 2, 28, 84; id. Rep. 3, 33, et mult. al.: supplicio affici, Caes. B. G. 1, 27, 4: aliquem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio exercuciatum necare, Cic. de imp. Pomp. 5, 11; cf. summo cruciatu supplicioque perire, id. N. D. 3, 33, 81; and, gravissimum ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est, Caes. B. G. 6, 17, 5: talis improborum consensio supplicio omni vindicanda (est), Cic. Lael. 12, 43: satis supplicii tulisse, Caes. B. C. 1, 84, 3: supplicio culpa redditur, Hor. Od. 3, 24, 34, et saep.—(*β*) *Plur.:* ad exquisita supplicia proficisci, Cic. Off. 3, 27, 100: semper iis (improbis) ante oculos judicia et supplicia versentur, id. Rep. 3, 16: ad innocentum supplicia descendunt, Caes. B. G. 6, 17, 5: suppliciis delicta coërcet, Hor. S. 1, 3, 79, et saep.

For the work of translating, the superiority of Crooks and Schem's over that of Andrews is palpable. In the article in question it is no less comprehensive in necessary definitions, is fuller and clearer in the arrangement of the same by separating the allied but distinct meanings of punishment and suffering or need, and is more copious in translated phrases.

Moreover, in both of these examples are shown the clear, natural, and logical development of the various significations from the root meaning. The two prevailing senses of the word are prayer and punishment, and with the clue afforded by the etymology as the point of departure, the relation of these and other widely dissimilar meanings is perfectly clear. Thus, from *a kneeling down for prayer*, the successive derivatives of an *humble supplication to a deity, an act of worship, a sacrifice, an humble entreaty* to any one, are patent at a glance; and so also from a kneeling down for punishment are the successive derivatives of *punishment, pain, suffering, need.* This method, accurately applied, must give a final result in exegetical lexicography. Its eminent value will best appear by comparing the treatment of the same word in Ainsworth's, in which work the meanings stand dislocated on account of the absence of the primary sense, but which comparison our limits forbid.

A student's text-books are not only his daily companions, that improve or damage according to their perfect or imperfect nature, but are also his tools to work with, and hence the necessity of having the best of the kind in order to the most perfect culture in the briefest time. The thoroughness of the vocabulary within its prescribed limits in the present work is not inferior to the best Latin lexicons of the day, most of which have been carefully consulted and compared in order to supply any omissions of the German text. The authors have made it a reliable, thorough, and scholarly guide. Its condensation makes it a rapid one. The student readily finds what he needs and all he needs, and this, too, in an order that is an admirable training in logical habits of thought. We do not need abridgments, but compressions, and the compression of a *thesaurus* of the larger Latin lexicons into a text-book, without the loss of essential matter, or excellence of method, or logical completeness, and with the practical gain of a ready and easy use of the same, certainly marks a progress in the science, and is the praise of the work before us. Of course we do not mean that the work is faultless, but its errors are rather of the accidental kind, and such as can be corrected in subsequent editions.

Moreover, a school lexicon will best serve its purpose by being adapted as well to the recitation room as to the study, particularly

in the treatment of the particles. This use of a lexicon seems as yet scarcely to have been thought of, and hence their general unsuitableness in this respect. Take, for instance, *quin*, the various uses of which should be so classified that the whole of its syntactical doctrine can be as readily learned from the lexicon as from the grammar; and then a class may be required to study it from the lexicon, which will have this advantage, that every consultation of the article in question will be a review of the same, and so keep it fixed in the memory for use. Some may object that this is trenching upon the grammar. So let it be; but then lexicography is not an independent science, finding its own end entirely within itself, but is rather a co-worker with others for a certain object. Lexicography has already entered the province of grammar by its grammatical elements. This adaptation to the recitation room can be secured by lexicography without any sacrifice whatever; in fact, it is one with and springs directly from the proper exegesis of a word. And again: it would be an excellent class drill to take, as part of a recitation, such a word as *supplicium*, and require its etymology, its primary meaning, and its derivatives in their logical order. The logical training thus gained will be as sound as that of mathematics, and far keener, and will do much toward forming the excellent mental habit of discrimination in the choice of words. The best adaptation to these desirable uses is found in the lexicon before us. The ideas on which the lexicon is based compel a brevity, a thoroughness, and a logical form in the treatment of a word, such as are rarely found in the grammar. This adaptability to the exercises of the recitation room, or the grammatical use, is one of the distinctive merits of the book, and adds much to its value as an instrument of culture. On this point we cannot enlarge; but commend it to the attention of scholars and teachers.

A happy artifice for the student's help is found in the distinctions of meanings by means of the type. What diagrams have done for mathematics, illustrations for natural science, typography has here done for language, by denoting the leading significations of the word by a heavy, broad-faced type; the rarer meanings, mere descriptions and translations, by Italic type, while observations and the like are printed in small Roman. The thanks of classical students are eminently due to the authors for this thorough scholarly and expeditious aid to their studies, an aid alike serviceable in the merest academic and in the fullest collegiate course of study.

Art II.—ST. PETER THE ROCK.

"Upon that high mountain apart the face of Jesus shone as the sun, his raiment was white as the light; Moses and Elias appeared talking with him, a bright cloud overshadowed them, and a voice from the clouds uttered: 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him.'"

Under these impressive circumstances Jesus was introduced into the first great division of his earthly ministry. "Hear ye Him" is the divine mandate of the final dispensation of the religion of God, and the watchword of its every devotee. The "bright cloud" that overshadowed them on Mount Tabor prefigured the moral radiance that would spread abroad over the world at the continued repetition of "Hear ye Him" by the ever increasing multitudes of Christian believers.

The conversation mentioned in the sixteenth chapter of Matthew introduces Jesus into the second great division of his visible ministry. This conversation occurred on the journey to Cæserea Philippi, a little town at the foot of Mount Libanus. Stopping for refreshment, Jesus sought for retirement. His disciples followed and found him alone and in prayer. He had been contemplating the great work and difficulty of saving the world. He now seems to feel an interest in human salvation deeper than ever before. Up to this time he had given his disciples no intimation of his approaching sufferings. Now he speaks of them plainly. His solicitude for the salvation of the world now rises up into those higher intensities corresponding to the appaling apprehensions that rose before him as he neared the dreadful tragedy of his life. He begins now to feel those strange anxieties that finally reached extremest intensity in the agonies of his crucifixion. The great enterprise of redemption now, as never before, seems to pervade his mighty heart. The salvation of a lost race stands out before him in all its vastness and importance. To accomplish a work so grand he had descended from a bright to a dreary world. To restore life to a dead world joyfully could he lay down his own. To say to a world "bound hand and foot with grave clothes," that sentence of mercy and might, "Come forth," most gladly would he enter the depths of any woe. But well does he know that individual salvation depends on a correct apprehension of himself. To fix in the minds of his disciples true notions of his essential nature is now the great desire of his heart. To this important work he at this time adroitly addresses himself. As God the Father had suggested the great truth of the

supreme divinity of his Son, at the introduction into the first part of his ministry, it seemed proper that his entrance upon the second should be signalized by his own attestation to the same fundamental truth. In order to place the idea of his divinity before his disciples he inquires: "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" He does not inquire whether the people thought him the Messiah, for he appeals to his works as ample evidence that he was the great looked for. "The works that I do bear witness of me; believe me for the works' sake;" that is, my works are ground sufficient to demonstrate my Messiahship.

The first work of Jesus was to prove by miracle his Messiahship, and then to indoctrinate the world into the proper notion of his infinite nature and spiritual work; and hence he says: "Whom do men say I am;" in what do they think consists my essential nature? The form Τινα με λεγουσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποι ειναι expresses this notion, for the same form is used John viii. 53: "If thou art greater than Abraham and the prophets, whom makest thou thyself?" that is, what is your essential nature? Τινα σεαυτον ποιεῖς. To this question of Jesus various responses were given by divers of the apostles. This fact shows how much the real nature of Jesus had been discussed by them in private conversations.

Their minds seemed to be full of the conflicting opinions concerning their mysterious master, whom they followed and loved, but whom they did not comprehend. But the Saviour continues: "Who say ye that I am?" He seems determined to force them to the formation of a distinct individual opinion of his essential nature. This great tenet of revelation he resolves they shall comprehend clearly and settle firmly. He addresses them collectively. All are at liberty to respond, as they had done to the previous interrogation. But they were not prepared to answer, and hence they remain silent. But just at the moment the Holy Ghost flashed upon Peter the notion of the Divinity of his master; *he* answers, for he now apprehends the grand idea of the uncreated nature of his wonderful Teacher. He replies, with an exultation indicative of sudden perception, as well as clearness and strength of apprehension, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." This answer embraces the triple nature of Jesus—God, man, and Messiah. Peter stretches an infinite distance between prophets and Jesus.

This transition from the contemplation of the one to the contemplation of the other, thrills him, because it is a transition from the finite up to the infinite. He answers as though he had been looking upon a taper, and then had suddenly turned his eye up to a blazing sun, flooding the universe with glorious light. He feels now

as Thomas afterward felt, when the infinite nature of Jesus broke in upon his conception, causing him to witness for the Godhead of Jesus, "My Lord and my God." Up to this time Peter knew that Jesus was an extraordinary character, but what, precisely, he did not know. Now for the first time he apprehends his real dignity and office; now he grasps his Godship, his manhood, and his investiture of office as the promised Messiah; now he is inspired to utter the foundation truth of divine revelation! In the correct apprehension of this truth the eternal destinies of men are involved. No soul to whom the Gospel is preached can be spiritually redeemed without a proper conception of this great truth. The Unitarianism of New England, with all its culture, after years of painful struggle, has added its demonstration and working out of this great problem. The truth of the Divinity of Messiah being so reforming, perfecting, redeeming, spiritualizing, Jesus desired to plant it in the soul of every apostle. The answer which Peter had just returned to his Master depended upon an illumination of mind and an experience of regeneration. He could, therefore, only speak for himself, and express his own apprehension of the question. And as he answers for himself individually, Jesus addresses him particularly: "Blessed art thou, Simon." You are Simon, and only Simon; only the son of Jonas, the helpless son of a helpless father; yet grace has wrought a miracle in your soul. You have apprehended the truth which is destined to produce stupendous results in the universe, and without which my Gospel would be as powerless as any system of human philosophy. The opinion you entertain of me secures your own highest interests, and likewise is the instrument for saving the world. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven." No human testimony, no unassisted human sagacity, could open your mind to this redeeming truth. The adequate notion of the nature, work, and office of Jesus is due to the direct agency of the Holy Spirit. "For no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost;" that is, no man can discern the proper notion of the nature of Jesus, that notion which brings spiritual salvation and efficiency of moral influence, but by the illumination of the Holy Ghost. In many ways Jesus had demonstrated his Messiahship; still he teaches that nothing but the Holy Ghost could produce in the minds of men the convictions needed to secure personal holiness. He had lived, labored, taught, illustrated by impressive miracles; but after all he points to the Holy Ghost as the indispensible agency in producing right conceptions of himself. This remark was needed to preface the momentous instruction he was about to communicate at this memorable epoch in his ministry.

Peter now obtains a view of the process of the world's recovery through the merits of Christ's character and the office of his Messiahship. Now he fixes his eye for the first time calmly on that great truth which underlies all spiritual life.

Jesus is now aiming to awaken a deeper consciousness of himself in the mind of Peter. Up to the great conception of his own Divine nature, assisted by the Holy Ghost, he is leading his mind. At this moment of the interview the blessed effect on the nations, of this truth which Peter had just enunciated, opens up and out before the mind of Jesus. The triumphs of this truth over all forms of error and wickedness arise in magnificence before him. Well does he know that if this truth be proclaimed it will redeem the world. If his Church "hold it forth" it will pour light over every habitation of cruelty. Now arises before him the vast work of the everlasting salvation of the countless millions in the long line of Adam from the beginning of time to the last hour of its closing century. Its difficulties rise and rise and stretch away before him into immense distance. Then rebreaks upon him the splendid fact that the truth of his divinity, if proclaimed, can dissipate all difficulties and bring in upon the earth "everlasting righteousness." Then rises up before him, in painful uncertainty, the problem, Will my Church be faithful to her mission, her great and glorious mission? In this state of deep solicitude what is the most natural thought that could arise in the mind of Jesus? Could he turn from themes so moving to matters so trivial as the supremacy of Peter in the college of the apostles, and to a perpetual primacy to occupy his chair? Could he turn from such problems to a subject so foreign to his thoughts as ecclesiastical authority in Church government? The only thought that could here logically rise in his mind would be to impress on Peter his individual responsibility in the work of evangelization. This thought needed iteration and reiteration on the few minds destined to begin under the Gospel the work of saving the world. Jesus had no thought more important to fix in their minds. In no one of his discourses would it seem more appropriate than in the one before us. And the thought the connection requires is this—individual responsibility in the evangelization of the world. At this point therefore Jesus says to Peter: "I say also unto thee that thou art Peter." You, Peter, have given me a name defining my nature and describing my work, so I give you a name descriptive of your nature and of your work. "Thou art *Peter*." Thou art no longer the unrenewed man, Simon, but thou art Peter, a man regenerated and active in the work of human salvation. Πετρος signifies a *stone*, while πετρα (see Rob-

inson, and Liddell and Scott) means a *rock*. After God revealed his Son in Peter, Jesus changed his address. He had addressed him as Simon, but now he calls him Peter. New names were often given to Jewish leaders to commemorate interesting events and epochs in their lives. As Peter was to be a distinguished character in the new dispensation, it seems proper that a new name should be given him to mark an event so interesting as his initiation into the mysteries of a spiritual life and communion of the Holy Ghost. Jesus would probably have given him a new name were it not for the fact that his name, Πετρος, was more expressive of his spiritual nature, destiny, and work than any other.

Instead, therefore, of giving him a new name to mark the most thrilling event of his life, he continues the old one; but puts into it a deeper, wider, and richer signification: "I say unto thee that thou art Peter," that is, I say unto thee that thou art the regenerated and adopted child of God. The revelation which you have just received from heaven has converted you from the unrenewed Simon to Peter the regenerate. Though Peter had previously been called πετρος, yet now henceforth that name suggests to his mind the great ideas of his conversion, his consecration, and his obligations to lead a holy life. The change of the name of the patriarch from Jacob into Israel was not more expressive of his experience than the change in the name Πετρος, as understood before the truth of Christ dawned upon Peter, into πετρος, as understood by him after Jesus said unto him, "I say unto thee that thou art Peter." The term πετρος then defines the spiritual nature of this regenerated disciple. So the Saviour intended Peter to understand him. Peter was actually the beginning of the new Church. The idea of a beginning suggests the idea of a foundation; the idea of a foundation suggested the idea of a rock; the idea of a rock suggested the name of Peter, as his name signifies a stone. The two facts, that Peter was the beginning of the new Church, and that his name signifies a stone, suggested the idea of a temple, and the idea of a temple suggested the idea of a master builder. Now rises up before the mind of Jesus the glorious "spiritual house to be built up of lively stones, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God," In that spiritual temple he recognizes every regenerated soul as a "lively stone," a living crystal. He represents himself as the master builder of this spiritual edifice. Peter's apprehension of the truth, his renewal of heart, and confession of "God manifest in the flesh," had made him a "lively stone" fit for the master's use. "Thou art Πετρος; thy name signifies a *stone*, and a stone thou art, a 'lively stone' in the

spiritual temple; your faith in me has changed your nature. Now upon this regenerated nature of yours, as an instrumentality, I will build my Church. On this living stone, πετρος, as a foundation rock, πετρα, I will build my Church. I do not build my Church on the person, Simon, son of Jonas, but upon renewed human nature, which in you I have named πετρος." The demonstrative article ταυτη must refer back to πετρος for an antecedent. No grammatical ingenuity can escape this. There must be a connection in the signification between πετρος and πετρα, or the demonstrative article could not have been used. They must express an identical thing in two aspects. The thing expressed in πετρος is regenerated human nature, as an individual taken singly in the new temple, and viewed in reference to its own spiritual interests. The thing expressed by πετρα is the same regenerated human nature taken as a foundation rock for said new temple, and viewed in reference to its spiritual influence and importance. Peter's volition in submission to grace had changed him from Simon into a πετρος. Now Christ's volition makes this πετρος into a πετρα, the foundation or beginning stone in the new Jerusalem Church. You, Peter, being a "lively" stone, I will lay you first in the spiritual edifice, and thus you shall be the πετρα, or foundation rock, of my new Church. Here Jesus teaches Peter two ideas, one specific and one generic. The specific idea is, that he, πετρος, should be the πετρα, or beginning stone, of the new Church, provided he maintained his faith and employed the agencies placed in his hands. The generic idea is, that the Church of God rests on redeemed human nature and agency as a foundation rock. The demonstrative article ταυτη referring back to πετρος, which signifies renewed human nature as found in Peter individually, evolves the idea that Peter's regenerated nature was the first stone, first member, minister, agency in the Gospel Church. But in addition to this thought, Jesus intended to teach that he would build his Church on the collective redeemed human nature, as found in the whole body of believers. He teaches that he would employ generally the whole body of believers, taken collectively, just as he employed Peter specifically, taken individually. It was at this time that "God made choice of Peter among the apostles, that the Gentiles should hear the word of God by his mouth." But his manner of using Peter in the beginning illustrates, and was intended to illustrate, how he would employ all who subsequently should imitate the faith of Peter and "follow him in the washing of regeneration." Now this change in the gender from πετρος to πετρα is an elegant passing from the specific regenerated human nature, as found individually in Peter, to the generic regenerated human

nature, as found collectively in the whole body of believers. The change in the gender lifts the curtain on the great idea that the Church does not rest on Peter singly, but upon the spiritual nature and co-operation of all believers collectively. But had not Jesus changed the gender, then there would have been plausible ground for the fancy of the Romanist, that the Church rests on the person of Peter. Neglect to change the gender would have intensified the darkness that has ever hung over this glorious text. The passage could not then have expressed the deep, full, comprehensive meaning, reaching every individual of his spiritual kingdom, which Jesus intended to convey. It is remarkable that the very text which Jesus employed to teach the dignity, the distinctness, and the responsibility of individual believers, has been made by the Romanist to teach the demoralizing surrender of the individual, in all his spiritual individualities, to the pope. Πετρος defines the nature, while πετρα defines the work of Peter, the one signifying his regenerated state, and the other indicating his mission, agency, and influence in building up the Church of God.

In the Gospel Church the work of the Father, the work of the Son, and the work of the Holy Ghost, all were to be extraordinary; so the work of man was to be correspondingly extraordinary in its honor, responsibility, and efficiency. Now, as never before, he should make the great work of redemption dependent upon human agency. You, Peter, are the first living stone I shall lay in my new temple. By you I close up the scheme of Judaism, and by you I inaugurate the universal and everlasting Zion. In you is the evanescence of the one and the inception of the other. By you I open out widely the doors of salvation to Gentile peoples. The salvation of the world rests as truly on human agency as on Divine efficiency. Without human agency Divine efficiency does not carry forward the great work. That surely is a foundation without which the building cannot stand; and can the Church stand or progress if her members do not employ the agencies of redemption? The existence of the Church is a contingency just as much as personal holiness is a contingency, for the Church is composed of a company of free agents. The existence of the Church is no more necessitated than individual salvation is necessitated. Where, then, is the impropriety of regarding regenerated human nature as the foundation of the Church? "For ye are built on the foundation of the apostles." John says the Church triumphant is built on the foundation of the twelve apostles of the Lamb; that is, they were the most efficient instruments in erecting the Church of God. As a matter of fact Christ did commence his new Church in Peter. He was the first

to obtain a clear apprehension of the truth; the first in the new dispensation to experience salvation consequent upon a right apprehension of Christ; the first to make a public profession of faith in the incarnated God; the first member received into the new Church; the first apostle called; the first to offer salvation to the Jews; the first to carry the Gospel to the Gentiles. Three thousand at one time were converted under his ministry, and then for the first is mentioned the Christian Church. For a quarter of a century Peter was the most distinguished minister of the Gospel. The prominence of Peter in the inception of evangelism verifies the promise Jesus had given him. After this he is permitted to perform a less brilliant character on the apostolic theater. After the apostolic council James takes the prominence formerly awarded to Peter.

If Jesus meant that he would build his Church on the confession of Peter, as Protestants affirm, then the phrase, "Thou art Peter," adds nothing to the sense. Had he wished to convey that thought, he could hardly have devised a better way to mystify his true meaning than by throwing in that superfluous remark; but take "Thou art Peter" from the text, and you break up the continuity of the narrative, and lose sight of the intention of Jesus to give to Peter a name descriptive of his nature and work. But verse 18 must contain something interesting to Peter personally, as verse 19 contains, "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Is the interpretation of this passage by the Romanist true? Look at the follies and curses with which it has disgraced and begloomed the house of the Lord. Is the Protestant interpretation true? Look at the puerilities it has attached to the sublimest text of the sublimest sermon of the Son of God. But the interpretation, that the Church rests on regenerated human nature, as an active instrumentality, is one that is awfully grand and impressive. It is the only interpretation that is appropriate to the sublime themes now under discussion between Christ and his apostles. Why did Jesus labor so earnestly to hold up to the minds of his disciples true notions of his own double nature and triple office? He knew in that true notion was wrapped up as in embryo the regeneration of our race. If the Godhead of Jesus be not the basis-truth of all evangelism, the ground of all acceptable worship, and the efficiency of all holy living, he would not have insisted so vehemently on its universal acceptance. Nor would he have called the Holy Ghost to reveal to all who would believe, that great truth which "flesh and blood" could not discover. But teaching the truth of his Divinity

with all the clearness and earnestness of a perfect and benevolent teacher, and calling for the Holy Ghost to show what unassisted reason could not discover, he had his eye on the individual regeneration of the whole family of man. But as this truth, if unproclaimed, is powerless to redeem, those chosen for its promulgation would inevitably rise to view in the mind of our Lord in this train of discourse. Nor could he think of those "upon whom the ends of the world are come" without deep solicitude as to their faithfulness; nor could he feel this solicitude without impressing upon them their honors and responsibilities; nor can we conceive of words so solemn, impressive, and memorable as "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind and loose on earth shall be bound and loosed in heaven." Here the great doctrine of individual responsibility is enforced by thoughts the most solemn, by figures the most expressive, and by considerations the most overwhelming.

Having shown that the text, "Upon this rock," etc., teaches that the Church depends for its existence upon regenerated human nature as an agency, let us take up other statements found in this difficult but radiant passage of divine inspiration: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Having declared that he would build his Church on redeemed human agency, it was needed that he assure his fellow-laborers of success in the great work. Hence he says no power of external wickedness shall ever destroy a member of my invisible Church. The truth you, Peter, apprehend, and the faith you exercise, will be ample defense. Though I build my Church on human instrumentality, no agency shall ever thwart the efficiency of my devoted servants. No enemy can ever destroy a soul that puts the same trust in me that you do. Satan's power in destroying the world is terrific; but he has no power over those who yield fully to the claims of my Divine nature; for being infinite, I am "able to save unto the uttermost them that come unto God by me." The promise that no outside enemy should ever prevail, is made to him only who continues to believe the Godhead of Jesus. So long as Peter continued in this belief and trust he then had, the gathered enemies of holiness, bannered with infidelity, should never prevail to stain his conscience, destroy his peace, rob him of the divine favor, or stay his moral influence as it goes forth over the universe of mind. The experience of every child of God illustrates the truth, and verifies this blessed promise: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." "For who can harm you if ye be followers of that which is good."

Jesus had just spoken of the Church under the figure of a temple. This temple has its door, this door its lock, this lock its key, and this key the instrument of opening. The instrument of opening the spiritual temple he puts into the hands of Peter. He gave the keys to him first, because he first fully apprehended the true idea of the Messianic kingdom. Jesus uses the term *key* to express the knowledge which opens to men the kingdom of heaven; for he says, "Wo unto you, expounders, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge. Ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering ye hindered." That is, you have taken away, by your glosses, the knowledge of God's truth, which is the means of entering into the kingdom of God. I give unto thee, Peter, the means of opening to the world the kingdom of heaven. You have just now comprehended the truth that unlocks all conceivable excellences, that opens to the human family the mysteries of the kingdom of God. On Pentecost, Peter opened the doors of the Church, and three thousand rushed in. By the key of the knowledge of Christ he brought them into divine favor. He used the keys at the house of Cornelius, and swung open the doors of invitation to Gentile nations. With the truths, the principles, the doctrines, the ordinances and motives which he had received from Jesus, he offered to the world the favor of heaven and a state of spiritual regeneration. He offered pardon, renewal, and reunion with the Creator, to every one that would believe. He had the boldness "to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus," and to invite the universe to follow him. For the view he had caught of Christ was the transforming view that could recreate the world "unto good works." The phrase, "to bind and to loose," is found thousands of times in Jewish writings. "Concerning gathering sticks on feast day, the school of Shammai binds it, but the school of Hillel looseth it." "To those who bathe on the Sabbath they bind washing, but they loose sweating." "Wise men bind eating leaven from the sixth hour on the day of the Passover." "R. Meir looseth mixing wine and oil on the Sabbath to anoint the sick." These citations could be indefinitely multiplied. This phrase, binding and loosing, is never used relative to persons, but always relative to things. That the Saviour here applies it to things is evident from his using the neuter pronoun. To bind, always means to make obligatory. To loose, always means to free from restraints; that is, to proclaim privilege. Jewish teachers were said to bind when they taught what was obligatory, and to loose when they freed from restraints and proclaimed privileges. As Jesus needed teachers for his new Church he takes his own disciples. But as they were brought up in the Jewish Church, and

understood the duties of teachers in that Church, and as they were familiar with the forms of expression that were common among those teachers, the Saviour uses those formulas in assigning to his disciples their duties in the Gospel Church. He often felt the necessity of using those forms of expression to which they had been accustomed. In this way he frequently applied expressions with which they had been familiar, to the cognate but higher subjects of his new dispensation. As binding and loosing were terms universally employed to express the making obligatory upon the Jews the duties, customs, and doctrines of Judaism, and of freeing them from restraints, and offering to them its privileges, our Lord uses the same terms to express the making obligatory upon men the duties, doctrines, and ordinances of the Gospel, and freeing them from restraints, and offering to them its unspeakable privileges. As binding and loosing expressed the giving religious knowledge by the teachers of the Jewish Church, Jesus uses the same terms to express the giving religious knowledge by the chosen teachers of the Gospel Church. As Jewish teachers taught the obligations and privileges of Judaism, Gospel teachers are expected to teach the world the obligations and privileges of the Gospel. Now, as the Jewish teachers were to give way in God's universal Church to the Gospel teachers; as the binding and loosing of Judaism was to be succeeded by the binding and loosing of evangelism, for Jesus, in appointing the disciples their duty of discipling the world, not to employ the commonest of all phrases, "binding and loosing," would have been as unwise as unnatural. But especially is this form appropriate as the binding and loosing foreshadowed the loosing the Church of God from the restraints and specialities of Judaism, which till now had limited her operations and narrowed her sympathies. In addition to putting Peter in the same relation to the new Church that the Jewish teacher sustained to the old, our Lord wishes to assure him that Divine efficiency would co-operate with human instrumentality in binding on men the obligations of the Gospel. To express this assurance he adds, "It shall be bound and loosed in heaven."

The solemn announcements which Jesus had just made were calculated to appal Peter with crushing responsibility. To prevent despondency he needed assurances of Divine assistance to sustain him under such obligations. In the evangelization of the world truths are to be preached, principles advocated, ordinances administered, privileges proffered, and duties vehemently urged. In the use of legitimate means you will have Divine co-operation. When you preach my Gospel you will bind repentance, faith, obedience, love, hope, and a life of benevolence upon human consciences. But

whatever obligations you, in preaching my truth, bind upon men, they shall be bound in heaven, that is, I will be there, by the energies of the Holy Ghost, to clinch home those obligations. So long as you keep the truth and sell it not, look to me for hearty co-operation in discipling the world. In the world-battle omniscience and omnipotence are with you. "Go, preach my truth! for lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," in order to give efficiency to the obligations you bind on human hearts. In preaching the promises, privileges, and hopes of the Gospel, you will loose, or offer, to sin-burdened hearts freedom from spiritual evils; you will proffer to men the invaluable privileges of my new kingdom. But whatever spiritual liberties you offer men in the proclamation of my Gospel, they shall be recognized in heaven. I will be with you to give efficiency to your ministry, with the aid of Him who helpeth your infirmities, and maketh intercession for you with groanings which cannot be uttered." In teaching the world the religion of Jesus, you shall have the presence, the nearness, the fellowship, and the co-operation of God. This is the idea of the text, and every true minister of Jesus knows how inefficient is all human lore, effort, and eloquence to make men feel the obligations and prize the privileges of the Gospel. He knows that without the attending influence of the Holy Ghost all preaching will be ineffectual. He would retire from the work of saving the world, but for the promise that, when he binds upon men repentance, faith, benevolence, and an active life, he will have the all-potent energy of the Holy Ghost to assist him. To him this sustaining assurance is indispensable. He knows that when he preaches the promises he will loose as many as believe. How touching the intimacy, and how blessed the sympathy existing between a holy minister and the Lord Jesus Christ. When he binds, makes obligatory repentance, Jesus is there to make the sinner feel, as no created power could make him feel, that he must speedily repent or be lost. When he says to the mourner, "Mourner, be by faith loosed from thine infirmity," Jesus is there to accompany his words with cleansing efficacy. This is the view that makes the ministry of the Gospel the loftiest calling in the universe, and the view that gives to it its sublime efficiency. Real success is in proportion to the degree of sympathy between Jesus and his minister. Look at the success of Payson; you will not wonder when you hear him say, "We ought to go, clapping our hands with rapture that He counted us faithful, putting us in the ministry." No wonder our immortal Olin said, "Gladly would I lie on my sick-bed six days out of seven, if on the seventh I could rise and preach Jesus to a dying world."

The Gospel is not compelled to work its way over the world like the opinions of human philosophy, single-handed by the simple power and beauty of its truth. No: Jesus Christ is in his truth, and signs and wonders do attend its proclamation, when proclaimed from the lips of a holy ministry. Now this is the specific idea of the text. Underneath this specific idea lies the generic notion or interpretation —that the Church of God rests, depends for its existence, on human instrumentality. Had Peter refused to enter upon his work of converting and binding human consciences, and of liberating souls from the chains of sin, the work would not have been done. If thou, Peter, preach my Gospel in its pureness, and retain thy present grace, faith, and experience, the work of human salvation shall progress, and the house of the Lord shall perpetually rise. But if thou refuse "to warn the wicked to save his life, the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand." But "if thou warn him and he turn not, thou hast delivered thy soul." In the words "binding and loosing in heaven," Jesus establishes the intimacy between the finite and the infinite. Here he solemnizes the marriage between human agency and Divine efficiency in the redemption of the world. He binds together the finite and infinite elements, to produce an all-potent redeeming energy. The salvation of the world depends just as much on the co-operation of the Church with the efficiency of God, as individual salvation depends on a union of human effort and divine influence. Without individual effort no soul is ever saved, so without the effort of the Church the world will never be redeemed. Let human effort co-operate with Divine influence in effecting personal holiness, and the blessed work of personal sanctification stands forth accomplished, and the sight electrifies invisible worlds. So let holy human instrumentalities co-operate with God in the redemption of the race, and the glorious work advances with a triumph that causes shout to peal above shout "in the presence of the angels of God."

As the soul of man operates through the members and senses of his body in effecting his purposes, so the soul of Christ operates through the members and senses of his mystical body, in effecting his purposes of infinite mercy. As soon as the rest of the disciples yielded their prejudices, and trusted their all in the infinite nature of Jesus with a holy abandon, he gave to them all the same mission he here confines to Peter: "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." See Matt. xviii, 18. Here we find the same responsibility laid on all the apostles, and the same assurance of Divine co-operation to save them from despair in the work of saving

the world. Now it is remarkable that this commission should be immediately followed by that remarkable promise: "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." There am I to bind when they bind, and to loose when they loose. The object of the promise here is to prevent the discouragement of the apostles in their work. For I am in the midst of my members met in my name, and engaged in my work, and my Father "hears them from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand," when even "two or three shall agree as touching anything they shall ask."

Jesus has given the Church the means of loosing the enslaved world, and bidding it onward spiritually free; and Divine efficiency will invariably attend her holy efforts to redeem. Every period of the Church's history illustrates the truth of this text. The evangelization of the world ever advances in proportion to the faithfulness of Zion. The glorious Gospel of mercy "is held back in unrighteousness," when the Church is indifferent to her responsibilities. While the Church sleeps, men in millions die, uninformed of the atonement. This is a truth too awfully solemn to be described by mortal words. But it is as impressively illustrated by history as it is clearly taught in this text. Alas, how little does the great idea of individual responsibility in saving the world possess our souls! Our indifference to the progress of the greatest enterprise of eternity will one day loom and glare upon us with all the magnitude and portentousness of an outraged conscience, resting on the dark background of Divine indignation. O Christian, Christian! what an argument to continue in the exercise of that saving faith that reaches the sanctification of the soul, and communicates to it the ineffable glories of God. On your heart rests a portion of this universe, towering in Gothic grandeur up into eternity. On your soul rests a portion of the Church of God which he purchased with his own blood. Every crystal in the walls of Zion not only glitters and shines afar, but it sustains some of the sapphires, and beryls, and rubies, and other precious stones, that are dug from moral caverns, and ranged under the approving eye of the Master-Builder in that temple "whose walls are salvation, whose gates praise." Your own place in those radiant walls is conditioned upon your sustaining a portion of the superincumbent gems. If you cannot hold in their places any of those glittering crystals, you will be ground, crushed to powder. O that the mountain thought and glorious vision of this text would rise up before every professed friend of the departed

Lord. In the early part of Napoleon's life he was a vacillating man; but when made consul the necessity of the empire seemed forced upon him. It was at that time that the idea of his destiny arose before him with the magic power of an enchantress. After that ghost appeared unto him he vacillated no more. The idea of destiny controlled him unflaggingly, in his every faculty and energy, for the remainder of his life—the most gigantic intellect of modern times pursuing, with the wildness and exclusiveness of impetuosity, a weird but groundless fancy. But what a shadowy nothing was that charmful apparition when compared to that real greatness and glory crowded upon every real devotee of the Son of God. Bonaparte's devotion to a phantom rebukes the indifference of the captains of the cross, as they gaze unelectrified on the grandest reality of eternity. In the text is the great idea that transmutes every man who embraces it into a vehement character. The Christian never rises up into the dignity to which he is entitled till filled and controlled by the grand fact that *he* must convert the world. No man without a great purpose is decided, earnest, and unflagging. The view Peter caught of his Redeemer entranced him for all after life. After the resurrection Jesus said to his apostles, "As my Father hath sent me even so I send you." My Father sent me to save the world, so I send you to save the world. My Father sent me to a life of care and self-denial, so I send you to a life of personal sacrifices. My Father sent me to distinguished honors, so I send you to win, on bloodless fields of moral warfare, imperishable laurels. Go, hold up my cross, till its effulgence shall dissipate all darkness, and glory to God, peace to man, shall roll in perpetual anthems round the world. Then, breathing on them, he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," and impressed on their hearts for the last time the great idea of individual responsibility in the work of human redemption. He seems loth to leave the scene of his conflicts. He collects his apostles around him, assigns their great work, qualifies them for it by endowing them with the Holy Ghost, and then utters his farewell address: "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained." Here are the same solemn thoughts. In his final utterance he teaches individual responsibility in human salvation, and promises the co-operation of Divine efficiency with human instrumentality. So the apostles understood him. They received his farewell words in the full extent of their meaning. They went out from this solemn interview, feeling, Woe, woe unto us, if we go not forth to seek and to save a lost world. No wonder that wealth, and health, and friends, and fame were all sacrificed as husks. Feeling their own

responsibility, and trusting in Divine co-operation, what moral revolutions followed their self-sacrificing toil! Had these words of Jesus meant no more to them than they now mean to Christendom, such wonders would not have followed. But greater works and signs would now attend the efforts of Zion, were she as faithful and did she feel as pungently as the apostles. God had planned redemption; Jesus had executed that plan; and the Holy Ghost was now ready to go forth to the world-conquest with the truth and its ministers. Of all this the Saviour reminds his apostles, and then tells them all success depends upon the faithfulness of his Church. As it then was, so now is it. Let the idea of this text sink deep into the great heart of Christendom. Let that heart feel its oppressive responsibilities. Let it rejoice at its glorious mission to save a ruined world, and a quarter of a century would carry the minister, and the Bible, and the Holy Ghost, and the Son of God, into every neighborhood of the globe. A strong sense of personal responsibility is the lever that must raise the world up to the life of God. O for some missionary herald to go forth over the world, waking a sleeping Church with appeals strange, rousing, unforgetable as those wonderful strains that fell from the lips of Peter the Hermit, when he moved the millions to the crusades for the redemption of the holy place "from the abomination" of Saracen "desolation."

Art. III.—SAMUEL LEWIS.

Biography of Samuel Lewis, First Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of Ohio, by Wm. G. W. Lewis. Cincinnati. 1857.

No part of our country has been a more favored nursery of great men than that we familiarly call the West. It is difficult to realize, as we journey along its fertile valleys, hurried by the locomotive, whose scream is everywhere heard, or upon its noble rivers, where floating palaces invite our presence, that a century ago it was almost an unexplored region, from which came direful stories of danger and of death. The redemption of so large a portion of the country from savage life, and the development of those resources whose magnitude has astonished the world, naturally brought into play the best qualities of manhood, and gave a vigor and energy to its early settlers that at once challenges wonder and emulation. If he whose reputation rests upon battles won and peoples conquered, whose pathway is strewed with corpses and bedabbled with blood, whose canopy is the smoke of burning towns, and the cries of

widows and orphans, the music accompanying his march, be called great, what term shall we apply to those who conquer nature in her forest home, and compel the wilderness to offer an area for the extension of freedom and happiness?

Samuel Lewis was born the 17th of March, 1799, in Falmouth, Massachusetts, at which place he spent his boyhood till the age of fourteen. Nothing particularly marked his early years except a rugged energy, which led him to master thoroughly anything he undertook. His father being a sea-faring man, he went on board his vessel as cabin-boy, and there learned those habits of diligence, as well as that true democracy that thinks no labor degrading, which characterized his whole life. In his tenth year, during one of those periodical religious excitements peculiar, for the most part, to our own country, he joined the Methodist Church, and professed a faith from which he never wavered. The war of 1812, striking as it did with especial force upon our small coasters, ruined his father's occupation, and the West offering advantages for the support of his large family, emigration was determined on, and in 1813 they bade farewell to the old home. The journey, now performed in about two days, was then a long and tedious one of six weeks' duration; a wagon was provided for the mother and three daughters, in which the youngest boy was permitted to ride part of the way; but the father and five elder boys, of which the subject of the present sketch was one, walked the whole distance from Falmouth to Pittsburgh. Difficult as the task may seem, it was then the usual way of making the trip, and the sight was so common as to excite no surprise. Arriving at Pittsburgh, the mode of travel was changed to one but little less laborious; a flat-boat was purchased at small cost, and the family floated down on the bosom of the Ohio to Cincinnati. Captain Lewis having, in common with the majority of our New England seamen, combined agriculture with the service of Neptune, soon found himself at home in farm life, and settled comfortably near Cincinnati, where we leave him to follow his son Samuel.

The boy, now fifteen years of age, was employed to work for Mr. Williams, tilling the land and doing the drudgery of the farm, at seven dollars a month; but from his aptness and dispatch was promoted to the office of carrying the United States mail, for which his employer had the contract, extending eastward to Chillicothe, and south to Maysville, Kentucky. In the fulfillment of this duty his route led him along an unsettled part of the country, and across streams, oftentimes so swollen by the heavy rains as to be unfordable, rendering the swimming of his horse necessary; a thing far easier to read about than to do, and which at one time nearly cost

him his life. Partially disabled by this accident, and unable to undergo the labor, he returned to Cincinnati, and feeling the necessity of something to fall back upon, he was apprenticed to a carpenter in Kentucky, where, by his zeal and industry, he soon showed himself a superior workman. And here we notice a curious incident, strongly indicative of the times. Becoming dissatisfied with the narrow sphere to which his occupation confined him, he determined to study law. It would seem from the record that this was by no means pleasing to his parents, his father doubtless regarding all lawyers with that peculiar affection of seamen which leads them to give this respectable class the title of land-sharks; for "he did not take this step, till he had applied himself to his trade with sufficient industry and energy to be able to pay his father for the year that remained of his legal minority at the rate of fifty dollars a year."

His first step to gain the desired end was to obtain a situation in the clerk's office in Cincinnati, in which he received his board and thirty dollars a year, but made an arrangement by which he could board himself and receive one hundred and fifty dollars. This was done in no mercenary mood, for finding that his father needed his assistance, he gave him the bulk of his earnings, reserving only sufficient to purchase bread, his whole diet at this time being bread and water. The labors of the office occupying his whole time during the day, his hours of study extended far into the night; seated at his table, he read till sleep endeavored to enforce its demands, when, with the book in one hand and the candle in the other, he resolutely paced the floor till tired nature refused to suffer longer. Three years were passed in this way, when, in 1822, he passed his examination and was admitted to the bar. From this time it was evident he had passed the wicket-gate and was on the high road to fame and fortune. His friends, made so by no outside influence, but won by his evident talents and indomitable industry, boldly came to his aid. Judge Burnet, a name honored and venerable, gave him his advice and assistance, and on his admission to the legal profession, business was in readiness for his first circuit, which brought him fees to the amount of two thousand dollars—truly a dazzling change for the young student.

We have already referred to his connection with the Methodist Church, and in 1824 he was made a local preacher of that denomination, a position he occupied till his death. With the doctrines he taught and believed this paper has nothing to do; but it is a bright jewel in his reputation, that the influence his character and eloquence gave him among his fellow-members was never prosti-

tuted to the cause of oppression, but always and everywhere used in behalf of freedom and of right.

So far we have seen him struggling with difficulties from which most men would shrink, and successfully conquering them; the West is full of such instances, and this would by no means be sufficient warrant for classing him with her great men; let us turn at once to that public life spent in her service, which truly entitles him to the distinction.

Nothing has contributed more to the position occupied by the states formed out of the Northwestern Territory than the early provision made for general education by means of free schools. Congress, in its first legislation for that vast tract of land, decreed that a portion should be reserved for this great object, and the ordinance of 1787 amply secured the liberty it gave to it, for a perpetual inheritance, by this one simple yet intelligent act. Nor were the people themselves careless or neglectful of this great interest; for, in 1802, when framing a constitution for the State of Ohio, we find this memorable sentence: "Schools, and the means of instruction, shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision." It was soon found, however, that no fund adequate to the necessities of general education could be obtained from the proceeds of the public lands alone, and steps were taken to put the whole system upon a firm and permanent basis by levying a tax on the citizens. That such a measure should meet with opposition is not to be wondered at. The rural districts saw, or fancied they saw in it only an aggrandizement of the cities, and no efforts were spared to defeat it; but such was the ability with which it was advocated, and the earnestness with which it was urged, that in 1825 the system which has since so abundantly proved its efficacy was adopted by the legislature, and at once went into operation.

For many years it progressed but slowly; the nature of the labor, in a country yet to be redeemed for the most part from its native wildness, and made subservient to the wants of man, left but little time for serious reflection; but though slow it was sure. At each successive meeting of the legislature earnest men urged the necessity of carrying out not only the letter but the spirit of the law, and its success was owing not so much to eloquence or party favor as to the persevering efforts of those who were fully awake to its importance and dignity. Various were the plans proposed to gain the desired end, till in 1837 the office of superintendent of common schools was established, and Samuel Lewis invited to fill this laborious and responsible post. Hitherto he had been known only as a rising lawyer, whose acquirements were such as to render his opin-

ion eagerly sought after, and whose eloquence brought him clients from all quarters. He now takes the position, never to be deserted, of a painstaking, conscientious watcher over the public welfare.

He was expected to report at the next session of the legislature, and at once set about the task. A weak man would have given up at once, for the difficulties seemed insurmountable. Firmly established as the common school system of Ohio now is, there was at one time danger that it would utterly fail from neglect. As the advantages of that noble state became known, immigration greatly increased, and of that class, too, who know no higher object than the accumulation of wealth. In nearly all cases the provisions of the law were entirely neglected, or but imperfectly carried out, and while the duties of the superintendent were to urge its execution and collect statistics of its progress, much depended on his success in enlisting the people themselves in the cause. Some idea may be formed of the amount of labor to be performed, when it is remembered that nearly every county in the state was to be visited; that the best methods of carrying out the law were to be given and explained; that assemblies were to be convened, and, what was perhaps more difficult than all, four or five hours a day spent in conversational lecturing. In short, the individual was merged in the public officer, and all comfort sacrificed to the business he had undertaken. That the mere physical labor was not trifling, few will doubt who consider the state of the country at that time. His journeyings led him over roads impassible to wheels, and compelled him to travel on horseback, so that it is not strange we find him writing: "I am almost worn down;" yet, in all his weariness the chief if not only complaint he found was in the apathy of the people. Charmed by his eloquence, his earnestness, and his manly appeals, thousands came to listen and applaud; but of these thousands very few were willing to put a shoulder to the wheel. When he met with opposition, nothing could withstand him; and in one instance, at a meeting called by his opponents, who came with resolutions not only condemnatory of the school system, but denunciatory of him, its chief advocate, he suddenly appeared among them, and so changed the current of popular feeling that other resolutions, directly opposite in character, were passed almost unanimously.

From these labors, so thoroughly performed, great results were to be looked for, and the report which formed the first full body of statistics fully justified the expectation. Clear and complete, it laid the whole subject open to the honest inquirer, and gave weight to the suggestions which accompanied it. Great stress was placed upon the building of suitable school-houses, the employment of

competent teachers, and the proper application of the educational fund, all of which needed immediate and careful attention. For three years he continued in this position, and then, like a true pioneer, retired to let other men till the field he had prepared for service. The masses were not fully prepared to adopt at once all the suggestions he offered, but he lived long enough to see them all put in force, and to feel that Ohio, though but a younger sister of the confederation, had a system of education second to none, and of which she had good reason to be proud. A sketch like this affords no room for detail; but we think enough has been given to show that the title of "Father of Common Schools in Ohio," was an honor bravely won and richly deserved.

Great and widely spread as were the results of his labors in the cause of education, the events of the last twenty years of his life show him in a still brighter light. The soil on which he dwelt, dedicated to freedom from its earliest history, was yet to be a grand battle-ground for the slave-power. Although "the peculiar institution" found no entrance, its supporters demanded that discussion of its merits should be entirely prohibited, and found sympathizers enough in the residents of Ohio, who determined the demand should be obeyed. It would be useless here to repeat the reasoning with which they urged their cause; the argument, if argument it can be called, was not peculiar to Ohio, and is ever the same shallow, flimsy pretext which the humblest child of liberty is able to refute. Had the question rested upon reason, Samuel Lewis would hardly have been known as the advocate of freedom; but when force was used to compel submission, he came lustily to the help of the weak against the mighty, and rested not till the victory was won.

In 1836 the *Philanthropist*, an anti-slavery paper, was published in Cincinnati. Its editor, a southern man who had emancipated his slaves, and taken up his residence in a northern state, thoroughly acquainted with the bearings of the subject, dealt trenchant blows against the abominable system. Its articles were not, perhaps, so smooth as might have been desired, and unpleasant truths were told in a plain straightforward way that made them doubly disagreeable; but as neither logic nor facts could be got rid of, it was resolved to expel the intruder by a process more summary than those of the law are wont to be, and the press and type of the *Philanthropist* found a resting-place beneath the placid waters of the Ohio. Never was a greater mistake made. A mob is a fearful thing anywhere, but especially in a republic, where the execution of the laws rests upon the will of the citizens. In vain the daily press exultingly told the story of its destruction; in vain meetings were

held, and resolutions denouncing its incendiary character were passed; in vain its opponents openly approved its demolition, and threatened worse treatment should attempt be made for its restoration; the fact that the majesty of the law had been violated, private rights invaded, and personal liberty endangered, was too palpable to be overlooked, and the florid rhetoric had little other effect than to draw the attention of thinking men to the subject. Need we say the paper was re-established on a firmer basis, and, though again and again mob-law was put in force against it, held its ground till its work was done and its mission accomplished.

Among those whom these occurrences directed to a careful consideration of slavery and its associations, Samuel Lewis was one of the most prominent. Hitherto he had regarded it as a leprosy peculiar to the South, and with which he had little or nothing to do. Indeed, at that time, none professedly regretted its existence more than those upon whom it was fastened, and he would have dismissed all idea of outside influence being brought to bear on him, a citizen of a free state, as a fantasy at once insulting to that state's sovereignty and to himself; but the truth soon became apparent that a battle was to be fought, and as neither in his New England education nor in his career at the West had he learned to yield when right was on his side, he boldly buckled on his armor and entered upon the contest.

The arrogance with which the apologists of slavery asserted their demands was not likely to find much favor with the sturdy freemen of the West. Accustomed to regard the Declaration of Independence as the magna charta of their rights, it is not surprising that they watched with jealous care every move of those who seemed bent on violating its principles. Hitherto they had been engaged in the cause of humanity, and while they demanded the separation of the general government from slavery, and urged the inconsistency of setting ourselves up as the champions of liberty while the clank of the slave-gang fetters was a familiar sound in our national city, they at the same time fully recognized the right of each state to regulate its own domestic affairs, and only endeavored, by argument and suasion, to induce those holding slaves to provide for their emancipation, and join the free states in their onward march. Now, however, it was self-preservation that nerved their arms and stirred all their energies. Their enemies, confident in their numbers and in their strength, pressed them on all sides, and, forgetful that the battle is not always to the strong, expected an easy victory.

For years the South had been advancing its claims and occupying the chief position in the government, lamenting with hypocritical

countenance the misery it had been compelled to endure by the imposition in early years of negro servitude. While the men of the North, ashamed of no labor which brought an adequate return, had explored new territories and founded new states, spreading the arts of civilization far into the wilderness, and opening an asylum for the overworked and underpaid millions of the Old World, those of the South had been fattening on the spoils of office, which they looked upon as their sole heritage. Emboldened by the quiet habits and rustic manners of the free-state citizens, the chivalrous lords of the slave states, who, professing to be the embodiment of American refinement and honor, did not hesitate to steal the hard-earned wages of their servants, or shrink from flogging a woman, threw away the mask and showed their true designs. The right of petition denied in the national councils, the harsh interdiction of all discussion of the subject, the murder of some, as of Lovejoy in Illinois, who were so contumacious as to disregard their commands, the destruction of public presses, and the importation of ruffians to parade the streets of those cities of the free states which bordered on slave territory, if it did not give evidence of concerted action, yet showed most plainly the extent of the feeling, and the necessity of an urgent defense, if the rights of freemen were to be of any value. Various were the weapons used in this crusade against liberty; the power of the Church was brought to bear upon it, and so fearful were the ecclesiastical authorities of those ruptures that afterward did occur, that its severest censures were hurled at those of its ministers who lent their aid to the cause, and they found themselves in great danger not only of being sent to Coventry, but to a place more renowned for its heat than agreeableness, so far as Church anathema could accomplish the object.

It was at this time that Samuel Lewis fully identified himself as an antislavery man, and won the then most degrading title of Abolitionist. He did not pledge himself to independent political action till convinced there was no other way to reach the goal. All parties, eager to propitiate the South, turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, and neither Whig nor Democrat would have accepted their alliance. Sacrifices of no ordinary nature were made by Lewis in thus defining his position; his political friends were men of standing and influence, his popularity unbounded, and honors, the very highest in the power of the state to bestow, seemed to beg his acceptance; but he threw them all aside for the sake of doing right, and freely cast his lot with those who had taken refuge beneath the canopy of freedom. From this time he entered on a new sphere. Deserted by old friends, and treated as a very pariah of society, now

associations were to be formed; yet he never regretted the step, nor faltered in the high resolve he had taken.

His first public address on the subject of slavery took place in 1841, at a convention held in Cincinnati over which he was called to preside. The school system, now in successful operation, needed not his energy and care, so that nothing called him from the duty of preserving the liberties of the state. His arguments were for the most part calm and dispassionate, though he well knew how to mingle invective and pathos in his appeals. His illustrations were such as the commonest rank of mind could comprehend, and always terse and to the point. Comparisons were easily instituted; across the river lay a noble state; she had the advantage of age, climate, and fertility, yet her northern sister had taken the third place in the Union, and still Kentucky dragged slowly along, blessed with a thousand blessings, all overshadowed and neutralized by the one great curse, involuntary servitude. The deduction was inevitable, and scarce needed the mighty force with which he sent the arrow home.

In September of this same year occurred another scene of violence. Goaded by the unceasing attacks of the friends of liberty, a story of some boys maltreated by negroes was whispered about and soon filled all ears, and a fearful riot was the consequence. The rabble of the opposite villages, Covington and Newport, joined in the cry, and crossed the river to assist in the outrages. The negro quarter was regularly besieged, but driven to desperation a stubborn defense was made, and the rioters were forced to retire three blocks in utter defeat; nor did the mob succeed in their efforts till a cannon had been planted at the entrance of the street, and several rounds fired. The press of the *Philanthropist* again found a home at the bottom of the river, and by request of the governor, who hurried to the scene, all male negroes were taken to the jail for safety. For days anarchy took possession of the Queen City, and the remembrance of that period's disgrace did much toward opening the eyes of the inhabitants to the true spirit of slavery. Not an antislavery man was frightened from the path, and such as Samuel Lewis only planted their feet the firmer that they might the better resist the force of the current. As on the seas, when the gale blows the hardest, the waves seem to gather in a mighty effort to submerge the gallant ship which rides unharmed upon their foaming crests, and bursting upon it, strike with fearful force, only to find themselves broken and raging in its wake, so these billows of popular fury spent their strength in vain, while the bark of freedom sailed on to brighter skies and calmer seas.

We have no space to go into the history of the movement. A separate political action having been determined on, nominations were made and resolutely supported. Samuel Lewis was nominated first for Congress and then for governor, and passed through both campaigns with unabated vigor, though without the slightest probability of success. Meetings were held in the market-places, and many who were drawn thither by curiosity remained to hear, charmed with the eloquence of this dauntless candidate. The vote seemed ridiculously small, yet the little party kept their place at the polls, boldly asserting their rights as citizens and freemen. Who shall despair of doing his duty when we contemplate the result? Having put his hands to the plow he was not the man to turn back; difficulties only nerved him to renewed action, and his labors knew no bounds but physical inability. The noble edifices, built by his diligence, and in which thousands of children enjoyed the advantages of his system, were at once monuments to his services and witnesses to his patriotism, and to them he could proudly point when demagogues slandered his character or assailed the purity of his motives. Each new demand of oppression met in him a determined foe, and he lived long enough to know that Ohio had taken a noble position among her sister states, from which she should depart nevermore. He lived to see the principles advocated by the *Philanthropist* avowed and promulgated by the daily press in terms far exceeding in severity those which had made it the victim of popular vengeance. He lived to see Ohio so free that a fugitive was as safe within her borders as in the brave old state from which he emigrated; and on the 28th of July, 1854, he ended his work and went hence in peace.

Dead, his virtues were at once recognized; eulogies were pronounced by all parties, and it was felt that a man had fallen; but the best and truest record that can be given of him is, that he was an honest man, a valiant soldier for the right, and a true lover of his country.

Art. IV.—A HALF CENTURY OF UNITARIANISM.

A Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy; with Particular Reference to its Origin, its Course, and its Prominent Subjects among the Congregationalists of Massachusetts. With an Appendix. By George E. Ellis. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1857.

We heartily thank Mr. Ellis for this valuable addition to our theological literature. It bears on nearly every page that distinguishing mark of most modern theology, clearness. The best theologians of this age are trained to the perspicous utterance of their ideas in the pulpit and lecture room, and hence will leave behind them few works whose incomprehensibility is their chief claim for admiration. There is a noble candor running through his pages, that ought to shame some of those who arrogate to themselves exclusively the name of Christian. His almost uniform good-nature will prove a gratification to all readers of theological controversy. We feel sure he did not grow old in penning some of these pages. We know we never shall in reading them. One can fairly see the twinkle of mischievous delight that danced in his eye when he wrote the first pages of the seventh essay, describing the pitiable condition of orthodoxy in its Lernæan work of lopping off heresies. Either his good-nature, or his new theology in its last days, has been productive of one good result—the introduction of a model gentlemanly courtesy to the heat of theological dispute.

The book is made up of articles contributed to a progressive quarterly; and as a whole is a review of one side of a most important fifty years controversy. Hence it is scarcely possible that it should be dull in style or made tedious with minutiæ. The articles are entitled: A Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy; Unitarianism and Orthodoxy on the Nature and State of Man; Unitarianism and Orthodoxy on God and Christ; Unitarianism and Orthodoxy on the Atonement; Unitarianism and Orthodoxy on the Scriptures; Relations of Reason and Faith; The New Theology. The appendix is made up of twelve chapters, written mostly in reply to a series of articles published in the *Puritan Recorder*, criticising the seven essays mentioned above.

The author gives the changes of orthodoxy on the points specified, and does it fairly, thoroughly, and clearly. Yet with all his candor and honesty there is an undisguised deception running all through the work. Carrying the impression that Unitarianism has always occupied the same ground on all these points, he shows how

Orthodoxy, by its own vigorous thinking, and the guiding light of Unitarian doctrine, has been slowly and surely coming to occupy ground adjacent to his own. It is the old story of a Roman writing the history and policy of Carthage. The book is wholly one-sided and incomplete as a history of that controversy so interesting in its character and so momentous in its results. We do not design to review the book. A review itself, it is not a page too long. It should not be condensed. On the contrary, we design to write a few pages which we believe will add to the completeness and fairness of the work, and give an idea of what we should be glad to see added as a second appendix in the next edition.

Orthodoxy, meaning thereby, as our author always does, Puritanism, has not been alone in its changes of creed. Circumstances here in America have been exceedingly favorable to the change of creed and its exposition. The representatives of all phases of religious belief and non-belief have come upon our shores. They have had perfect freedom to propagate their opinions. The intelligence of the country has afforded a somewhat fair and just examination to every system. Here have opinions been born and nourished, and here have they perished. Experiments that have failed a hundred times elsewhere have been re-tried here with the same result. Here extremes have met, and here have systems divided into extremes. Yet in all this we think we recognize a general tendency, a movement in one direction, common to nearly all. As astronomers followed a thousand diverse motions, forward and backward, of ascension and declension, coming together and separating, till at last they announced the name and place of the central source of light and power; so it may be hoped that a study of the varied developments of the American mind on the subject of religion, may help us to find the general direction of all religious movement, and determine the center of light and truth.

It is with the greatest joy that we note the advantageous circumstances under which this problem is being wrought. We have the greatest hope for man's future religious belief, because we think that what will be believed in the next century is now being brought forth, and being freed from errors, under circumstances more propitious for its right evolution than ever existed before.

We think so, first, because of the type of mind engaged in the work. The Anglo-Saxon mind, made up of the diverse elements that floated to the soil of England years ago, showed itself the leading mind of the world. Its best and most sterling qualities were transplanted to New England; here, strengthened by fresh amalgamations, incited to effort by a universal freedom and the largest

reward of success, the mind of New England and its offshoots shows itself in higher and more general development than any other type of mind in the world. By this highest type of mind the problem is being brought to solution.

This confidence is increased, because, secondly, whatever is thought out is made to show its practical working; men of to-day do not so much believe in and accept abstract ideas and systems. They demand the exhibition of practical results. The question of what is truth in religion is not to be solved by a clouded brain in the smoky atmosphere of a German study. The result shall not come forth from the cogitations of a self-sufficient schoolman, committing himself to the current of a straightened logic. That which stands on uncertain or fallacious premises cannot be proclaimed as eternal truth. The glorious Gospel for the poor shall not be only fine drawn Hegelianism, which, after a life of exposition, is, according to the admission of the author, understood by only one mind in a kingdom. Here a working model must be made before many will consent to look at its theory. Here we oblige men to take the web and woof of life, and by their machinery work out a fabric. If it look well, well; if it wear well, better. If not, after a fair trial, it will be cast aside; for the mass are practical men. In the freedom of the country no man can get a monopoly, and so trade off an inferior article of religion.

Let us note the changes of dogma and exposition of Unitarianism in New England for a half a century, and see whither these bid us look for the central truths of theology.

The one doctrine that gives name, but not definition, to the sect, has been cropping out in all ages of the Church. But Unitarianism in New England is something more than this. It has had a peculiar development, and one well worthy of study. In assuming to direct that study a little we do not expect to escape the charge of misrepresentation. We shall endeavor not to merit it. Our Unitarian brethren are extremely sensitive; and the difficulty is immensely increased by the variegated mass of heterogeneous and opposite doctrines marshaled under the Unitarian banner. Everything, from the baldest theism and rankest infidelity, to a mere quibble about the mode of existence of the Three in One, is covered by that broad bunting. The author whose work we have placed in our rubric says: "Unitarianism is loose, vague, general, indeterminate in its elements and formularies." P. 34. And George Putnam, in installing Mr. Fosdick, successor to Mr. Pierpont, over the then famous Hollis-street Church, declared: "There is no other Christian body of which it is so impossible to tell where it begins and

where it ends. We have no recognized principles by which any man who chooses to be a Christian disciple, and desires to be numbered with us, *whatever he believes or denies,* can be excluded."

Another difficulty in the way of representing them with fairness is this: they have a chronic habit of concealing, or of not being able to declare, what their real sentiments are. From the time that Irænеus testified against them as "using alluring discourse in public because of common Christians," down through the times of Paul of Samosata to Arius, who was supposed to swear to the Nicene Creed he had just subscribed to before a council, and it turned out that he swore to his belief in a creed he had previously subscribed and concealed under his arm; and from Socinus, who, according to Mosheim, bore the same reputation, down to the pending of Dr. Ware's election to the Hollis professorship of divinity in Harvard College in 1804, and even later, when, according to the late Dr. Parkman, "had Dr. Kirkland been an acknowledged defender of Unitarianism he never would have been elected" to the presidency of Harvard College in 1810; through all these periods of their history, and according to the testimonies of a dozen prominent Unitarians, their whole line of policy has been concealment. But from the year 1815 they have been forced into the light, and not been permitted to deny merely, but compelled to define. Since that time we follow their development more easily, notwithstanding the fact that Unitarianism has more branches than the banyan tree, though none of its unity.

First: we inquire how they have regarded THE BIBLE? Since this is the source of all spiritual knowledge, and the only sure foundation of hope, their estimation of it is an important element in calculating their true position.

It is a fact to be noticed, that, with all the boasted learning of the Unitarians, no man among them has made Bible exposition his business. Almost every man has tried his hand at some tenth-rate expositions of favorite sections. But the man has never appeared among them who was able, or if able dared, to sit down before the whole, explain every point, and meet its general tone. Mr. Andrews Norton came the nearest to being a Bible expositor of any man in the body; but such was the freshness of his zeal, the recklessness with which he rejected approved readings, explained away the obvious sense, and substituted another, that we have before us a statement of the highest Unitarian authority, that he is not followed by the Unitarians of to-day.

The reaction from the old Puritan reverence for the English translation, the belief in God's inspiration of the commas, headings,

and divisions of chapters of the old family Bibles, carried the Unitarian mind too far, and the Bible was either neglected or abused. But at length many minds returned to a sincere reverence and love for the Scriptures, and a consciousness that in them *only* were the words of eternal life.

Said Channing in 1819: "We regard the Scriptures as the records of God's successive revelations to mankind, and particularly of the last and most perfect revelation of his will by Jesus Christ. Whatever doctrines seem to us to be clearly taught in the Scriptures we receive without reserve or exception. . . . Jesus Christ is the only master of Christians, and whatever he taught, either by his personal ministry or by his inspired apostles, we regard as of divine authority, and profess to make the rule of our lives."* This revelation, he holds, is to be interpreted by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and understood by the most devoted use of the highest reason; while "we indeed grant that the use of reason, in religion, is accompanied with danger."

Dr. Dewey says of the Scriptures: "The matter is divine, the miracles real, the promises glorious, the threatenings fearful; enough that all is gloriously and fearfully true, true to the divine will, true to human nature, true to its wants, anxieties, sorrows, sins, salvation, and destinies; enough that the seal of a divine and miraculous communication is set upon that holy book."†

In rejecting the plenary inspiration of the Bible they have not rejected the Bible itself. The theories of their best men to-day are essentially the same as those of the most orthodox men outside of the Gaussen school. One of them says: "We are not bringing our reason to bear against a doctrine of revelation, which may God forbid our ever doing, but against what we pronounce to be a human dogma, constructively ascribed to revelation."

We would say, in closing this section, that we feel confident that if the Bible can be brought into more notice among them, and be studied by their best men according to their theory, its teachings will not be very materially misunderstood. And we are sure of this result if, at the same time, they can be brought to set a proper estimate on their present powers and also free themselves from the influence of some fragments of a false philosophy. Many selections now before us, from men of the first authority among them, confirm us in this conclusion.

At the same time it cannot be denied that there is a party, we believe a small one, among them, whose reverence and even respect for the Bible has long been on the decline. It has almost reached

* Works, vol. iii, pp. 60, 61. † Controversial Sermons No. 1.

the zero point, and will soon, if it has not already, pass the boundary between respect and contempt.

THE UNITY OF GOD.—This is the first grand doctrine they profess to derive from the Scriptures. And it cannot be denied that they have many clear, beautiful, and conclusive arguments on this subject. It is useless to quote their authors. We concede that they have the case, and any reasonable polytheistic heathen must be convinced; but we protest against their claiming that doctrine as their exclusive property. We would as soon they should claim all sunlight as their own, as insist on their exclusive right to believe and teach that glorious doctrine of the Old Testament. All Christians are under obligations to them for their able defense of this corner-stone of our common faith. But we trust they will have the modesty and honesty not to claim the discovery of what could not be patented, because it has been believed and used for ages.

Their views of THE NATURE OF CHRIST are more important to this discussion. There has prevailed an impression that Unitarians were slowly returning to a belief in the proper Divinity of Christ; and so widely had that idea spread, that it was deemed necessary to devote the address before the theological school at Cambridge last summer to the denial of that supposition. The denial is as remarkable as the fact of its being delivered before the famous pastor of Harvard, Dr. Huntington. Of course, a man somewhat fogyish must be chosen to write such an address. The lot fell on Rev. C. A. Bartol, a gentleman of no great general influence in the body; and even in his address occurred this expression: "I could accept, if not the dogmatic statement of Trinitarians, yet the godlike Christ they give us, if they would also consistently give us a Christlike God." That, indeed, we hold ourselves in readiness to do.

The early Unitarians have so little to say about Christ that it is hard to tell what they did believe. The denial of Christ's Divinity was not the battle they first fought. They said vastly less about it than about any other of the five points of Calvin. Anti-Calvinistic would have been a much more expressive name for them for years, if not even now.

Calvinists forced the name of *Unitarian* upon them for reasons easily understood. They took their rise in a revolt from the horrible doctrines of Calvin much more than from a disbelief in the Deity of Christ. We find in an old pamphlet, without name or date, containing the rules of "The Unitarian Society" formed in London in 1791, this statement of doctrine: "There is ONE GOD, the SOLE Former, Supporter, and Governor of the Universe, and the ONLY

proper object of religious worship; and there is one Mediator between God and man, the MAN Christ Jesus; he is the CREATURE and MESSENGER of God, and not his equal nor vicegerent, nor copartner in divine honors, as some have strangely supposed."

The assertion of Christ's *mere humanity* has been extremely rare in the writings of Unitarians in this country. We have found it occasionally asserted by violent and obscure men, but seldom by men of any distinguished ability. As early as 1810 Noah Worcester published a pamphlet called "Bible News," in which he tries to make clear the distinction between a *created* and a *derived* existence. He allowed that Christ was one of the latter; hence of the same nature as God; really Son of God; did really and personally suffer and die for us; was a person of Divine dignity and worthy of Divine honors. The fact that Worcester was chosen editor of the first Unitarian periodical established in New England is significant. The discussion of the nature of Christ appears but seldom for many years, but such views floated in the upper stratum of thinkers and writers, while, without doubt, far different views were propagated by loose and bold speakers, who delight in nothing so much as assailing cherished opinions.

In 1819 Channing declares what he thinks the Son of man is: "We believe that Jesus is one mind, one soul, one being, as truly one as we are, and equally distinct from the one God."* He acknowledges,† that Christ is called God in several places, and has divine properties ascribed to him; but we are obliged "to interpret the comparatively few passages which are thought to make him the supreme God, in a manner consistent with his distinct and inferior nature"!!!

There is an indefinite amount of mist in this eulogized man's writings, and where he puts Christ in the scale of existence, it is impossible for us to determine. Sometimes he lifts him up to a super-angelic nature, just inferior to God, thus denying his humanity; and then again, either denying his previously asserted oneness of nature, or, forgetting his own consistency, claims him as a man.

Coming down to the present decade, we find a great advance in opinion in this respect; and that, too, in the writings of a much abler man than the last quoted. "Our doctrine gives us the same God they worship, and another being, yes, a Divine being, besides. We know of nothing that hinders but that God may impart, may delegate any measurement of his own properties, save simply that of self-existence."‡ "Christ fills the whole space *between* God and man."§

* Vol. iii, p. 75. † P. 79. ‡ Ellis's Half Century, pp. 141, 142.
§ Ellis in Christian Examiner, 1856, p. 306.

Elsewhere he says: "He is the sharer of God's throne, counsellor and companion, touching upon the prerogatives of Deity." Thus we see that he has come as near having two divine persons as possible; and when we remember that, by making him one person, and divine, he has taken all the humanity out of Christ, we have reason to hope that the frequent and emphatic assertion of his humanity in Scripture will cause him. on more mature reflection, to believe in both the Deity and humanity of Christ. Indeed, he already says: "In some of the modern shapings of the doctrine, [namely, the Trinity,] we confess there is no reason for rejecting it, which will weigh against the slightest reason for accepting it."* "There were some to whom a modal Trinity, like that which Dr. Bushnell has developed, is so far from being offensive to them that they might be even willing to accept it."†

We close this point with quoting the view of Professor Huntington on the nature of Christ. We do not pretend that he represents the Unitarian body; but considering that he is one of their ablest men, is pastor of Harvard College, and has the indoctrination of their future pastors and leaders, and is himself the leader of a large body now, we must believe that the future of Unitarianism will be much tinctured with his views. His theory "regards Christ as showing forth not only a perfect humanity, but also, and primarily, God himself; representing God to man as well as man to himself; being the express image of God's person; being God in the act and character of revealing or manifesting himself; creating and saving the world; separate at no point from God soever; not knowing in his divinity any limitation or abridgment from the fullness of God; exhibiting as in God's behalf, through a union of nature with the Father, not explicable to us, the Divine attributes; and reconciling alienated souls to himself by manifesting God in the flesh. According to this doctrine he survives in his Church to-day, not only by his influence and memory, but by the presence of his person, a distinct and everlasting person in himself, without beginning of days or end of years, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."‡

We now proceed to trace the history of the views of the Unitarians on the NATURE OF MAN.

Dr. Ware gave the earliest enunciation of their belief that has any authority. It was called out in reply to Dr. Woods's "Letters to Unitarians," and is stated in these words: "As much as there is of wickedness and vice, there is more of goodness and virtue. Benevolent dispositions prevail beyond measure over the opposite.

* P. 116. † Introduction xv. ‡ Sermons for the people, p. 253.

Man is by nature innocent and pure, and free from all moral corruption. I know of not a single mark of depravity, common to children in general, which may not be traced to causes which imply no degree of depravity and no fault of character or disposition." Channing almost wholly ignored the existence of sin, especially any original tendency thereto.

In 1828 Mr. Whitman, in a sermon on Isa. iii, 3, which sermon was very highly commended by the *Christian Examiner* and *Christian Register*, used the following language: "Our nature is as good in every way as Adam's before the fall. . . . Infants, and practical Christians from their earliest years, need not be converted. . . . Man's acceptance with God is on account of personal righteousness."

But later, Mr. Ellis, on this subject, says: "Dogma it [Unitarianism] has none." It "recognizes the deep and unsounded perplexities of this subject;" "before that mystery we bow in bewildered amazement." "We are not born holy; . . . we are not born fiends; as Adam was a sinner and a mortal, so all human beings are sinners, and all are mortal, *not because he was a sinner, but because they are all like him in their humanity.*"* An exceeding advance in twenty-five years. One more quotation will suffice on this point: "We believe in human depravity; and a very serious and saddening belief it is too that we hold on this subject. We believe the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. Not believe in human depravity! great, general, dreadful depravity! Why a man must be a fool, nay, a stock or a stone, not to believe it. He has no eyes, senses, or perceptions, if he refuse to believe it." He adds this qualification: "It is not depravity of nature in which we believe. Human nature, as it exists in the bosom of an infant, is nothing else but *capability*, of good as well as evil, though more likely, from exposure, to be evil than good."† He has passed far beyond Dr. Ware's idea, that "goodness and virtue prevail beyond measure over wickedness and vice."

We next refer to their various views of The Atonement.

It has been an established sentiment among them that repentance puts an end to the consequences of sin; that repentance is a sufficient vindication of Divine justice; that God's broken law is abundantly satisfied by repentance; that in this or the coming world any threatening and impending thunderbolts of God's wrath, about to crush an impious wretch, are changed to instruments of love and favor by his uttering the spell, I repent. Hence, Christ's sufferings

* P. 92. † Dr. Dewey's Controversial Sermons, pp. 30, 32.

are the same in kind as those of the apostles, merely exemplary. This is the view advocated by Dr. Ware in his controversy with Dr. Woods. It is the view pushed into sight now, but much less believed than formerly. It makes no account of the many expressions in Scripture declaring that we are "bought with a price," "redeemed by precious blood," etc. Such passages have made themselves felt on Scripture readers, and we meet with such sentences as these, becoming more definite as they approach our time: "Especially were the anguish and patience of his final sufferings and his awful death upon the cross, appointed and powerful means of affecting the mind of man."* "Many of us . . . think that the Scriptures ascribe the remission of sins to Christ's death, with an emphasis so peculiar, that we ought to consider this event as having a special influence in removing punishment."† "Christ's sacrifice was the grandest, the most powerful means of salvation. . . . The blood of that sacrifice was atoning blood. If we say that a way was opened by the death of Christ, for the free and consistent exercise of mercy in all the methods which sovereign wisdom saw fit to adopt, perhaps we shall include every material idea that the Scriptures present of that important event."‡ "We regard Christ as a victim offered up by *human sin* for human redemption."§ "It was *man*, not God, who made Christ a curse for us."‖ All he needs to become orthodox in this respect is to be informed that the Scriptures, which he adopts, tell him that "*Christ offered himself*," and that second expression of his philosophy is contrary to the declaration of God. The reason why he has not discovered this already shall be given by a man of his own order: "Now as one ponders the singular force, directness, and agreement of these passages, and many more of the same import, and marks their cumulative power as they resound through the New Testament, we submit that it will not appear strange if one feels that on those who deny the vicarious death of Christ rests the burden of explaining how, according to the Bible, the death of Christ is *not* the divinely ordained and essential *ground* of human salvation. There is some reason to think that passages like these we have quoted, have become comparatively unfamiliar to Unitarian ears, having been dropped out of Unitarian preaching, under the natural persuasion that they do not harmonize with Unitarian theory."¶

It is but fair to Mr. Ellis to give his opinions more at length:

*Works of H. Ware, Jr., vol, iv, p. 91. † Channing, vol. iii, p. 89.
‡ Dr. Dewey "entirely agreeing" with Andrew Fuller. § Ellis, p. 49.
‖ Ibid, 64. ¶ Professor Huntington, in Religious Magazine, 1856, p. 116.

"We do not charge orthodoxy with laying too much stress on the death of *Christ*, but with laying too much stress on the *death* of Christ."* "We hold his death to have been sacrificial in the highest sense of the word." † "It is not our doctrine that the death of Christ becomes efficacious to us as an example. . . . Christ is to us a victim, a sacrifice. His death was a sacrificial death. Its method, and purpose, and influence fix a new, a specific, a peculiar, an eminent meaning to the word sacrifice, when used of him." ‡ We get out of patience, in vain, for him to tell us what that extensively qualified "meaning" is. The whole point of difference he endeavors to make clear in these words: "Orthodoxy regards the death of Christ as looking GOD-WARD for its efficacy. Unitarianism regards the death of Christ as looking MAN-WARD for its efficacy." § "We regard Jesus as a sacrifice *for man*, but not as a sacrifice *to God*." ‖ Instead of making clear the very thing we want to know, he has only succeeded in utterly befogging his readers, if not himself. How a death can be sacrificial, in so high a sense, and look man-ward, toward rebel man, yet not have its efficacy in example, can be understood only by those who can understand contradictions. He wanders in the dark, because of previously adopted principles, and of not heeding the teaching of a few plain passages of Scripture.

CONVERSION.—This is treated of exceedingly little by all Unitarian writers. Wherever it is mentioned it is usually as a mere change of habits, a poor, emasculated, self-undertaken, self-accomplished, unnoticed, and almost unfelt process. It is true that the American Unitarian Association publish a book of Mr. Sears on Regeneration; but the editor of their journal, in the last number of 1858, tells us that its view, on one point at least, is not endorsed by that body. When we read the many good things in that book, and think of the many more good things on the subject not there, we do not know whether either or neither class are the views of that body; and in default of all evidence, except what is contradictory, we sometimes doubt whether they themselves know. Yet we see many evidences that the sect are making more of conversion. Channing said: "We hold nothing to be essential, but the simple dedication of the mind, heart, and life to God and his will." Mr. Ellis declares that he believes in "the necessity of regeneration, or a change of heart, wrought and attested by the spirit of God." Amen. And Dr. Dewey "believes in regeneration. The application of this doctrine is nearly universal. Some, like Samuel of old, may have grown up to piety from their earliest childhood; but we confess that we under-

* Ellis, p. 185. † Ibid, p. 187. ‡ Ibid, p. 193. § Ibid, p. 190. ‖ Ibid, p. 194.

stand nothing of that romantic dream of the innocency of childhood." If, after seeing children brought up under the well nigh faultless influence of his home, their "capability" deprives him of an understanding of the innocence of childhood, we believe he will accept the doctrine of native depravity on more mature thought.

Future and Eternal Punishment.—About 1830 the Unitarians of England, adopting the theories of Hartley and Priestley, became Restitutionists. The Universalists of America had by that time got fairly settled on the same ground; hence Mr. Ballou claimed the whole body of Unitarians as Universalists, and administered a "Condemnation and Rebuke" to their haughtiness for refusing to recognize the then scarcely respectable body of Universalists as their brethren.* He said of a part of Dr. Channing's sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks, at Baltimore: "Universalism could not be more fully stated, or more acceptably commended." But not quite understanding what Universalism had then come to be, and dreading the odium of the name, Mr. J. Walker denied any tendency in Unitarianism toward Universalism; and H. Ware, Jr., in a letter to McLeod,† repelled the charge with words which a small politician would be glad to find ready prepared for use as he was entering on an unusually scurrilous campaign.

Nevertheless the charge was true, for there are now before us fifty extracts from men of the first ability of that time, proving beyond a doubt that the main body of Unitarians at that time were fully persuaded Restitutionists; and they continue in that belief at the present time, with the exception of many indications of a return to the doctrine of eternal punishment. This is an unexpected change.

The editor of the *Quarterly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*, reviewing Dr. Adams's sermon on "The Reasonableness of Eternal Punishment," says: "Looking at them [Dr. A.'s positions] as a whole, we are struck with their essential agreement with our own views of future retribution. . . . We are not so lax in our views of future retribution as the pastor of the Essex-street Church, [Dr. Adams.] On this point we are more orthodox than he. We cannot admit [as Dr. Adams does] that there are no sorrows in a future life more piercing, and more calculated to rive the spirit, than the trials and pangs of this life." ‡

What man, fifty years ago, would have thought that in 1858 a Unitarian editor would victoriously contend with a Puritan champion for the palm of orthodoxy? Mr. King, in replying to the

* The desired recognition was most publicly and gracefully extended in the recent Pitt-street Chapel Lectures.

† Page 22. ‡ October, 1858, p. 61.

discourse of Dr. Adams, which was preached by request in Mr. King's own pulpit, admitted "that he did not find the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all souls clearly stated in any text or in any discourse that has been reported from the lips of Christ." But his candor did not extend to admitting that he did find the eternal damnation of the finally impenitent clearly stated in several. Yet he does say that souls may "harden themselves against the justice and grace of the Infinite forever, and prefer forever, through the natural gravitation of evil loves, to live away from God and from the bliss that attends the continual reception of his life."

William G. Elliott, Jr., of St. Louis, a man most deservedly held in high repute among Unitarians, writes: "The same voluntary resistance to God which is begun here, may therefore continue through unknown ages. . . . We do not know but that we may separate ourselves so far from God as to make our return to God impossible." Our list is not exhausted. We venture to add one more. "Heaven is more glorious, and hell more dreadful than ever man conceived; a hell of the mind, a hell of an inward burning and gnawing conscience; a hell of remorse and mental agony may be more horrible than fire and brimstone and the blackness of darkness forever. Yes, the crushing mountains, the folding darkness, the consuming fire might be welcomed, if they could bury, or hide, or sear the guilty and agonized passions, which while they live must forever burn and blacken and blot the soul: while they live must forever and forever crush it down to untold and unendurable misery."* His nature shrinks, he says, from punishment which is eternal; but equally shrinks from propagating the idea of "remedial suffering in a world where there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin."

I have thus briefly gone over the principal points of Unitarian theology in which I discover a change. I say principal points, for there are a thousand minor ones advanced by various men. For example, Mr. Pierpont's sermon on the "Intercession of Christ,"† offers a new occasion for prayer by advocating praying for the dead; and the poor old man has so much changed his doctrine as to pray *to* the dead, and receive rapt [rapped] answers from them.

Other general points of doctrine are not changed. The same unrelenting hostility to the Calvinistic interpretation of decrees; to ultra depravity, as expounded prior to Dr. Woods's writing; to excessive depreciation of good works; to Phariseeism and pietism, remains unchanged.

Of the things we have written this is the sum: "Among the larger and better portion of Unitarians there now prevails, in regard

* Dr. Dewey's Controversial Discourses, p. 40. † Page 12.

to the Scriptures, a theory but little faulty in itself; and a devoted study of the word of God according to that theory, quickened by a genuine and hearty piety, could hardly lead astray. But they have too much neglected the Bible for works of modern reformers. They have left the springs of living waters, and depended on broken cisterns, and clouds that proved to be only dust instead of refreshing rain. Many "regret the intellectual direction Unitarianism took in the beginning," and are returning with humble reverence to a study of the sacred volume.

In regard to their belief in the unity of God there cannot and ought not be a change.

In regard to their views of the nature of Christ, they never believed what has been imputed to them by many. Many, and those of the most influence, seem to have theoretically embraced orthodoxy, and some are rapidly tending thither.

The nature of man and the atonement seem to be enveloped in that mist which soon dissolves into the clearness of day. On other points mentioned they seem tending in the right direction, and we trust it is evident that they are not so much at fault in the matter of doctrine as in the feeble way they work their principles; not nearly so wrong in their written statements of doctrine as in general influence; not so much lacking in form, as in the demonstration of the Spirit and power from on high.

We have probably put as good a phase on Unitarianism as it will bear. Further quotations from such men as Huntington, Elliott, Dewey, and Osgood would as undoubtedly put it in a better light; as quotations from many men of less note would put it in a vastly worse light. On the whole, too, we think their published works give a decidedly better impression than their ordinary pulpit efforts. These are for the public; those for home consumption. But all through the denomination there are desires for more faith, deeper piety, and more effective Christianity. We have been surprised for years past in listening to their glowing words, in annual convention, lamenting a lack of Christian zeal and Christian liberality. After all their boasts of liberality, we were not prepared for such denunciation of "stinginess" by themselves, nor the acknowledgment of the *fact*, that according to means they are the least generous and self-sacrificing denomination in the land.

A closing word in reference to our author. We regard his book as the most able yet published by the denomination. It has not been "an ever new delight" to read the works necessary in preparing this article. Most Unitarian writers are chaotic and fragmentary. The reading of Channing has destroyed a pleasing illusion

of his greatness. He has no theology, no system. He most effectively, I cannot say skillfully or acutely, wielded some ready made weapons against Calvinism; but he either could not or did not create a system of his own. He succeeded in setting up a few fair faced planets, shining in the light of others' suns. He displayed some splendid meteors and blazing comets, but a sun of his own, or a system harmonious and perfect, we cannot find. We tire of his endless repetitions of a few ideas; and yet it might be expected, for legitimate Unitarianism is of exceedingly narrow range; but the "Half Century" of Mr. Ellis, having a subject outside of Unitarianism, is really able and manly, worth buying and reading.

The following concessions in this work are deserving of notice. Unitarians are disappointed at the tardy spread of their principles;* and Unitarianism is lamentably deficient in effective working power.† Surely circumstances warrant their being made. Fifty years ago the Unitarians became a recognized body; they embraced the wealth, refinement, and education of New England; they took possession of many churches by out-voting their opponents, according to the Congregational polity. They installed themselves in the oldest college in the land, and have supported it by state funds. But with what result? They have lost ground, comparatively, in New England, and increased but little elsewhere. They have not founded a school for the education of the masses. With all their wealth their only two schools in the land have been in a life and death struggle for years. Compare this result with another denomination that started about the same time, taking the poverty, ignorance, and vice of New England; without a church, a school, or influence to obtain either; whose ministers, derided and assailed, went up and down the land, often not seeing ten dollars in money a year. But now that denomination, out of its poverty, is the richest in the United States; out of its nothingness has become the largest; has endowed colleges and academies by the hundred, established periodicals, acquired a more extensive denominational literature than any other, till, according to Edward Everett, it is the leading denomination in education in the United States. We accept the concession, and put strong emphasis on the words, "*lamentably deficient in effective working power.*"

Surely there must be an advance on the time in which Unitarian writings were paralleled with those of Tom Paine, when one of their most able writers says he "believes in the necessity of regeneration, a change of heart wrought and attested by the Spirit of God; justification by faith; the present mediatorial work of Jesus

*P. 7. †P. 39.

Christ in behalf of his Church and upon the soul and life of the believer; revivals of religion; and the doctrine of future retribution." * We do not pretend that he means the same by these words that we do, nor that he is consistent. We are glad he can put any meaning to such words; and we claim that while Unitarianism can never be expected to return to the extreme of Calvinism, it is not too much to expect that it will meet relenting Calvinism half way, in the safe medium ground of truth.

Art. V.—THE EARLY CAMP-MEETING SONG WRITERS.

There lies upon our table a little volume of which it is probable there are at the present date but few duplicates. The title is as follows: "*The Pilgrim Songster;* or, a choice Collection of Spiritual Songs, from the best Authors. A new edition, corrected and enlarged, with many Songs never before in print. By Thomas S. Hinde."

The volume is a 24mo., containing two hundred and forty pages, and from the press of Messrs. Morgan, Fisher, and L'Hommedieu, Cincinnati. 1828. This copy is of the third edition of the work. The first edition was published in 1810, the second in 1815. It appears, from remarks made by the editor in the preface, that several editions had been surreptitiously published in Baltimore and Philadelphia. The three Western editions reached a circulation of not less than ten thousand copies, a very large circulation for the period.

We look upon the volume with no small degree of interest. The binding, which was never firm, is now nearly destroyed; the leaves, time-stained, worn, and dog-eared; but we remember well the day when a dignified Kentucky matron, trembling with age, took it down from a shelf over the high mantel-piece, and entertained us till midnight, reading its songs, interspersing the reading with remembrances of the days when Bishops Asbury and M'Kendree, and Burke, Wilkinson, Sale, Lakin, Taylor, and many others, long since resting from their labors, sat beside the same fire-side, or stood beside the little stand, now preserved as a relic of those days, and preached the word of life in her humble cabin. She would sometimes say with a sigh that she wished she might see such preachers again. Her wish has been gratified; she has joined them in the land of eternal rest.

* Ellis, p. 47.

The mind goes back to a period in the West when a great spiritual awakening gave new pulsations to the energetic life of its thinly populated wilderness. This book was then a hoarded treasure in the cabins of those hardy settlers; in frequent use not only on camp-meeting and revival occasions, but in the prayer-meeting, the social circle, the class-meeting, and often in the public congregation on the Sabbath day, or at the regular week-day appointments.

The compiler, Rev. Thomas S. Hinde, was at that time a resident of Newport, Kentucky, and a local preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a man of superior mental abilities, and had received the advantages of a good education, as good as the West could at that time afford. No one in his day was better acquainted with the early religious condition of the people, or more interested in its religious history, and he had made it his special study. His sketches, published in the early volumes of the *Methodist Magazine* and in our Church newspapers, under the signature of Theophilus Arminius, are among the most reliable records that we have. He died a few years ago at Mount Carmel, Illinois.

The volume contains one hundred and twenty hymns. Of these nearly one half were composed by persons unknown to the compiler. Most of these are destitute of poetical merit, but they were treasured in the memories of the people, and were popular at a time when such compositions were in great demand. The Wesleys and John Newton contribute each a few hymns, and the remainder, more than one third of the whole, were composed by John A. Granade and Caleb Jarvis Taylor. We propose furnishing for the reader short sketches of these poets, with a notice of their poetical writings, and their relation to the great camp-meeting revival which swept over the West during the earliest years of the present century.

I have not been able to obtain any information of John A. Granade beyond a few anecdotes, and the very slight notices of him as a minister in the "Journal" of the old Western Conference. When about thirty years of age he was admitted on trial into the traveling connection, at a session of the Western Conference held October 1, 1801, at Ebenezer, in the State of Tennessee. He continued in the itinerancy three years, traveling Green, Holston, and Hinckstone circuits, each one year. At the end of his third year he asked and obtained a location, desisting from the active ministry on account of temporal affairs. He now settled in Southwestern Tennessee, engaged in the practice of medicine, devoting his leisure hours to the care of his farm. I have never seen any account of his death, and do not know the date of it.

All accounts agree in representing Mr. Granade as a man of vigorous mind, much improved by reading and observation. He was deeply melancholic in temperament, and of marked eccentricity. His piety was striking, and went far in counteracting "a hardness and stubbornness in his temper" which otherwise was calculated to give great offense, and nearly precluded his entrance into the traveling connection. Like most of the itinerants of his day, he was ardent and zealous in doing good, for nothing less than a liberal endowment of zeal, indeed almost a consuming desire to save souls, could carry the itinerant over the large circuits, and enable him to bear the privations incident on his employment.

Early religious experiences had made a deep impression on his mind, and gave an almost unnatural tinge to all his exercises as a preacher and poet. His first religious convictions were powerful, but were resisted with all the energy of his nature. Then followed a season of intense spiritual darkness, and temptation from which his moral nature revolted, and for a time he believed himself sealed to eternal condemnation by the Holy Spirit. Almost maddened by this conviction, the society of men became a burden to him, and he fled to the mountains, his despairing soul giving vent to his agony in mournful songs. Most of his friends concluded that he was hopelessly insane. But in the midst of it all his soul sought after God, and the Heavenly Father was not unmindful of his struggles. Alone, upon the mountain side, as he lay upon the damp ground, insensible to all earthly impressions, faith grew strong, and the light from Calvary shone upon his path. Now the light was as brilliant as the darkness had been dense, the joy as rapturous as the despair had been distressing, and henceforth he sang of love, joy, and hope. That he, a reprobate, rebelling against God, had been pardoned, satisfied his mind that every sinner might obtain deliverance; he saw the value of his new possession, and desired all to enjoy it with himself. So he determined to devote his life to the proclamation of divine mercy, and he became a minister of the "glad tidings."

Caleb Jarvis Taylor was born on the 20th June, 1763, in St. Mary's County, Maryland, of Irish parents. He was diligently instructed in the Roman Catholic faith by his parents, but it never seemed to take a firm hold on his mind and conscience. Although he passed his early life on a farm, yet he obtained what was considered a good education, and left home at the age of eighteen to enter upon the career of a professional school teacher. While teaching school in Virginia and Pennsylvania he was thrown into the company of the Methodists. At first he attended preaching irreg-

ularly out of curiosity; but the truth was not long in finding access to his heart; he sought pardon, was converted, joined the Church, and was soon after licensed as a local preacher. He was not yet twenty years old. In 1792 he came to Kentucky and resided near Maysville. He at once became known as a superior teacher, and an active local preacher. At the Western Conference of 1810 he was admitted on trial into the traveling connection, but at the close of his second year he located. This record, however, does not give any proper notion of the amount of his labors in the itinerancy; for during a number of years he served as a supply to various circuits in the State of Kentucky. His family were too large to be fully provided for by the scanty pay given to a preacher in those days, so, when he became pressed in money matters he was accustomed to engage in school teaching.

His last days were spent at his home in Kenton County, Kentucky, about sixteen miles south of Cincinnati. During the greater part of the last year of his life he was subject to more or less mental affliction, a deeply settled melancholy; but about a week before he died the gloom passed away, and, although suffering acute pain, he departed in triumph to the inheritance of the saints. He was buried on an eminence in the vicinity, a spot which in his lifetime had been a favorite resort, to which he had given the name of "Solitary Hill." A willow twig, planted at the head of his grave by a loved friend, the noble woman to whom I was indebted for the little volume under review, has grown into a large tree and droops mournfully over his grave.

Mr. Taylor stood in high estimation among his brethren, not only on account of his poetical talents, but also for his skill in a species of satirical controversial writing, which often produced greater effect upon the early Western mind than the most weighty argument. He published, some time in 1803, at Lexington, Kentucky, a pamphlet entitled "News from the Infernal Regions;" and some years later, "The Sentimental Deist," a series of articles in the *Fredonian*, a weekly paper conducted by Thomas S. Hinde, at Chillicothe, Ohio. Never having seen copies of these works we can form no judgment of their literary ability, but they created no small sensation at the time they were published.

As a preacher Mr. Taylor was deservedly popular at a time when the Western Conference was not at all deficient in talent. To a character of unobtrusive but unquestioned piety, he brought a clear understanding of the Scriptures, a very pleasant manner of speaking, and a sanguine temperament. He not only convinced the mind, but had great skill in moving the heart, frequently exciting

his whole congregation to tears. But it was in the public discussion of Christian doctrines which were a prominent feature of his times—the defense of Arminianism against Calvinism, of the three modes of baptism against immersion as the only mode, and like subjects, that he was most at home. He was a cool and ready debater, not hesitating to break a lance with the most daring of his opponents. Taking his position with prudence, and skillfully advancing his arguments, combining wit, humor, and sarcasm in the assault, he rarely failed to drive his opponent before him. A man of ready wit, genial humor, and pleasing address, he surrounded himself with many loving hearts, receiving kindnesses and imparting good.

Singing, as a part of divine worship, is not to be considered a device of man's invention, but a product of the activities of his spiritual nature when it disposes itself for worship. The hymns of the Church are not primarily designed to afford instruction in doctrine, but to open a channel for the expression of feeling; and we find that those which the Church has permanently incorporated into her devotions have been the production of individual minds deeply imbued with piety, the outflowing of the many phases of religious emotion, glowing with passion purified by the new life. So it often happens that when singing has degenerated into a lifeless ceremony, inherited from better times, it has a singular power to awaken in the soul aspirations for a better life. Many of the hymns which the Church cherishes as a peculiar sacred treasure, have been condemned by those who have no personal experience of redemption, as too sensuous for the worship of a holy, spiritual being. Such strains as "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," jar upon sensibilities made delicate by mere art culture, but they defy age and criticism, securing a firmer hold upon hearts as the multitude increases whose thoughts and hopes are turned heavenward. For these hymns are themselves a manifestation of Christian life, and as long as the hopes and fears of such a life remain, and the love of God lives in the souls of men, there shall not be wanting the melody of song—song expressing itself in pleadings for pardon and choruses of joy, agonizing cries for deliverance and rapturous peans of triumph, simple breathings of childish trust, and bold approaches to the mercy-seat.

Looking over the past, we perceive that every considerable revival of the spiritual life of the Church has not only restored vitality to singing as a necessary part of worship, but has also given birth to hymns specially indicative of the most prominent features of the awakened life. Generally the leaders of the awakening have themselves taken up the harp in the interval of their pulpit labors, and

we are better acquainted with their hymns than their sermons. What glorious songs gushed out of the glowing heart of the great German Reformer, so vigorous in thought and intense in feeling that the present stupor and infidelity of his countrymen cannot entirely quench their fire nor entangle their soaring. Count Zinzendorf has revealed the pure love of his heart, and the self-sacrificing spirit of his brethren, as they went forth arousing the sleeping missionary spirit of the Church, in strains that all of God's children at once recognize. The great awakening in which the Wesleys were the most prominent actors would have been wanting in a powerful instrument had it not given birth to hymns that the Church will not cease to love; and besides this the Wesleyan hymns will remain as an undoubted proof that the Holy Spirit dwelt in their hearts; they could not have been produced by men with unregenerate souls.

The religious awakening which seems to have had its rise in a two-days meeting, in Logan County, Kentucky, under the preaching of the brothers John and William M'Ghee, in 1799, and on account of its external form is known as the *Great Camp-Meeting Revival*, cannot be shown to have been deficient in any of the unfailing signs of a genuine work of grace. It has, indeed, been denounced by some as an instance of the wildest fanaticism, and censured by others as being more the production of morbid enthusiasm than of true spiritual life; but these erroneous and unjust judgments have arisen in part from a hostility to the doctrines which acquired prominence during the revival, and in part from a failure to view it as a fact from the right stand-point.

The revival had its origin in a self-denying effort to save souls, made by regularly ordained ministers officiating in the regular order of Church worship. Under plain, practical preaching there was a manifestly extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit on both preachers and people; its immediate effect was, in the liberty of Western pioneer life, freed from all conventional restraints, an outspoken confession of the work of God's grace in the heart. Those whose hearts in the exercise of faith were overflowing with joy, shouted the praises of God; those who trembled under a new and powerful conviction of sin, sought mercy with weeping and groanings, each class giving unrestrained audible expression to their emotions. This was from the first an objectional feature to many, and was not encouraged; indeed, many and almost continual efforts were made to restrain it.

The modes of operation were also extraordinary, and almost without precedent, yet they were only former modes intensified and

adapted to the occasion, the natural outgrowth of the circumstances. We do not hesitate to say that no considerable revival of religion could have taken place in the West in the same period without molding itself into the form of camp-meetings. The erecting of tents upon the ground occupied for the services was not a preconcerted plan, as in the camp-meeting preparations of the present day, but an inconvenience in itself, into which they were forced by necessity. The wide-spread religious interest not only caused greater crowds to assemble than could occupy any meeting-house; it also presented the necessity of attending on the services for a longer period than a single day; but the sparse settlements could not afford accommodations for so large a number, and the erection of tents was the most natural and convenient method to supply the deficiency. The altar of prayer about the preaching stands, the prayer-meetings in the tents, the general class-meetings, were all so many efforts to reduce to form and order the remarkable growth and activity of the work.

Of those exercises of devotion which were regular in their form none would sooner attract the attention of an observer than the singing. While the style of preaching and utterances of prayer gave unmistakeable evidences of a new life, the singing displayed the same quality in greater degree. The style of singing among these hardy pioneers, even before the revival, had its peculiarities; it was much more general among the members, and with more spirit. Frequently no one in the congregation possessed a hymn-book except the preacher, who gave out the verses to be sung, two lines at a time; many of the hymns, however, were well known, and, except in the public congregation, were sung without the process of being "lined" by the preacher.

At the commencement of the revival those familiar hymns, known in all our orthodox congregations, were used; but it was soon felt that they gave but imperfect expression to the ardent feelings of the worshipers. The deficiency here was principally supplied by the preachers. Hymns, or "spiritual songs," as they were more frequently called, to the cultivated ear rude and bold in expression, rugged in meter, and imperfect in rhyme, often improvised in the preaching stand, were at once accepted as more suited to their wants. These were quickly committed to memory, and to a considerable extent usurped the place of the older and more worthy hymns. The most of these hymns are now entirely lost; for some of them were never written at all. Many of them existed only a short time in manuscript and in the memories of a few. The volume before us contains those that attained greater popularity and

wider circulation; yet even of these but a small number are to be found in collections formed for irregular revival services.

A random glance at the contents of the volume informs us that the most frequent and vivid conception of the Christian life in the minds of these hardy pioneers, was that of an active, vigilant, unceasing warfare. To their glowing imaginations they were soldiers enlisted under the banner of the cross, Christ their glorious and invincible leader, and eternal life in heaven the all-sufficient compensation for the toils and hardships of the campaign. They had, indeed, good authority in their Bibles, and in the glowing words of noble reformers, for such a conception; but here it is presented in language and completeness of analogy which seems not to have entered into the mind of Paul. But let us not consider it a false conception on account of the fullness of the imagery; let us not judge that in the minds of these earnest spiritual soldiers there was any confounding of spiritual with carnal weapons. The martial spirit of the Revolution had been kept alive and developed in Kentucky to a greater extent than in any other part of the Union, through the Indian wars, and many of the elderly men who were now prominent in the revival, had shouldered the rifle at a moment's warning, and hastened to meet the treacherous foe. There was much, too, in the order and arrangement of the camp-meeting grounds—the tents in a hollow square, the watch-fires and guards at night, to suggest to the mind of an old soldier the martial camp; nor were they without considerable persecution from those who looked upon the whole revival as an instance of the wildest fanaticism. The following is from a hymn in this style by Taylor:

"Hark! brethren, don't you hear the sound?
The martial trumpets now are blowing;
Men in order listing round,
And soldiers to the standards flowing.
Bounty offered, joy and peace;
To every soldier this is given;
When from toils of war they cease
A mansion bright prepar'd in heaven."

* * * * *

"The battle is not to the strong,
The burden's on our Captain's shoulder;
None so aged or so young
But he may list and be a soldier.
Those who cannot fight or fly,
Beneath his banner find protection;
None who on his name rely,
Shall be reduced to base subjection.

* * * * *

"The battle, brethren, is begun;
Behold the army now in motion!
Some by faith behold the crown,
And almost grasp their future portion.
Hark! the victor's singing loud,
Emanuel's chariot wheels are rumbling;
Mourners weeping through the crowd,
And Satan's kingdom down is tumbling."

Generally the subjects of the hymns are those doctrines held alike by the whole orthodox Protestant Church; there is so great a silence of denominational phraseology that no one could tell, from internal evidence with which branch of the Church the authors were connected. This is not a source of wonder, for, although the Methodists were the most numerous at the meetings, and the services under their entire control, yet Christians of other Churches in great numbers took a prominent part; some of the most memorable gatherings were strictly union meetings, ministers of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations preaching in turn; indeed, it may be said, that in all wide-spread revivals denominational differences are ruled out by the very intensity of the interest to save souls from an impending ruin.

We find then in these hymns the doctrines, teachings, and historical facts of the word of God which have been recognized in all ages as the most ready to arouse the sinful heart: the agony and suffering of Christ in Gethsemane and on Calvary; the coming of the Saviour a second time to utterly overthrow and destroy his enemies, and claim his oppressed, tempted, suffering followers; heaven, the abode of the Saviour and the spirits of the blessed, the reward of the servants of Christ, in whose presence, restored to the loved of earth, and freed from the assaults of Satan, and the evils of earth and a probationary condition, there shall be an eternal increasing blessedness; hell, not conceived as a simple, moral condition, nor a mere deprivation of the favor of God, but a place of actual, unceasing punishment, set forth in fearfully vivid language; death is presented with the greatest fullness of language and figure; to the wicked a foretaste of the consuming wrath of God that shall devour all his adversaries, to the child of God his greatest and final earthly victory, when the armor shall be laid aside and the crown put on. Nor do these hymns fail to present that the progress of the soul in holiness is a necessary condition to enter into the joys of heaven; it was ever present to their minds, and we find here groanings to be freed from all inbred sin, and fervent pleadings for the putting on of the Divine nature. Naturally arising in this connection were longings for heaven and its untold

peace and purity. There are some lines on this subject by Granade which have preserved their popularity, in the West at least, more than any others in the volume. They were written on a sick bed, where he lay prostrated by his ministerial labors; his friends gathered around, and all presuming that in a few hours the struggle would be over and the sufferer attain rest from pain:

"Sweet rivers of redeeming love
Lie just before mine eye;
Had I the pinions of a dove
I'd to those rivers fly.
I'd rise superior to my pain,
With joy outstrip the wind;
I'd cross bold Jordan's stormy main,
And leave the world behind.

* * * * *

"A few more days, or years at most,
My troubles will be o'er;
I hope to join the heavenly host
On Canaan's happy shore;
My rapturous soul shall drink and feast
In love's unbounded sea;
This glorious hope of endless rest
Is ravishing to me.

"O come, my Saviour, come away,
And bear me through the sky;
Nor let thy chariot wheels delay;
Make haste and bring it nigh.
I long to see thy glorious face,
And in thine image shine;
To triumph in victorious grace
And be forever thine."

Although the camp-meeting revival commenced at a meeting appointed for the express benefit of Church members, it soon acquired almost exclusively the form of an appeal to sinners to forsake their sins, and, by genuine repentance and faith in Christ, obtain a justified condition; for the outpouring of the Spirit upon the assembly in Logan County produced simultaneously a revival of the work of grace in the hearts of believers, and a deep concern, even intense conviction of sin, among the unconverted. The number of this latter class increased so rapidly, and their requests for the benefit of the prayers and special instruction of the converted were so frequent, that the meetings soon assumed the character of a premeditated design to secure the conviction and conversion of sinners. The day has passed away when any denomination of orthodox Christians object to such meetings. Generally this class of persons, mourners or seekers as they were called, could be known

in a small assembly by the sadness of their countenance, audible expressions of grief, or the style of their praying; but when the assembly was a large one, it was thought better to invite them to the stand or altar for instruction, and to be made a special object of prayer by the whole assembly of Christians; from this arose the use of the "mourner's bench." No one supposed there was any real virtue in this arrangement, yet it was soon noticed that those who came forward seemed to be greatly benefited; the simple act of coming forward separated the sinner from his old associates, and was accepted as a declaration that he had chosen to be "on the Lord's side;" and, better than this, he was surrounded by hearts having confidence in the power of prayer. So it became the usual custom, when the sermon was concluded, an invitation was given to all "seekers," and they were exhorted in the strongest language to use this means of grace. When they came forward to the altar the whole interest of the services centered at this point. The hymns sung were selected with care, with the design of encouraging and instructing the seeker in the way of mercy. Many of the hymns in this volume are especially designed for this service, and they thoroughly refute the charge that the penitent was instructed to place more confidence in this than any other means of grace. The crucified Saviour is invariably presented to the soul as the only and the all-sufficient aid to salvation, "the Author and the Finisher of faith." Here are two selections from Granade:

"Think on what the Saviour bore,
In the gloomy garden,
Sweating blood at every pore
To procure thy pardon;
See him stretch'd upon the wood,
Bleeding, grieving, crying;
Suff'ring all the wrath of God,
Groaning, gasping, dying!

"Pore not on thyself too long,
Lest it sink thee lower,
Look to Jesus, kind and strong,
Mercy join'd with power.
Ev'ry work that thou must do,
Will thy gracious Saviour
For thee work, and in thee too,
Of his special favor."

"'Tis done! the dreadful debt is paid,
The great atonement now is made;
Sinners, on me your guilt is laid,
For you I spilt my blood;

For you my tender soul did move,
For you I left my courts above,
That you the length and breadth might prove,
The depth and height of perfect love,
In Christ your smiling God."

Taylor is no less bold in the offer of mercy to the penitent soul, pointing to Jesus:

"Mourners, see your Saviour stand
With arms extended to receive you;
See, he spreads his bleeding hands!
Come, venture on him, he'll relieve you;
Cast your fears and doubts aside;
The door of mercy opens wide;
The fountain flows that saves from sin,
Come, now, believe and enter in;
Don't distrust your blessed Saviour,
Now believe and live forever."

We find here also a class of hymns of almost unprecedented popularity forty and fifty years ago, which are not now thought proper for praise in public worship—hymns containing the personal religious experience of the writer. Taylor, having been educated in the Roman Catholic faith, gives one of several hymns of this class the quaint title of "The Converted Roman." From one of Granade's we learn that, having been converted, he became careless, was led astray through temptation, and was for a time in despair, but at length was enabled to rejoice again in his Saviour.

Both Granade and Taylor were men of bodily affliction. Granade several times, led on by his intense zeal to save souls, nearly destroyed his life. Each of them dictated lines to their weeping friends, as they stood in the presence of death. The verses of Taylor have no lack of confidence in God, the good Shepherd, who goes down with him into the valley of the shadow of death; but they are tinged with his usual melancholy. But Granade rises on wings of faith, and seeing no terrors in the dark grave, exults in the prospect of heaven. He describes himself as

"A pilgrim on his dying bed,
With glory in his soul;
Upward he lifts his longing eyes
Toward the blissful goal;
While friends and children weep around,
And loathe to let him go,
He shouts with his expiring breath
And leaves them all below."

There are a few of these songs which contain such animated descriptions of the scenes at the altar that there can be no doubt

they were composed on the ground. The language of these descriptions rather falls below than above the reality, if we accept the statements of many who were present. Taylor described such a scene in the following verses:

"Sinners through the camp are falling;
Deep distress their souls pervade,
Wond'ring why they are not rolling
In the dark, infernal shade.
Grace and mercy, long neglected,
Now they ardently implore;
In an hour when least expected
Jesus bids them weep no more.

"Hear them then their God extolling,
Tell the wonders he has done;
While they rise see others falling!
Light into their hearts hath shone.
Prayer, and praise, and exhortation,
Blend in one perpetual sound;
Music sweet, beyond expression,
To rejoicing saints around."

A number of these "spiritual songs" still find a place in various collections of hymns designed for the social worship of Christians; but we have never seen an instance in which the authors' names seem to have been known to the compiler. It would be no more than justice to them to have that credit which an author may always claim. Some of them have been mangled, others improved, by compilers, until the writers themselves would be puzzled to recognize them. Although but few of these songs have been accepted by the Church, they are not to be despised nor forgotten, for they assisted in a great revival, the influence of which is clearly discerned after the lapse of half a century. Then they brought comfort to many a bleeding heart; they made vocal thrills of joy and groans for redemption, which else had been prisoned voiceless in the heart. To some of these songs thousands of voices have given musical utterance, in unison, until the hills and valleys seemed also to waken and join in the strains of praise to Jesus, the Redeemer of earth. Those who delighted in their words now sing a "new song," in unbroken melody and faultless accents, to which song all hymns of man's composing shall at last yield.

Art. VI.—THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.

To develop the most important truths of Luke xvi, 19–31, its discussion will be conducted with the following general divisions: 1. The objections which have been urged against interpreting it as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death answered. 2. The expositions of it which regard it as not teaching such a consciousness refuted. 3. Additional evidences that it teaches such a consciousness presented.

I. The objections which have been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death answered.

1. One of those objections is, that such a consciousness is contrary to justice. It cannot be proved that the Omniscient Governor does not see that a greater aggregate of moral advantages will, in his interminable government, exist if all men of a certain reprehensible character shall be everlastingly "tormented," than would in it exist if even the most reprehensible should be exempt from everlasting "torments." It also cannot be proved that he does not see that that involves no injustice from which can arise, in that government, the greatest possible aggregate of moral advantages. An inability to see justice in the pain inflicted by the government of the Infinite Governor on an innocent lamb is alone sufficient to show, in no small degree, that no human being is authorized to say that nothing that appears to him to be contrary to justice can exist in that government. Accordingly, to infer from an inability to see justice in everlasting "torments," that a guilty creature who, throughout at least the last part of his earthly existence, refuses or neglects to "repent," will not be everlastingly "tormented," is at least more hazardous than it would be to infer, from an inability to see justice in the temporal sufferings experienced by infants that die before they have arrived at years of accountability, that no such infant has ever suffered. Besides this, to say that the Infinite Creator is more obliged to prevent the deserving of everlasting "torments" than that of temporal ones, is absurd; since, if a creature's disobedience against him could deserve only temporal "torments," then by enduring the deserved temporal "torments," the creature would no sooner merit his release from them than he would impose on the Creator an irresistible obligation to give him that release; and thus the Infinite Creator would become an involuntary debtor, not to obedience, but to the creature's

endurance of the consequences of disobedience. That the effecting of the voluntary excellences which an innocent moral creature at any time of his existence owes to the Infinite Creator requires all the powers then possessed by the creature which he can without guilt exercise, is obvious from the fact that if he had any such powers that are not so required, by no use of them could he sin, and in respect to them he would consequently be independent of the Creator. Accordingly, if it were not just that a certain delinquent should for his delinquency against the Creator be everlastingly "tormented," it would not be just that he should for it be at all "tormented;" since, even if temporal "torments" could make reparation for that delinquency, by the use of his powers for their endurance, he would be prevented from effecting the voluntary excellences which he, if not "tormented," could effect, and which cannot relinquish their claims upon him, because he, by a prior delinquency, has prevented himself from at least timely effecting them; and consequently with no temporal endurance by him of "torments" can he ever become a less delinquent than he is when he is first "tormented." That all the disobedient do not deserve only one and the same degree of punishment is obvious even from the facts that of two, according to John xix, 11, one "hath the greater sin," and that to some, according to Luke x, 14, "it shall be more tolerable" than to others. As then temporal "torments" experienced by a delinquent cannot diminish his desert in the Creator's government, and as an everlasting state of unconsciousness or annihilation could be at least no greater punishment to the most debased sinner than to others, it follows that such "torments" and such a state cannot be the penalty of disobedience against the Creator. To pardon without regard to such an unconstrained acceptance of the conditions of a divine atonement as even the word "repent" implies, is to dishonor or to annul government; and consequently it is absurd to say that the Infinite Creator is obliged to pardon the culpable because they cannot by supererogatory acts of obedience, or by an endurance of the consequences of disobedience, render themselves innocent. If a creature's inability to make restitution for his disobedience imposes on the Creator an irresistible obligation to pardon him, then the greatness of the desert of that disobedience irresistibly requires and secures the extinction of that desert; and thus the Creator can have no claims against disobedience, because his claims against it are too great! If the greatness of the desert of human disobedience against the Creator irresistibly secured the extinction of that desert, then every voluntary endurance of even temporal "torments," on account of that desert, would

be absurd, and every involuntary endurance of even temporal "torments," on account of that desert, would be unjust The deserving of everlasting "torments" could then have been prevented only by the prevention of the existence of every creature who is not irresistibly prevented from violating certain moral laws of the Creator, and that prevention would of course have prevented the existence of all moral acts but those of the Creator. In order to make it appear that no creature can deserve everlasting "torments," nothing has perhaps been more plausibly or more pertinaciously asserted than that from a finite cause no infinite effect can result. But if "torments" that will have an everlasting existence are infinite on account of that existence, then not only are there, besides the Infinite Creator, as many infinite beings as there are finite ones that will have an everlasting existence, but from even these finite causes those infinite effects thus result! To regard everlasting "torments" as infinite ones is erroneous in proportion as the word *infinite* is regarded as implying more than the word *everlasting*, or more than a duration which from a commencement has a continuance which will not cease. If from a finite cause or from a temporal one no everlasting effect could result, then not only from no guilt of a finite being could even an everlasting extinction or annihilation of that being result, but from even the Omniscient and Infinite Creator would pass away the knowledge of everything of which a finite being is the cause. But even if no finite being could see any justice or propriety in everlasting or other "torments," it would still be the prerogative, not of a finite culpable being, but of the Infinite Governor, to say what penalties should and will be inflicted in his interminable government.

2. Against interpreting this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, it has been urged that some celebrated divines, who profess to believe that such a consciousness exists, call this passage a parable. If it is important to say what this passage has been called by such men, it seems that it can be no less important to say what they think it teaches and implies. That all who have called it a parable have also regarded it as not teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, is by no means true. What meaning, then, any one intends to communicate by calling it a parable may be best learned from his exposition of it, and from his belief concerning a future life. To regard it as a parable which teaches a consciousness of punishment after death by words of the present life used figuratively, is much different from the regarding of it as a parable which teaches, contrary to all usual modes of illustration, facts of the present life by erroneous beliefs

concerning a future life; and it is also different from the regarding of it as a parable which teaches facts of the present life by facts of a future life expressed figuratively. It is moreover not easy to conceive how any one, who believes that a consciousness of punishment exists after death, can avoid the considering of this passage as at least sanctioning that consciousness as true, even if he supposes that its references to that consciousness are intended to represent other things. But at all events, if opinions are to convince any one of what it teaches, then he must believe that it teaches such a consciousness, since opinions of this character exist to a very great extent. But as it does not follow from the fact that a man has given his opinion on a point, that he considered that point of much importance, or that he gave it the best attention, so it is more important to know what the statements of this passage imply, than to know what some have called it, or even what they have inferred from it.

3. If a passage similar to this occurs in the *Gemara Babylonicum*, that fact does not prove that among the Jews of Christ's day this passage which was uttered by him was used as a parable, since that Jewish work did not appear till several centuries had elapsed after that day. That the Jews have never perverted and used as their own what has originated from him, will doubtless not be pretended by any one who is not a Jew. Besides this, if Christ in giving this passage had simply repeated, without condemning, assertions of others, then he would have given them his sanction as true. But as he makes no comments on it, and as he speaks not of it as borrowed, so he doubtless uttered it, not as a plagiarist, but as its author. But the Jews' use of a passage similar to this of Christ is so far from countenancing the position of the objector here opposed, that it is a striking proof of the unsoundness of his exposition of it, since they would never have employed such a passage had it been understood as teaching such disparaging and awful circumstances against only themselves, which his exposition says that it does teach!

4. It has been urged, as an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that in Matthew xiii, 34, it is stated of Christ, "and without a parable spake he not unto them." From the fact that at a certain time and to a certain multitude Christ "spake" "not" "without a parable," the objector here opposed seems to desire it to be inferred that in uttering this passage at another time, and to another multitude, he also "spake" "not" "without a parable!" That inference would be no more legitimate than, from the simple fact that Christ did

not always speak by way of a parable, to infer that this passage is not a parable. The fallacy of this objection consists in the disregarding of the word "them," though it is obvious that it represents or means "the multitude" mentioned in the first part of the verse in which it occurs. "All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in parables, and without a parable spake he not unto them."

5. As an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, it has been urged that it is preceded by parables. This objection implies that when Christ has uttered a parable he cannot afterward adopt any other way of speaking! But of that which precedes this passage not even all that is near it is a parable, as Luke xvi, 14: "And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things; and they derided him." Of what also precedes this passage, the verse next to it is Luke xvi, 18: "Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery." That these words are not used figuratively is not a little obvious from the fact that nearly the same words in Matt. xix, 9, Mark x, 11, and Matt. v, 32, are not used figuratively.

6. If one or even more manuscripts call this passage a parable, that does not prove it to be a parable, since manuscripts, among other errors of transcription, have various readings that express merely opinions of transcribers, which have been copied and placed with the texts of which they express opinions. But if the historian Luke had prefixed to this passage a statement which called it a parable, that statement would unquestionably have been so transmitted with it that it would be almost if not quite as well authenticated as the passage itself, by the agreement or other incontestable authority of manuscripts. The standard editions of the Greek New Testament are then a proof that those who have collected and collated manuscripts, and who had the best and only means for the distinguishing of the original from the interpolated, have not seen sufficient or authentic evidence that either Christ or Luke called this passage a parable. He who would appeal from these editions to uncorroborated words betrays his want of arguments to prove his opinions.

7. Another objection which has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death is, that it does not state that "Lazarus" "was buried." Is, then, the silence relative to his burial more strange than that relative to his apparel. Whether he "was buried" or not, it remains an unalterable fact that neither have all departures from the present

life been connected or honored with burials, nor have all burials been recorded.

8. It has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that in its statements of what occurred to "the rich man" and "Lazarus" after they "died," no names are applied to them to distinguish the body of each one from its soul. The absence of such a distinction is, however, not strange. Many who are positively known to believe that a human soul at death leaves its body and has a consciousnesss of happiness or of misery immediately after that separation occurs, frequently say, of a person who has "died," and whose body they may yet even see, that he has gone to a place of happiness; and as this their assertion does not by any means prove that they have not that belief, so Christ's assertion, that when "Lazarus" "died" he "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom," does by no means prove that he does not mean that "Lazarus" went to a place of happiness, even if his body did not go to that place. Many an objection is often sufficiently answered when it is proved to have the same plausibility against the position of him who urges it that he supposes it to have against the position which he assails with it. If, as the objector here opposed supposes, "the rich man" and "Lazarus" represent others, then those others are in this passage no more called by new names or otherwise distinguished by language, after they are, on this supposition, represented as having "died" and as being in their new states, than are "the rich man" and "Lazarus" themselves, whether they actually departed from the present life or not, and whether they represent others or not. That the "hell" into which "the rich man" went was not a grave is obvious from the fact, which will be subsequently proved, that not only others besides him are in it, though they neither "died" nor were "buried" with him, but at least his "five brethren" were exposed to it even after he "was buried." As then "the rich man," after he is said to have "died," is said to be "buried," and is also represented to be at the same time, with others, conscious in a "place" which is obviously not his grave, it follows that he is considered to be not only more than his body, but also to be, after he "died," separated from it. Though the same name is applied to what is separated from his body that is applied to his body, and that was applied to him before that separation occurred, is this use of one name more inconsistent with the teaching of facts of a future life than with that of facts of the present life? To represent a spirit as even "carried by the angels" cannot be more strange than to represent God, who is "a Spirit," as "carried" by a "cloud." This last representation is

made in Isa. xix, i, where it is said that "the LORD rideth upon a swift cloud."

9. It has been contended, by way of an objection against the considering of this passage, as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that if any part of it is to be considered as figurative, then the whole of it must be figurative. But figurative and literal expressions are so frequently associated, that it is very absurd to infer from the presence of the former class the exclusion of the latter. If a figurative expression proved that all the expressions associated with it are also figurative, then when Thomson said, "But yonder comes the powerful king of day," he could not have meant a literal "day," because he called the sun a "powerful king!" How absurd then it is to infer that a whole sentence must be figurative if any part of it is figurative! That it is at least no less absurd to infer that a whole passage of even more than one sentence must be figurative, if any part of it is figurative, is obvious from even the following questions: Are all the words of the conversation at "Jacob's well," between Christ and "the woman of Samaria," which is recorded in John iv, 7–26, figurative, because in that conversation Christ spoke of "a well of water springing up into everlasting life?" Are also all the words of the conversation in Capernaum between Christ and certain Jews, which is recorded in John vi, 25–58, figurative, because in that conversation occur such words as "I am the bread of life?" Are, likewise, all the words of the conversation in Bethany, between Christ and Martha, whose brother Lazarus was "raised from the dead," which is recorded in John xi, 21–27, figurative, because in that conversation occur such words as "I am the resurrection and the life?" Besides this, as a future life cannot be exactly and in all respects the same as the present life, so when the former is represented by words of the latter, those words must perhaps necessarily be used more or less figuratively.

10. The questions, why was "Abraham's bosom" taken to represent a place for happy departed human spirits? and why did "the rich man" call "Abraham" "Father?" constitute an objection which has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death. Have not speakers, then, a right and a disposition to employ such words as seem to them to be most suitable for the expressing of that which they design to express? If "Abraham" stood in some peculiar relations to the Jews, is it surprising that expressions that recognize his distinctive superiority are seen? Besides this, whether the place in which "Lazarus" is said to have been "comforted" after he "died" exists or not, Christ has employed the words "Abraham's bosom"

as a name of it, and as that is at least as appropriate a name of a place which exists as of one which does not exist, it by no means follows from Christ's use of that name that the place of happiness after death to which he has applied it, does not exist, even if that place is not literally a part of a certain ancient patriarch.

11. It has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that the word rendered in it "hell," does not in any other passage of the Bible mean a place of consciousness after the present life. This objection implies that Christ could not in this passage give, by the word so rendered, any information that had not been given by it in other places of the Bible, and it also implies that even if he wished to teach a doctrine, he could not, unless he employed new and unknown words, or unless that doctrine had been previously taught in the Bible by the same words that he employed. Cannot a word in one place have a meaning which it may be supposed not to have in other places? To infer with unerring precision the meaning of a word from its preceding and succeeding uses, cannot be done, unless it can first be proved that that word can have no meaning that is not taught by those uses, and unless it can also first be proved that in the ascertaining of its meaning or meanings from those uses no error has been committed.

12. The expression in Eccl. xii, 7, "The spirit shall return unto God who gave it," has been urged as an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death. This objection seems to assume that it is not as true that, according to Heb. x, 31, "*it is* a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," as it is that, according to Psa. xvi, 11, "at" his "right hand *there are* pleasures forevermore." When it is not said for what purpose the spirit shall return unto God who gave it," can it be properly assumed that it is for the attaining of happiness, and that therefore "the rich man" could not after death be "tormented in hell?" If "the spirit" before death can be "in torments" while it is with the Omnipresent God, must it in going after death "unto God," necessarily go into heaven? May it not be said to go after death "unto God," because it then is no longer in any respect under its own control, but under the direct control, and at the entire disposal of God? Does the fact that "the spirit shall return unto God who gave it" prove that that "spirit" is a part of God? If he is so divided that every human being has a part of him, then he is at least as frequently miserable as are human beings. Is not "the spirit" said to "return unto God" more because he "gave it" than because he separated it from himself?

From the fact that the gift returns to its Giver, does it follow that it has in no case been injured and perverted, and that he will not devote it to that to which it has, by injury and perversion, become adapted?

13. It has been urged as an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that in it "eyes," a "finger," and a "tongue" are represented as being in a world of spirits; but from Acts vi, 15, where the "face" of Stephen is said to have been seen "as it had been the face of an angel," it follows that the representing of "the rich man" as having in that world "eyes" and a "tongue," and that of "Lazarus" as having in the same world a "finger," no more prove that they are not spirits than the representing of "an angel" as having a "face" proves that that "angel" is a man and not a spirit so much superior to man that Stephen was compared to it to show how much more than an inhabitant of the earth he at a certain time appeared to be. To those who believe "Abraham" to be a conscious spirit, and who may regard the words "Abraham's bosom," not as representing that part of hades which is occupied by the spirits of the righteous after their departure from the present life till their resurrection, but as representing a part of "Abraham" himself, it is a sufficient answer to the objection here opposed to say, that if the representing of "Abraham" as having a "bosom" while he has not undergone a resurrection is not inconsistent with the fact that he is a disembodied spirit, then the representing of "the rich man" as having "eyes" and a "tongue," and that of "Lazarus" as having a "finger," cannot be inconsistent with the fact that they are disembodied spirits. Such representations are made in order that truth may be communicated to man, to whom, in his present state, language precisely adapted to spirits would unquestionably not be intelligible. But at all events this is a mode of representation quite frequent in the Bible, and accordingly in it God is represented as having, among other things, "eyes," a "tongue," and a "finger," as is obvious even from Deut. xi, 12; Is. xxx, 27, and Exod. xxxi, 18. As, then, such expressions relative to God, who in John iv, 24 is said to be "a Spirit," do not prove that he has a physical body nor that he is unconscious, but at least seem to imply that this is the best if not the only way in which the actions or the circumstances of a spirit can be represented to man, so such representations of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" do not present a contradiction to the doctrines that their bodies have not undergone a resurrection, and that their spirits are conscious even while separated from those bodies.

14. Against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, it has been urged that the Bible represents the dead to be conscious of not only nothing that has existed on the earth, but also of nothing that exists in any place. This objection implies, that in the regarding of the Bible as representing the dead to be thus utterly unconscious, this passage is not taken into consideration, though it was uttered by Christ, the superior clearness and fullness of whose teaching seem not a little indicated by the fact that it is declared of him in 2 Tim. i, 10, that he "hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." As this passage represents at least "the rich man" as conscious after his departure from the present life of not only things of the earth that had transpired, but also of things that were transpiring in another place, does it not give a representation of the dead? If this passage which contains such words as "died," "buried," "lifetime," and "rose from the dead," contains not a representation of a state after death, then words inexpressibly appropriate for the giving of such a representation do not give it. How absurd, then, it is to say what the Bible represents that state to be and at the same time not to take into consideration all its representations of it!

15. It has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, that as no wrong committed by "the rich man" before he "died," and no good achieved in the present life by "Lazarus" are definitely stated, so the former cannot be in a "place of torment" after death, nor can the latter be "comforted" in "Abraham's bosom" after death. That this objection is as plausible against the position which it is designed to substantiate as against that which is assailed with it, is obvious from the fact, that if for certain conditions of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" no reasons are assigned, then the conditions of others, which those of theirs may be supposed to represent, are also without a statement of the reasons of their existence. If, accordingly, "the rich man's" "being in torments" and Lazarus's being "comforted" represent conditions of two classes of individuals, and if no reasons are assigned why "the rich man" and "Lazarus" are thus circumstanced, then those classes are in their respective conditions of degradation and elevation or misery and happiness, though no wrong to incur that degradation or misery is attributed to the one class, nor good to the other, to entitle it to its elevation or happiness! If, then, it is absurd that for "the rich man's" misery and Lazarus's happiness all the reasons are not assigned, is it not absurd that for the misery and happiness of those whom they may be supposed to represent all the reasons are not assigned? But it can by

no means be easily proved that no wrong is attributed to "the rich man." That while he "fared sumptuously every day" he may have criminally neglected "Lazarus," whom he is represented as knowing, may be indicated by the fact that it is said, not that "Lazarus" in a better place than "at" a "gate" had better food than "the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table," and better care for "his sores" than that which "dogs" could give, but that even when "full of sores" he "was laid at" "the rich man's" "gate," where it is said, not that he was "fed," but that he was "desiring to be fed with" even "the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table." "Abraham's" declaration to "the rich man," "Thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things," indicates that "the rich man" did not give any of his "good things" to "Lazarus," who is accordingly not said to have had both these kinds of "things." As it is not obvious that the helpless and destitute circumstances of "Lazarus" received proper attention, so if it was not designed by Christ's statement of them to indicate that "the rich man" had criminally neglected them, it is not easy to conceive why they are said to have occurred so near him. Does not the fact that "the rich man" is represented as praying to "Abraham" indicate that he may also, previously to that praying, have disregarded his Creator, and confided in an erroneous and idolatrous theory of religion? Does not the fact that he had received his "good things" indicate that he may have served himself? Besides this, as he had come from his "father's house" where "Moses and the prophets" were, so he had disbelieved or at least disregarded their instructions, and accordingly his assertion, "but if one went unto them from the dead they will repent," is an indirect admission that he himself had neglected to "repent." In regard to the character of "Lazarus" it is obvious that in proportion as this passage indicates that "the rich man" had criminally neglected him, it also indicates that "Lazarus" must have been at least so good that he did not deserve that neglect. It seems also that as "the rich man" desired "Lazarus" to be an instrument of relief to himself and of instruction to his "five brethren," "Lazarus" must have been at least so good that though he must have been criminally neglected by "the rich man," yet notwithstanding that neglect he did not give "the rich man" any occasion to even distrust him. If "Lazarus," as "the rich man," had neglected to "repent," or in any other respect been criminal, "the rich man" would doubtless have complained of injustice.

16. Another objection which has been urged against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death is, that if a full retribution is to take place after the gen-

eral resurrection, then such a consciousness between death and that resurrection is absurd. Are then "torments" between death and the general resurrection more absurd than "torments" before death? All who admit that that resurrection will take place, must admit that the condition of a man after it will differ, in at least some respects, from that condition of his which will precede it between death and that resurrection, as well as from that which he experiences before death. If a happiness between death and the resurrection will be followed by a different and greater happiness, will that latter happiness be more consistent with the former one than a consciousness of a full punishment will be with a preceding consciousness, between death and the resurrection, of a less punishment? If between death and the resurrection the righteous and the wicked were equally unconscious, then, as such a condition would be no more of a punishment to the latter than to the former, would the condition which it may be supposed will follow that one, be more consistent with it than a consciousness of a full retribution would be with a preceding consciousness between death and the resurrection of a condition corresponding with character? But whatever it may be supposed that a man's condition after the general resurrection will be, would not a condition between death and that resurrection corresponding with his character, be so far from an absurdity that it would best preserve in him a consciousness of his identity? Even erroneous theories of the resurrection imply that the conditions supposed to be affected by it will be as much disturbed as they will be changed!

17. The conversation after death between "the rich man" and "Abraham," has been urged as an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death. The fact, however, that "the rich man" is represented as conversing with only "Abraham," seems to indicate that conversations after death between the miserable and the happy may be neither numerous nor desultory, though they may be permitted under certain restrictions and for certain purposes. That "the rich man" without his body is represented as seeing, speaking, hearing, as well as feeling, is at least not inconsistent with the fact that the Bible frequently represents God, who is "a Spirit," as also having in these, as well as in other respects, such faculties as are possessed by man in the present life. Though "the rich man" is represented as seeing "Abraham" and as conversing with him, yet this is so far from proving that they were near each other, that it is expressly said that "Abraham" is "afar off" from him. But if a conversation between "the rich man" and "Abraham" is absurd, is a con-

versation between those whom they may be supposed to represent not also absurd? If in the latter case a conversation would not prevent any one from retaining his own circumstances, would a conversation in the former have a different effect? Is it not true that to know the evil from which an escape has been made, produces not sadness but gratitude and joy in the delivered? Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the conversation between "the rich man" and "Abraham," is represented as occurring after death, but not after the resurrection nor after the general judgment. If at the resurrection a general judgment and a full and final retribution will occur, then what might be absurd after that judgment may be more proper between death and the resurrection than in the present life.

18. An objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death, is founded on the words, "so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot," from which it is inferred that some of those who enjoy happiness after death are said to desire to go to those who endure "torments" after death. But such an inference from those words cannot be proved to be necessarily legitimate. The most in the direction of this objection that can legitimately be inferred from them, is that if any of those who enjoy happiness after death should desire or be willing to go to those who endure "torments" after death, they could not go. That to such happy ones a desire or willingness of that kind is perhaps not possible, seems obvious from the fact that they must know that its indulgence is useless and perhaps even criminal, since with them access to such "tormented" ones is represented to be utterly impossible. But even if some have after death a temporary desire or willingness of that kind, is that desire or willingness absurd between death and the resurrection, but not absurd previous to death when it may be supposed to occur? Besides this, it does not follow from the fact that the state between death and the resurrection is one of happiness and of misery, that it is therefore a state of full retribution, and hence what might be absurd in the latter case might not be absurd in the former.

19. The fact that "the rich man" is represented as making efforts in regard to his "five brethren," "lest they also come into" the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented," is supposed to indicate that he had compassion at the time of the making of those efforts, and as compassion seems to the objector here opposed, to be what cannot be felt by an irrecoverably lost soul, so he regards those efforts as constituting an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death.

That such a soul cannot after the present life experience any compassion cannot perhaps be proved, since a compassion which is without a possibility of accomplishing its desired object, and which is therefore unreasonable and useless, so far from indicating a state of goodness, may enhance that misery which its possessor is designed or left to experience. But it is not certain that any compassion on the part of "the rich man" is indicated by this passage. As he could have had no such fear in regard to his "five brethren," "lest they also come into this place of torment," unless he knew that their morals were corrupt, and as his knowledge of the corruptness of their morals is also specially evinced by the fact that his assertion, "but if one went unto them from the dead they will repent," more than intimates that he knew that they had refused or neglected to "repent," so he must have known and felt that he had in his "lifetime" exerted not a beneficial but a deleterious influence on those morals. As he knew that he had contributed to those corrupt morals such an influence, is it surprising that he indulges in unavailing fears or wishes? Is it surprising that he seems to wish to undo so many of his actions as he may have imagined to be remediable, and thus endeavor to alleviate his "torments" as much as possible? May he not, without compassion, have feared his brethren's coming where he is, because he knew that it would increase his own misery to see still additional terrible results of his own misconduct? Besides this, a compassion between death and the resurrection for any who have not yet arrived in that interval or state, even if proved to have existed, would not prove the possibility of a compassion after that interval or state, or even during its existence, for any whose condition has become unalterably "fixed."

20. From the fact that by hearing "Moses and the prophets" "the rich man's" "five brethren" would escape the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented," it is supposed that those writings teach the existence of that "place," and as it is also supposed that they do not teach the existence of a "place of torment" as existing after death, so this has been urged as an objection against the considering of this passage as teaching a consciousness of punishment after death. As the hearing of "Moses and the prophets" would, at the time when "the rich man" "died," secure an escape from the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented," it follows not necessarily that those writings teach the existence of that "place," but that they require such conduct as would secure an escape from it. This is obvious from the fact that, not the acquisition of a knowledge of that "place," but the sustaining of the conduct required by those writings, constitutes a remedy for that refusal, or that neg-

lect to "repent," of which "the rich man" more than intimates that his "five brethren" were guilty. "Abraham's" declaration, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead," indicates, not that those writings contain the same evidence of the "place of torment" in which "the rich man" is "tormented," that he entreated "Abraham" to send to his "five brethren," but that if they would not sustain the conduct required by those writings, then they would attribute to deception the appearance to them of "one" "from the dead," and would also reject his teaching as containing, like that of those writings, doctrines that were not in accordance with their estimate of human actions and desert. But if it could be proved that "Abraham's" language implies that "Moses and the prophets" teach the existence of the "place of torment" in which "the rich man" "is tormented," it would not follow that all must inevitably discover that teaching. That "the rich man" regarded those writings as so far from teaching the existence of that "place," that he believed that his "five brethren" would not be convinced by them of its existence, is obvious from the fact that while he knew that they had those writings he desired "Lazarus" to be sent to them, "that he may testify unto them lest they also come into this place of torment." From "the rich man's" assertion, "but if one went unto them from the dead they will repent," it follows not only that his "five brethren" had refused or neglected to "repent," but that he knew that that refusal or that neglect arose from the fact that though they did, as "Abraham" says, "have Moses and the prophets," they did not have what they regarded evidence of the existence of the "place of torment" in which "the rich man" is "tormented." Whether that "place" then is supposed to be in the present life or in a future one, it is obvious that when "the rich man" "died," neither he nor his "five brethren" considered those writings as teaching its existence. But as that "place" exists notwithstanding that disbelief of it, and as, according to Luke xx, 37, Christ said that "even Moses showed" "that the dead are raised," though the Sadducees, who professed to believe in "Moses," did not believe in a resurrection, so the belief that "Moses and the prophets" do not teach the existence of a "place of torment" in a future life, is no evidence against its existence, and it also does not prove that "the rich man" is not "tormented" in it. Besides this, the belief that those writings teach the existence of a "place of torment" in a future life, exists to a great extent; and opposite to all the silence relative to a future life, which may be supposed to be in them, is this important fact, that not they but Christ "hath brought life and immortality to light

through the Gospel." If then in the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" facts of a future life are stated, in regard to which "Moses and the prophets" are comparatively or even entirely silent, this is so far from being an objection against the considering of it as teaching those facts, that it is what should be expected from the fact, that its statements of a future life are published by Christ, who has introduced a dispensation superior to theirs?

II. The expositions of this passage which regard it as not teaching a consciousness of punishment after death refuted.

1. If "the rich man" represents the Jews who rejected the Christian religion and continued to adhere to the Jewish, and if "the crumbs which fell from" his "table" represent religious advantages of theirs, then is it a fact that those whom "Lazarus" is supposed to represent were "desiring" those advantages? Did, for instance, the Roman people, who constituted not a small part of those whom "Lazarus" is supposed to represent, entertain such a desire? Were they not so far from "desiring" religious advantages of the Jews, that they despised and subjugated them, notwithstanding all their supposed or real advantages? Besides this, how could those who were destitute of the instructions and excellencies of the Jewish religion, have been "desiring" them without avail, if, as Christ said, the adherents of that religion did "compass sea and land to make one proselyte?" Such efforts in the propagating of that religion could not have left any desire of it without a supply; and yet, if "the rich man" represents the adherents of that religion, then those adherents were so far from feeding those who differed from them that they left them "*desiring* to be fed." Another reason why he cannot represent those adherents is the fact that, as they had provided at their temple means for supplying the Gentiles with the subordinate parts of their religion, they could not be represented as allowing the Gentiles to continue "*desiring* to be fed with" that "with" which they *were* "fed." Is it not also absurd to regard the fact that he "was clothed in purple and fine linen" as evidence that he represents Jews because the Jewish priests had in their garments "purple and fine linen?" Is it not likewise absurd to regard his "purple and fine linen" as more literal than his "crumbs?" Does his apparel represent apparel, and his food religious advantages? Is such an interpretation consistent with the assertion that this passage is either wholly literal or wholly figurative, or with the assertion that it cannot teach a consciousness of punishment after death, because all its words cannot be considered as used literally? But the fact that, according to the twenty-eighth chapter of Exodus, "gold," "blue," "scarlet," and precious

"stones," were as much required, and constituted as conspicuous parts of those priests' garments, as "purple and fine linen" is fatal to that interpretation of "the rich man's" apparel.

2. If "Lazarus" represents the Gentiles and those Jews who renounced the Jewish religion and embraced the Christian, then whom do "the dogs" represent? Do they represent nothing? Are any of the circumstances of "Lazarus" indicated by their coming to him and by their licking of "his sores," and are that coming and that licking still mentioned simply as an unmeaning appendage? The word "dogs," in Matt. xv, 26, 27—where Christ's declaration, "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the dogs," is followed by the assertion of "a woman of Canaan," "Truth, Lord; yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table"—is generally regarded as representing the Gentiles. Obvious then as it is that if "the dogs" which "came then and licked" the "sores" of "Lazarus" are not literal dogs," then they represent the Gentiles, it follows, on the supposition that "Lazarus" also represents the Gentiles, that the Gentiles "*came* and *licked*" themselves! Another reason why "Lazarus" cannot represent the Gentiles is the fact that the "woman of Canaan," whose reply Christ approved, describes, as it is generally supposed, the Gentiles as *eating*, while he describes "Lazarus" as without avail "*desiring* to" eat. Will it be said that "the dogs" which "came and licked" the "sores" of "Lazarus" represent a *part* of the Gentiles? How then happens it that those "dogs" are not said to have accompanied either him to "Abraham's bosom," or "the rich man" to the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented?" Is it not absurd to suppose that Christ would call one part of the Gentiles "Lazarus" and another "the dogs?" Would not such a use of "the dogs" also differ from that adopted in the conversation between Christ and the "woman of Canaan?" That "Lazarus" cannot represent Christian Jews is obvious from the fact that before their conversion to Christianity they were so far from the character of a "beggar" "desiring to be fed with the crumbs which" it is supposed "fell from the" Jewish religion, that they were as much "clothed in purple and fine linen" and they as much "fared sumptuously every day" as many other Jews who never renounced the Jewish religion, and after that conversion they likewise could not have been "*desiring*" any of the peculiarities of their renounced religion.

3. If the fact that "Lazarus" "died" represents the deliverance of those whom he is supposed to represent, from sin and from ignorance of God, then how happens it that the world has besides Jews

yet so many sinners and so many who are ignorant of God? Does he then even after he "died" represent not only Christians, but also sinners and idolaters? If not, then have not all those whom he is supposed to represent "died?" Will it be said that the death which the Gentiles are supposed to have "died" was simply such that they have, since the commencement of the Christian dispensation, been more free from the laws of "Moses" than they were before that commencement? Were then they, as the Jews, ever under those laws of his which have been abrogated or superseded? Will it be urged that the meaning of the word "died" as applied to "Lazarus" is analogous to that of the word "dead" as applied to the prodigal son who was said to have been "dead?" It should not be forgotten that Christ says in his own words that "Lazarus" "died," while in respect to that death of that prodigal son Christ relates simply what the son's "father said." But to show beyond even a plausible contradiction that if both those deaths were figurative they could not be analogous to each other, it is sufficient to say that if the prodigal son's father, in saying that that son had been "dead," meant not that he had previously supposed that he had departed from the present life, then he must have meant that he had been "dead in trespasses and sins," while "Lazarus" must have been "dead in trespasses and sins" before "his sores" had been "licked," or at least *before* the time when he is said to have "died," and not *after* that time. If then it could be proved that both those deaths were figurative, it would follow that they were so far from being analogous to each other that the one would be the opposite of the other, since that of the prodigal son would be a death *in* sin, while that of "Lazarus" would be a death *to* sin.

4. If "the angels" who "carried" "Lazarus" "into" that in which he was not before he "died," represent Christian instructors of those whom he is supposed to represent, and are not such "angels" as Christ, in Luke xx, 36, more than intimates cannot "die," then from the fact that those "angels" did not perform their service to "Lazarus" till he had "died," it follows that those whom he is supposed to represent "died," or, as it is supposed, became Christian without Christian instruction! In order to avoid this absurdity, will it be said that "the dogs" which "licked his sores" also represent Christian instructors? But Christ would not represent such instructors by "dogs," nor would he represent them as having simply come "and licked" "sores," since this character would not accord with the imparting of superior religious instruction. Is it not also absurd to suppose that Christ would call Christian instructors both "dogs" and "angels?" It might as well

be supposed that he could have called "Lazarus" both "Lazarus" and John.

5. If "Abraham's bosom" represents the Christian Church, or the Christian dispensation, then is that interpretation of those words more consistent with the considering, according to Luke i, 73, of "Abraham" of the words "father Abraham" as the literal name of a certain one of the ancient patriarchs, than the considering of "Abraham's bosom" as representing a place of happiness after death is consistent with that interpretation of "Abraham" as that literal proper name? Is the former case a less joining of the figurative with the literal than the latter? Does it not follow from this that a caution should be cherished lest what may at one time be condemned may at another be embraced and approved? Besides this, how can the supposition that the Gentiles have been "carried" "into" the Christian Church be harmonized with the fact that millions of them have not yet "died" to idolatry, and with the fact that those millions are no more in the Christian Church nor more under the Christian dispensation than are Jews? Will it be said that "Abraham's bosom" represents the spiritual and internal blessings of religion? Is this a less joining of the figurative with the literal than that of the supposition just condemned? Did "Lazarus" feel no religious blessings till he "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom?" Could he have "died" to idolatry or to sin without such blessings? The fact then that he must have had religious blessings and feelings before he "was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom," proves that "Abraham's bosom" does not represent religion as enjoyed on the earth.

6. If the fact that "the rich man" "died" represents the termination of the Jewish dispensation, then does not the word "died" mean one thing in reference "to the rich man" and an altogether different thing in reference to "Lazarus?" If when the Jews and the Gentiles, whom "Lazarus" is supposed to represent, "died," they ceased to be Jews and Gentiles, and became Christians, why did not the Jews whom "the rich man" is supposed to represent also cease to be Jews and also become Christians when they "died?" Does the death which transforms the former class from being Jews and Gentiles into Christians, so far from transforming the latter class from being Jews into Christians, leave them Jews, and make them the unchangeable opposites of Christians? Can then the interpretation which involves this absurdity be with propriety recommended as incomparably better than the considering of the deaths of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" as departures from the present life? Is it not a striking exemplification of the fact that the course of error is indeed a zigzag one?

Art. VII.—PARKERISM.

1. *A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion.* By Theodore Parker. Boston: Little & Brown. 1842.
2. *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament,* from the German of Wilhelm Martin Lebeucht DeWette. Translated and enlarged by Theodore Parker. Boston: Little & Brown. 1843.
3. *Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and Popular Theology.* By Theodore Parker. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1853.
4. *Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons.* By Theodore Parker. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1852.

Magnificent are the promises that Parkerism makes to the world. No other system of religion, true or false, has ever had such a trumpet blown before it. Polytheism promised little, Judaism much, Christianity more; the truth in them was smothered under errors and falsehoods; at best it was only relative truth; but here is "absolute religion, absolute morality." Here at last is truth itself, the pure white light unrefracted by the prisms of dogma, creed, tradition.

The Bible has doubtless been a great blessing to our race, but it has also been a great curse; it has taught stupendous truths, but has also taught stupendous falsehoods, which have fallen like blight and mildew upon the nations, and Parkerism is the radiant seraph that comes to deliver American Christianity from this scourge. Christianity has doubtless done well for the world, perhaps has given the hitherto degenerate generations as much truth as they were prepared to receive; but *real* Christianity was buried with its Founder ages ago, and never rose again till now. What has been called Christianity is a mass of corruption, which has accumulated in the courts of the temple which Christ reared, and here is the Hercules who is to cleanse away the Augæan filth and make the place sweet for the fastidious nostril of modern progress. Here is the Joshua that is to lead the Church up out of this horrible wilderness where she has been wandering eighteen centuries, starving on the arid sands of creeds and dogmas, drinking at the Marahs of superstition, bitten by fiery serpent fanaticism, her very bones melting for dread of the Anakim of common sense and common conscience, and is to bring her to that goodly land in which her elect souls have always believed, where the very cliffs sweat honey. Christ, too, it must be owned, did much, very much for the world. But his authority, self-assumed or slavishly accepted by his follow-

ers, has been an incubus on human advancement for ages; and now, as "Protestantism delivers us from the tyranny of the Church," as "Biblical criticism frees us from the thraldom of the Scriptures," so "philosophical spiritualism" is to deliver us from the "authority of Jesus."*

This manifesto might be deemed sufficiently lofty, but as we look more closely even these astonishing claims become if possible more astonishing. Here, we are told, for the first time reason has its full and just claims in a system of religion. Of course, then, all those minds in the Christian Church that know how to think, and are not afraid to think, may be found here. These are the only Christians who can look through microscopes and telescopes, grope among fossils and hieroglyphics, and yet preserve their religion. To yield up to these modest men all the reason and common sense of Christendom would seem tolerably liberal. We heard a speech at a recent denominational anniversary which generously allowed all the Christian sects a share in the great body of Christianity, but modestly assigned the little denomination to which the orator belonged a position "in the brain, and in the forehead of the brain;" but Parkerism claims brain and heart too! This only can lead men to the serene peace, the exalted joys of oneness with God. Yea it promises to lead man to a Pisgah on which we do not read that ever prophet or apostle stood, where he may be "so full of peace that prayer is needless."† These are the elect, the chosen seed, the only lineal descendants of prophets and martyrs who in all ages have been torn in pieces for the truth; the only legitimate "heirs of the promises" to be found in universal Christendom!‡ Since all men of "piety and good sense" to-day look on the "popular theology" just as "cultivated minds" in the old civilization looked on the "popular mythology,"§ of course Parkerism is the only haven whither "piety and good sense" have fled. After all this we are prepared to hear that these gentlemen belong to the "*forlorn hope of the race.*"‖

And now we repeat with emphasis, magnificent is this manifesto. "The race" will expect great deeds of these warriors of the forlorn hope. Great things might have been expected from Judaism, for this "spiritual philosophy" tells us it was the cream skimmed from heathenism; greater things were to be expected from Christianity, for it was the cream of Judaism; but here is a system which takes heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity all to its alembic, and distils from them all the precious drops of immortal ichor! High

* Discourse of Religion, p. 483. † Ibid, p. 154.
‡ Ibid, p. 480. § Ibid, 131, note. ‖ Ibid, p. 481.

spiritual attainments may be reasonably demanded of a Calvinist who professes assurance that he is one of the elect, of a Methodist who believes Christian perfection attainable in this life, and professes to be "groaning after it;" but what is to be expected of him who daily feeds on such manna as to loathe the "weakish matter" which forms the staple of the "good pious books"* on which the Christian world is fed, whose faith lays hold on attainments that render prayer needless? High credentials might reasonably be asked of him who came claiming to be the Son of God, and whom even Mr. Parker styles the "greatest of all the sons of men." What then are we to expect of him who can "drop a tear for the weakness"† of Jesus of Nazareth?

And now let us look around a little after the fulfillment of these splendid promises. And first let us consider the freedom promised to reason. The Church, we are told, by hampering the minds of Biblical scholars with creeds and traditions, has prejudged all critical questions, making a frank, fair study of Scripture exegesis impossible. Criticism does not come to a page alleged to be written by Moses or Isaiah as it comes to a page alleged to be written by Cicero or Thucydides. In the latter case the page is read to see if it be authentic and genuine; in the former case the question is usually settled before the page is read. Hence Biblical criticism has languished in England, and cannot be said even to have had a being in America till Mr. Parker translated DeWette's "Introduction to the Old Testament Scriptures," with notes, appendixes, and excursus, bringing it down where American Christianity could reach it. But this system for the first time gives Biblical criticism the dignity of a real science; it gives the mind fair play; it comes unbiassed to the Scripture documents, sifts them critically, tests them historically, and arrives at a conclusion which may be relied on as the product of fair, free thought. So Strauss tells us that his chief and peculiar qualification for writing the life of Jesus is his entire freedom from certain religious and dogmatic prepossessions, a freedom to which he had early attained by "philosophic studies!"‡ DeWette, in the work above alluded to, states the case thus: "The Bible is to be considered as an historical phenomenon, in a series with other such phenomena, and entirely subject to the laws of historical inquiry,"§ and Mr. Parker thus treats of popular Scripture exegesis in England and America:

"Hâvernik, and most of the English and American theologians with him, object to this method, (DeWette's,) and insist that the books of the Bible should

* Discourse of Religion, p. 481. † Ibid, 260.

‡ Leben Jesu, Vorrede. § Introduction to Old Testament Scripture, vol. i, p. 3.

be examined from a religious point of view, declaring that *dogmatic theology* is the touchstone wherewith we are to decide between the true and the false, the genuine and the spurious. He therefore examines the Bible not simply as an historical production, but as the highest standard of human faith and life. Thus he considers these books as a peculiar phenomenon not to be judged of by the same canons of criticism which apply to all other works. But the method which he and they propose strikes a death-blow at all criticism, and commits the Bible to a blind and indiscriminating belief."*

And now that historical criticism is thus turned with such a flourish into the field of Scripture exegesis, the reins thrown so ostentatiously upon her neck, would anybody imagine that she was fettered just as much as before, and with precisely the same style of fetters too, so that she cannot brouse a mouthful but at the critic's will? So far from proceeding by a rigid scrutiny of historical and critical evidences, and calmly waiting before pronouncing judgment till the last witness has deposed, this system decides the whole question, and on dogmatic grounds, before one historical or critical witness has stood up. So far from being free from dogmatic prepossessions, the most offensive characteristic of this school of criticism is its intolerant and intolerable dogmatism. It is not dogmas, but a special family of dogmas that Mr. Parker drives so contemptuously out of the field of criticism. We mean to say that Parker's Discourse on Religion, and Gaussen's Discourse on Plenary Inspiration, settle critical questions by precisely the same rule; both decide dogmatically; genuine criticism has no fairer field in the one than in the other. This may seem a strange statement; let him who doubts it look at the proof. See in what a comfortable wholesale way the gravest critical questions are settled by this system. A few iron dogmas are adjusted together into a sort of critical machine, which turns out decisions concerning authenticity and genuineness by the quantity.

"Has God made a revelation to man?" "No," Parkerism promptly answers, before it opens the Bible. What is the ground of this decision? The *dogma*, man is sufficient unto himself; wherever there is a want in the human heart there is a corresponding supply in nature; all religious institutions are "implied in man's nature."† And now that the universal proposition is established, of course all those little particulars as to revelations made to Moses, David, Paul, are effectually disposed of. One glance of "spiritual insight" dispenses with all necessity for the cumbrous apparatus of historical investigation.

"Is the Pentateuch genuine?" "No," says the critic instantly,

* Introduction to Old Testament Scripture, vol. i, p. 4.

† Discourse of Religion, pp. 15, 188.

just glancing at the document through the spectacles of the same dogma. Here is allusion to facts and events which did not transpire till long after the age of Moses, *ergo* he could not have known of them, and never wrote the narrative. "Is it authentic?" The critic reads only the first paragraph to answer "No" again. There are events in the first chapter of Genesis that, from the nature of the case, could never have fallen within human observation; to be authentic then it must have come from a supernatural source, but this the dogma aforesaid cannot allow, and so the first two chapters of Genesis are decided to be a myth, in whose husk there is not a single historical kernel; and this masterly dogma not only stabs through the *Mosaic* narrative of creation, but all others, not only as now attested and interpreted, but however attested and interpreted, and lands us finally on this chill negation: "No one can determine what was the primitive state of the human race, or when, or where, or how mankind, at the command of God, came into existence. Here our conclusions can be only negative."* But to make assurance doubly sure another dogma comes forward which is really only the first in another dress: "It is a settled point that . . . miracles never really took place;" so ran the phrase in the earlier editions of DeWette's Introduction, (sec. 145;) in the later editions, and in Mr. Parker's translation, it is softened down to this: "Since it is at least doubtful, to a cultivated mind, that *such miracles actually took place*,"† etc.; but it is practically the same thing, for whatever may be allowed philosophically as to the possibility, historically all miracles are uniformly denied. The original statement was the most candid, for it is the real canon of criticism used throughout.‡ To come back then to the question of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, here are accounts of miracles woven through it all, and so the critic summarily decides the whole to be "mythical and legendary."

"Is the Pentateuch the work of one or many authors?" Here, surely, it might be thought, would be a wide field for genuine critical labor, in the comparison of styles, use of words and phrases, development of unity or diversity in the various parts; but our champion of free, unbiassed criticism is not compelled to go through all this drudgery, though he may condescend to it as a sort of by-

* Discourse of Religion, p. 118.

† DeWette's Introduction to Old Testament Scripture, vol. ii, p. 36. The italics are his.

‡ Mr. Parker says pointedly: "I do not believe there ever was a miracle or ever will be." Discourse preached November 14, 1852. B. B. Mussey. Boston: 1853.

play; these potent dogmas do the real work. Here, it is said, are events which might have transpired under human observation; they depend on natural and established causes, and most probably, as the account looks natural and truthful, they were recorded by some reliable author or authors; but they are mingled with other events to which supernatural causes are assigned, and which, therefore, must have proceeded from some unreliable author or authors. But this conclusion is settled immovably by dogma number three, which asserts barbarism to be man's natural state, and true religion to be a development through the various stages of Fetichism, Polytheism, and Monotheism. It is admitted expressly that this theory does not rest on historic grounds, but is reached by "analogy" and "philosophy," that is, it is a dogma. Now there occurs in the history of Abraham, who by the way was "a mythological character of some excellence," some most exalted moral and spiritual truths. But, by the dogma, mankind were then in a state of Fetichism; at least the Hebrew race had not advanced beyond that stage, and therefore all such expressions must have been interpolated by some author many centuries later. In Deuteronomy it is announced that kings would reign in Israel, and this proves that portion to have been written at least as far down as the age of Samuel; allusion is also made to a national unity in the place and manner as well as object of worship, and as Israel in the time of Moses was by the theory passing through the stage of Polytheism, with its scattered shrines and diverse rites, this proves that portion to have been written after the building of the temple, most probably in the time of Josiah. The alleged song of Moses, (Deut. xxxii,) with its catalogue of terrific predictions, "must have been written in the most unfortunate period of the state," after the people had been wasted by the Assyrian captivities. Deut. xxviii plainly alludes to those captivities, and that decides that it must have been composed at least after the carrying away of the ten tribes. It will be seen at once how these dogmas, which are really only one in several forms, furnish a universal solvent for the hardest questions of Biblical criticism. The last and most splendid portion of Isaiah (chap. xl–lxvi) clearly refers to events which transpired long after the age of the prophet. This settles at once date and genuineness, and it is set off as a separate book, the work of the "pseudo-Isaiah." Daniel is in like manner proved to be a "politico-religious romance," composed most likely in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The critic comes to the Gospels, and finds of course that the writers believed in miracles; so the documents are to be received

as possessing "a very low degree of historical credibility." The book of Acts, with all the vast array of internal and external evidences of its credibility, evidences critical, historical, geographical, archæological, is dismissed summarily with the contemptuous sentence, "The Book of Acts, of a mythical and legendary character, requires no special examination."* It is true that various critical and historical considerations are scattered in here and there, sometimes introduced with considerable ostentation, but over the portico through which the critical apparatus is carried in, you see clearly written, "Nothing supernatural allowed here." "It is a settled point that miracles never really happened;" this dogma is the rack on which every Scripture author is stretched.

We repeat then the statement that Parker's "Discourse on Religion," with all its magnificent promises, gives Biblical criticism no more scope than Gaussen on Plenary Inspiration. Neither one of them settles these questions on *merely* critical considerations; there is a dogmatic prepossession in each mind which lies at the bottom of every conclusion. The one, from facts of consciousness and observation, has reached the conclusion that man needs supernatural assistance; the other has reached the directly opposite conclusion that man is sufficient for himself; and each is influenced by his conclusion in making up his critical judgment. Honest Rationalists, like Vatke, avow that "very many reasons, *sometimes the principal ones*, by which a supposed ancient book is referred to a later age, are of a dogmatic kind."† But Mr. Parker arrogantly claims entire exemption from all dogmatic bias. His claim amounts to just this, no dogmas are to influence criticism but his dogmas. This claim is not only arrogant, but dishonest. He complains of the *lack of evidence* for the Christian miracles; declares that whether miracles did or did not occur in the case of Christianity is a "purely historical question, to be answered like all other historical questions by competent testimony;"‡ and yet he comes to the documents with his mind fully made up that if they *do* relate miracles the writers were either knaves or fools. He says of the authors of the Gospels: "If they believed in miracles they would ascribe prodigious things to their teacher;"§ that is, the fact that a man believes in the possibility of miracles, annihilates his testimony at this critical bar! He is an imbecile or a liar! And yet, after this, he has the dishonesty to complain that he cannot believe in Christ's miracles "*on such evidence!*"

* Discourse of Religion, p. 360.

† Cf. Hengstenberg on the Pentateuch, Ryland's translation, to Introduction, p. 35. ‡ Discourse of Religion, p. 271. § Ibid, p. 249.

But Mr. Parker not only pretends to do what he cannot do, but what no one else can do; he pretends to do what is impossible to human nature. These questions cannot be settled on mere critical grounds, and it is hypocrisy or self-deception for any man to profess to do it. Man has convictions before he begins to reason, moral and intellectual convictions, and without them reasoning would be a series of connected links fastened nowhere. Faith is not born out of intellectual investigations. Criticism cannot then give birth to faith, for it appeals only to the intellectual faculties; it can only give reasons to the mind for faith that already exists. Man's moral faculties are as essential a part of his nature as his intellectual faculties, his moral convictions as reliable as his intellectual convictions, and his moral nature may spontaneously lay hold on truth which his intellect may be long in reasoning out. For a man to attempt to keep one set of his faculties in action, and keep back all the rest, is to attempt an impossibility, and if the thing were possible, what would the result arrived at be worth? Will a man's logical faculty do duty better for being carefully dissected from every other? Will a man's head think better for being cut away from his body?

How much twaddle and absurdity has been pompously paraded before the world upon the "province of criticism!" To examine the Bible "from a religious point of view" "strikes a death-blow at all criticism." Christ sanctions the Old Testament authors; but if we take this into account it is a "death-blow" to unbiassed criticism, for Christ did not come into the world to be a critic! (Suppose Christ had *not* quoted the Old Testament, would these critics have made no use of the omission?) Peter and Paul apply the second Psalm to Christ, but this should have no weight with candid criticism, for "grammatical interpretations of difficult passages ought not to be expected from these teachers of Christian doctrine!"* What do we care about this pretentious thing called criticism except as a *means?* Is literature made for criticism or criticism for literature? Is the human body made for the anatomist, or is the anatomist an humble servant waiting on the welfare of the body? These critical anatomists seem to think that man, the universe, and the great God himself, are mere *post-mortems* for their dissecting-room.

Let us look a little more closely at Mr. Parker's criticism of the Gospel narratives. Denying, on dogmatic grounds, all supernatural influence in human affairs, he of course denies the Gospel plan of forgiveness and regeneration, and the historic facts on which that

* Neque enim ab istis disciplinæ Christianæ doctoribus expectari interpretationes locorum difficilium grammaticæ debent.—*Rosenmuller in loc.*

plan is based. Yet, while denying the supernatural in the New Testament, he would hold to its ethics, and save the character and moral teachings of Christ. To do this is something of a problem in exegesis. As he summons the historic witnesses before him, his first question, as might be expected, is, "Do you believe in miracles?" As all answer in the affirmative, they are greeted with a storm of contempt. This is a thing of course, yet singularly enough we often find him appealing to these identical witnesses as honest, excellent men! A pettifogging lawyer may be expected to storm and scold at opposing witnesses, but it is really a little too much, after he has once effectually broken them down, to summon them to the stand himself, and expect us to believe them! Yet this is precisely what Mr. Parker does with the Gospel witnesses in the "Discourse of Religion." He browbeats and ridicules them so far as to call them "puerile" babblers of "tales which it is charitable to call absurd," when their testimony is against him; yet, when needed to help his case, these same men are "honest, noble, pious, simple-hearted," their testimony is "so beautiful, so touching, so stamped with reality in some parts, with simple-heartedness in all;" "the honesty of the writers seems beyond question." (P. 360, etc.) How are these things to be reconciled? How is it that the Gospel narratives possess "a very low degree of historic credibility," and yet were written by "honest, pious men," "willing to leave all—comfort, friends, life—for its [truth's] sake?" (P. 362.) Thus: "They shared like us the ignorance and superstition of the times," believed in the "Old Testament mythology," "were not skilled in sifting rumors and separating fact from fiction," "relate much from hearsay, mingle their own personal prejudices in their work," "did not always understand the words and actions of their teacher." This explains why "honest, pious men" have filled the Gospel narratives with lying legends. In a word, the New Testament miracles are the joint offspring of a superstitious age, and of the imagination of simple, weak-headed men. This is a fair statement of the position.

Now, in the first place, the age was not a superstitious, but a skeptical age. In the heathen world the fatal collision had come between intellectual development and traditional religion, and the result was an all-corroding unbelief, before which the old mythologies were fast melting away. The gods had been ridiculed from their thrones; the rulers of the world were Stoics or Epicureans; the literature of the world was saturated with skepticism. And in regard to the superstition of the Jewish nation, Mr. Parker elsewhere furnishes ample contradiction of himself. When cutting the facts to his progress theory, he discourses thus:

"We see a gradual progress in this as in all mythologies. First, God appears in person; walks in the garden in the cool of the day; eats and drinks; makes contracts with his favorites; is angry, resentful, sudden and quick in quarrel, and changes his plans at the advice of a cool man. Then it is the angel of God who appears to man. It is deemed fatal for man to see Jehovah. His messenger comes to Manoah, and vanishes in the flame of sacrifice; the angel of Jehovah appears to David. Next it is only in dreams, visions, types, and symbols, that the Most High approaches his children. He speaks to them by night; comes in the rush of thoughts, but is not seen. The personal form and the visible angel have faded and disappeared, as the daylight assumed its power. The nation advanced; its religion and mythology advanced with it."*

Thus the Jewish people advanced, from Moses to the Maccabees, sloughing off one superstition after another, the Divine manifestation, beginning in a human form, changes into an angel, melts into a dream or vision, evaporates into a symbol or type, and then, as a climax, "progresses" to the *incarnation!* that is, this progress describes a curve, which in fifteen centuries arrives at the goal from which it started!

But again, it is utterly impossible to make these writers "honest, pious men" upon Mr. Parker's theory. Fanaticism, self-deception in any form or degree, cannot account for their attestation, so solemn and repeated, to some of the miracles of Christ, for example, his resurrection. With what amplitude of detail is it attested by John! In fact, to have been an eye-witness of Christ's resurrection is declared to be the necessary qualification of an apostle.† If the first followers of Christ did not testify to this as a matter of personal experience, what can we know of their testimony, for on this at least, all the documents are unanimous, gospel, epistle, and tradition, sacred and profane? Self-deception was impossible, in regard to "handling with the hands," "eating and drinking" with their Master who had just been slain. If the resurrection be not a fact, no greater absurdity can be put into words than to call the apostles "honest, pious men."

But finally and chiefly, Mr. Parker tells us that Christ's wisdom was transcendent; "Hebrew seers and Grecian sages must vail their faces before it." "At one step he goes before the world whole thousands of years." "He taught absolute religion, absolute morality, nothing less, nothing more;" but the disciples whom he chose and trained to give his life, character, and doctrines to the world—for he wrote nothing himself—they whom he selected as the sole channels through which his transcendent wisdom should be poured over future generations, were so utterly incompetent for their task as to fill their history with "tales which it is charitable to call absurd;" so stupidly fanatical as to imagine that the Jewish super-

* Discourse, p. 349. † Acts i, 22, and 1 Cor. ix, 1.

stitions, which Christ abhorred, were constantly flowing from his lips, yea, as to imagine (these "honest, pious men") that they saw dead men come out of their graves, and that they handled and ate with them! So they have honestly, piously filled his discourses with doctrines that he abominated. Now, how does it come to pass that this being, whose wisdom "at one step goes before the world whole thousands of years," was guilty of the inconceivable folly of selecting such dawdling fanatics to be his biographers and master-workmen? He who taught "absolute religion, absolute morality, nothing less, nothing more," who abhorred with infinite loathing such superstitious vagaries as "vicarious atonement," "supernatural regeneration," and "eternal punishment," yet chose and trained men to disseminate his doctrines and be his sole representatives to coming generations, who make these very vagaries the warp and woof of his teachings! This sage of sages, so deplorably ignorant of human nature as to leave his character wholly in the hands of men who could only make of it a caricature; to choose men as the sole apostles of his Gospel who did not comprehend its alphabet, and thus deliberately to hide his true doctrine and character under vast rubbish-heaps of fanaticism, there to lie fossil for ages, and at last be dug up in tedious toil, fragment by fragment, and strung together by a theological Paleontologist thousands of miles away! Suppose that Mr. Parker should bequeath the exclusive copyright of all his writings to the American Tract Society, leaving it entirely to them to publish, suppress, amend, expurgate at their discretion! Even then he would not do a thousandth part so foolish a thing as he believes Christ did! And yet he tells us Christ was the wisest of the sons of men!

Parkerism claims to be essential Christianity. Romanism and Protestantism, in all their various shades and sects, offer the world Christianity crippled, coffined, buried; Parkerism gives it to us alive, healthy, beautiful! But, "alas," sighs Mr. Parker, "such is not the Christianity of the Church at this day, *nor at any day since the crucifixion!*"* To Mr. Parker, then, must be assigned the wondrous and enviable fame of being the Columbus of Christianity!

But why is he so anxious to assume the name of Christian? What whim leads him to assign his system to Christ rather than to Moses, Brahma, or Mohammed? He says that *real* Christianity is absolute religion; why not say the same of real Judaism? Who knows what Christ and his apostles taught, except from the documents, and what right has he to manufacture a new definition of Christianity, and then call himself a Christian? Does Judaism

* Discourse, p. 288.

claim a supernatural origin? so does Christianity. Is it attested by miracles? so is Christianity. Does it abound in narrations of supernatural events? so does Christianity? Is it the lofty ethics of Christianity that lead him to call it "absolute religion?" Its central precepts are literally quoted from the Jewish writings. In fact we do not see why, on these strange principles of criticism, any system of religion, described in any sacred books, may not be made out to be absolute religion. Mr. Parker ridicules the Unitarians for clinging to the inspiration of the New Testament on this wise:

"If the Athanasian Creed, the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, and the Pope's bull "Unigenitus," could be found in a Greek manuscript, and proved to be the work of an "inspired" apostle, no doubt Unitarianism would in good faith explain all three, and deny that they taught the doctrine of the Trinity or the fall of man."*

This language is sufficiently contemptuous toward the Unitarians; but on Mr. Parker's principles of criticism it is difficult to tell what doctrines he could not find in (or out of) any book, if he should choose! All that he or anybody else knows about the teachings of Christ is from his discourses in the New Testament, and these discourses, he admits, teach explicitly the doctrines of salvation by faith, forgiveness through an atonement, future eternal punishment They quote perpetually the Old Testament miracles as undoubted facts, and yet for all these ideas Mr. Parker tells us Christ had supreme contempt; of course he had if he taught Parkerism. So, if the Athanasian Creed and the Thirty-nine Articles had been published in the Gospel as a part of the Sermon on the Mount, he might still call himself a Christian, and his principles of criticism would allow him to do it! Let these canons of criticism be adopted, and should this "Discourse of Religion" live to see future centuries, there may arise in the Roman Catholic Church an Order of Parkerites, claiming him as their founder and father, demonstrating that he was a great light of Romanism burning in Boston in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a stanch defender of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, yea, and quote this identical "Discourse" to prove it!

Mr. Parker claims to be a Christian in the highest sense, in the only true sense. In doing his work he is exposed to fierce persecutions for Christ's sake, but he meets them all with martyr heroism. Yet why become the knight-errant of Christianity rather than of Buddhism or Mohammedanism? Why so eager to make his absolute religion the same as Christianity? No noble or honorable reason can be given for this conduct. This great anxiety, shown

* Discourse, p. 475.

through all these works, to wear the Christian name, to share the prestige and enjoy the immunities of Christianity, is dastardly cowardice. This martyr hero, shouting defiance to rack and faggot, cringes before the prestige of a name! This champion of the "forlorn hope of the world" dare fight only in a mask, in a stolen visor, stolen too from his enemy!

Let us now bestow a little attention upon the "Progress" theory, which is as fundamental as an axiom in this new gospel: "The spiritual man is the gradual development of germs latent in the natural man."* This conclusion is reached *a priori;* but historical confirmations are thrown in, and the discourse attempts to show a steady progress, among both Jews and heathens, in the ideas of God, immortality, and the future state. It lays down the position that the sentiment of immortality is inborn, but was nearly or wholly inoperative in the earliest ages of human history; yet as civilization, Indian, Jewish, Greek, developed the "germs latent in the natural man," it has more and more influence upon life. "At first, the next world is not a domain of moral justice; God has no tribunal of judgment. But with the advance of the present, the conception of a future state rises also."† Let us examine Mr. Parker's history of the development of the idea of immortality, first among the Hebrews, then among the heathens. Speaking of the doctrine in the Old Testament, he traces it thus:

> "In the early books, at least, it never appears as a motive. It has no sanction in the law, no symbol in the Jewish worship. The soul was placed in the *blood* as by Empedocles, sometimes in the *breath;* the *heart* or the *bowels* were sometimes considered as its seat. Enoch and Elijah, like Ganymede, being favorites of the Deity, are taken miraculously to him. Others deny the doctrine of immortality with great plainness. After the return from the exile the doctrine appears more definitely. Ezekiel and the pseudo-Isaiah allude to a resurrection, a notion which is perhaps of Zoroastrian origin. The Essenes still more philosophically taught the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of retribution, without the resurrection of the body. Christ always presupposes a belief in immortality. The Sadducees alone opposed it. Such were the beginning and history of this dogma with the Jews. Its progress and formation are obvious." ‡

Now in the first place, if the doctrine were set forth in most express language in any book of Moses, it would only show that those passages in which it was taught were written in some later age, just as in this extract the passage of Isaiah, which declares "thy dead men shall live," is by this very mark and similar ones decided to have been the work of some "pseudo-Isaiah," who wrote after the captivity. Where a man's principles of criticism allow him to cut the documents to his theory, it is not strange to

* Discourse, p. 114. † Ibid. p. 124. ‡ Ibid. p. 120, *et. seq.*

find him able to prove his theory by the documents, and yet even with this immense advantage he does not do it.

The passages quoted from the early Hebrew writers, to show that they located the soul in the blood, all refer to the lower animals, and simply declare animal life to be in the blood. *Ruach* (רוח) signifies both "breath" and "spirit;" so do *ψυχη* and *πνευμα* in Greek, the very words that Plato used in treating of the soul's immateriality and essential life. Does the use of these words prove that Plato placed the soul in the breath? So *animus* and *anima*, Cicero's words in treating the same theme, have the same double meaning; does this prove that Cicero "placed the soul in the breath?" So our word "spirit" primarily denotes "a thing blown;" are theorists of the thirtieth century to prove from this etymology that the English speaking nations believed the soul "a thing blown?" All the words by which we express the nature and functions of the spirit are material words, necessarily so, for all our spiritual language is figurative; we speak in tropes as soon as we begin to talk psychology, and are these tropes to be used to prove us materialists? We perpetually speak of "moving the hearts of men;" does this prove that we locate the soul in the pericardium? How then does Mr. Parker prove that David did it when he said: "This people do err in their heart?" Granting that *ruach* (רוח) meant "breath" before it meant "spirit," how does he know that the secondary meaning had not got established in the language before the Hebrew Scriptures were written, just as it is now established in our language, and has been for centuries? It is noteworthy that the very first time the word occurs in the Hebrew Scriptures it occurs in the very highest sense (Gen. i, 2,) "Spirit of God," and a few paragraphs further on (Gen. vi, 3,) it occurs again in the same highest sense: "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." But these passages, also, are in what DeWette and his followers style the "Elohim document," by their theory the most ancient "fragment" of the Pentateuch.

But further, why may not men have had names for spirit and spiritual functions as early as they had names for matter and the attributes of matter? Why may they have not used tropical words to treat of psychological ideas then as well as now? Nothing but the presupposition of this progress theory hinders such a conclusion, especially when we find the words used in a spiritual sense in the oldest lines of the literature.

It is true that the doctrine of immortality is nowhere dogmatically stated in the Old Testament, neither is it in the New Testament; yet Mr. Parker testifies that it is *there*. It is taught in the

Old as in the New, by constant implication. The idea of immortality, as all literature shows, is inseparably connected with the idea of God; the two ideas are vigorous or feeble, flourish or decline together. Man's spirituality and immortality are inferred by Plato and by Cicero after him as a logical sequence from the spirituality and eternity of God. Man's mental and moral attributes are shadows of the Divine attributes which are manifested in creation and Providence; man is God's image, therefore immortal. This is the beaten track which the human mind has followed in all ages in striving to arrive at this truth by the processes of reason. One quotation may suffice as a fair illustration of the old and natural process of inference: "Homer was wont to assign human characteristics to the gods; I would rather assign divine characteristics to men. What divine qualities do I mean? Strength, wisdom, contrivance, memory. Therefore the soul is, as I say, divine; as Euripides dares to say, it is God. . . . So whatever that is which thinks, lives, has wisdom, strength, is heavenly and divine, and for that very reason must be immortal. . . . These qualities are great; they are divine; they are everlasting."* Cicero learned this from Plato, whose works are full of the same ideas,† or rather both learned it from nature. Now the Hebrews, Mr. Parker being judge, had the clearest ideas of the Divine character and government of any nation of antiquity. The doctrines of the unity and spirituality of God permeate all their literature, were incorporated into their oldest statute laws, and that too in language as explicit as can now be devised. The idea of God, a spiritual creator and governor, on which, even when feebly and imperfectly apprehended, the philosophers based their proof of immortality, incessantly suggested the idea to a people whose national existence was bound up in the faith of Jehovah. The ideas which suggested immortality everywhere else flourished here with a depth and vigor seen nowhere else; and where the seed was the fruit was also. The Hebrew regarded the present and the future, the temporal and eternal, as parts of one great economy; hence we read, "Enoch walked with God, and was not, for God took him." Mr. Parker's irreverent fling at this sublime record, in the extract above quoted, comparing

* Homerus . . humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos. Quæ autem divina? Vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse. Ergo animus, ut ego dico, divinus, ut Euripides dicere audet, deus est. . . Ita, quid quid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vivit, quod viget, cæleste et divinum, ob eamque, rem æternum sit necesse est. Hæc magna, hæc divina, hæc sempiterna sunt. Cicero, Ed. Orell. Tusc. Disp. I, 26.

† Cf. Plato Ed. Stallb, Phædo 80, A, 84, B, etc.

Jehovah's love for a godly man with the Greek Jupiter's nameless passion for the boy Ganymede, blending thus into one picture the yearning of infinite purity and that bestial lust which the heathens imagined in their gods. This shows such a blank of moral appreciation, and is everyway so abominable, that we dare not dwell upon it. It is a specimen of Mr. Parker's atrocious caricatures of the Scripture.

But "the notion of immortality was indefinite in the early books; there are cloudy views . . . which gradually acquire more distinctness," etc. So is the notion indefinite and cloudy in the Phædo; so is it everywhere where the broad light of the Gospel has not fallen. The idea of pure spiritual existence must necessarily be shadowy; man can form no definite conception of it; there is no warmth in it.* The doctrine of the resurrection is necessary to bring the future life warm and throbbing to the heart, and this burst on the world with the Gospel. But this doctrine is looked upon by Mr. Parker as a retrograde movement, a tinge of Zoroastrian superstition; he regards the opinion of the Essenes, who held to immortality, and denied the resurrection, as the highest type of the idea in the age of Christ. But the Essenes of that age cannot be made a type of the age; the doctrine of the resurrection was general; it was believed in by the Jewish masses, and taught by the leading and most popular teachers, the Pharisees. Here, upon his view, then, there was a retrograde movement instead of progress; and the point reached by the Essenes was not a whit beyond where Solomon stood when he said: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it."

Mr. Parker falsifies history, if possible, still more palpably in attempting to trace the "development" of the doctrine of immortality among the heathens:

"In Greece we find it in a rude form in Homer, connected with metempsychosis in Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Phrecydes; assuming a new form in Sophocles and Pindar, and becoming a doctrine fixed and settled with Socrates, Plato, and his school in general. . . In Homer the future state is a joyless existence. . . . In Hesiod the condition of the dead is improved with the advance of the nation. In the later poets the doctrine rises still higher, while the form is not always definite. . . From the first book of Moses to the last of Maccabees, from Homer to Cicero, there is a great change in the form of the doctrine," etc.†

There are many true statements here; but they are so arranged as to produce a false impression. Here, as in many other places,

* Animos enim per scipsos viventes non poterant mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quaerabant; inde Homeri tota *νεκρα*.—Cic. *ubi sup.*, c. 16.

† Discourse of Religion, p. 125.

his theory selects and omits the facts at pleasure. In this way almost anything can be proved. We undertake to say that the very authorities to whom Mr. Parker appeals in this passage completely disprove his position. The doctrine of immortality is shown to have a firmer hold upon the age in the poems of Homer than in the dialogues of Plato, or in the stately treatises of Cicero. From Homer to Cicero there is amazing progress no doubt; but spiritual and religious ideas are not borne along in the current. In the age of Cicero there is a vast array of argument to prove the doctrine of immortality, much of it weak and trifling enough; but in Homer's age there is no reasoning, because there is little doubt. In the poetic age there was far more practical faith; the philosophers ridiculed the *conceptions* of the old poets, their Shades, Acheron, and Tartarus, yet what better had they to offer? Confidence in our immortality is not born out of reasonings, does not spring from our intellectual, but from our moral nature, and it is vigorous and practical according to the health and vigor of our moral nature. Intellectual progress, so far from clearing and establishing, obscures and undermines the faith in immortality, unless accompanied by a corresponding moral progress. Hence, while the Greek made such splendid progress intellectually and æsthetically, he retrograded religiously. Idols are not mentioned in Homer's poems; but in the age of Pericles Greece was peopled so thickly with them that it was "easier to find a god than a man" at Athens. Socrates looks back lovingly to the rude simple faith of the early times. The Homeric heroes never doubt future existence; but Plato tells us that doubt was fashionable in his age; there was a skeptical Simmias even in Socrates' cell, the Thomas of the little company, who doubted even after all the sublime arguments of the Phædo, and after witnessing the far sublimer faith of his teacher. What then is meant by the statement that the doctrine became "fixed and settled" with Socrates, Plato, and his school? Whichever way we turn the statement we cannot make it true. It cannot mean settled in the general popular conviction, for these philosophic speculations were but cloudland to the masses, and the doctrine of immortality had far more influence on the popular mind in Homer's day than in Plato's. It cannot mean "fixed and settled" by philosophic proof, for that never has been done and never can be done, as Mr. Parker himself admits. But there are other errors in this sketch of progress. There is no metempsychosis in the Homeric poems. This *retrograde* step we find in Pythagoras, from whom probably Plato learned it; and so in the Phædo we are told about human

souls* passing into bodies of hawks and wolves, bees and wasps. As to the later poets they merely echo Homer when they do not fall below him, and in the Augustan age Virgil gives us but a servile imitation in all the essential features; in fact gods and shades are with him but poetical drapery.†

It is interesting to see how Mr. Parker handles some few historic facts which stubbornly refuse to be broken down into the molds of his development theory. For instance, what is to be said of the unapproachable superiority of the isolated Hebrew nation, above all other ancient peoples in moral and religious ideas? The doctrine of the Divine unity, the foundation of all true religion, which Socrates tells us he hailed as a great light which broke upon him from the page of Anaxagoras,‡ was on the Hebrew statute book one thousand years before Anaxagoras arose; yea, and the most progressive theological science of to-day can give us no higher ideas of God than are found in the writings of Moses. Mr. Parker tells us that Monotheism originated with Moses, or at least "was most early embraced by him." Here are the highest types of life in the oldest historic strata, *vertebrata* where there should be *radiata*, monotheism where the theory demands fetichism; how can these fossils be accounted for so as to save the development theory? On this wise: The ancient Hebrews "had *creative religious genius;*" but the nations now at the head of modern civilization are more "scientific than religious, utilitarian than reverential;" "their faith like their choicer fruits is an importation from abroad."§ Now is not this practically giving up the whole theory? Is it not allowing that the progress doctrine has no application in matters of religion?

This "religious genius" reduces religious development to a mere theoretical figment; it is admitted to have had no real historical existence. If it be true, as this "Discourse" tells us, that all our forms of worship are derived from the Oriental nations, and have "lost more than they have gained by the transfer," shall we not get on faster by studying the writings that have poured out of this fountain of "creative religious genius," than by attempting to do ourselves what we, degenerate imitators, can never do so well as these gifted Orientals have done for us? Moses "must have been a vast soul, endowed with moral and religious genius to a degree extraordinary among men." This is the language of Mr. Parker while his eye is on the progress theory, and while working

* Platon Phædo. Ed. Stallb. 82. A. B. † Phædo 97. C.

‡ Cf. Georg. 2,490. Felix qui poterit rerum cognoscere causas, etc.

§ Discourse, p. 37.

the facts into that pattern, yet in other places, when assailing the divine claims of the Old Testament, he declares that the Hebrew Jehovah, as worshiped by this eminently religious people, and as described by this extraordinary religious genius, is a being "more cruel than Odin or Belus!" this people so wondrously gifted in appreciation of religious truths believed doctrines concerning God's government that "Epicurus would have rejected as blasphemy!" What a "religious genius" this must be, raised up in this barren age, to deliver us from errors which we have learned from teachers "whose thought the world has not yet mastered!"

But the character of Christ is a yet greater stumbling-block in the path of this progress theory. To this, as to every other false system of religion, it is the great rock of offense. It admits what we should call superhuman excellence in Christ; that his ethics and philosophy were the highest ever taught on earth, and that his character incarnated his precepts. He styles him "the greatest soul of all the sons of men;" "eighteen centuries have passed since the sun of humanity rose so high in Jesus; what man, what sect, what Church has mastered his thought?" Jesus "at one step goes before the world whole thousands of years." Now for these eighteen centuries the human mind has been advancing steadily into every province of thought, and if all religious ideas are natural growths of the mind, why have they never risen higher than they stood eighteen centuries ago? But it is for another reason that we allude to Mr. Parker's theory of Christ. Instead of being a most harmonious character, the highest type of human nature, his theory compels us to picture him as the most monstrous being that ever lived on the earth, a perfect chaos of contradictions.

We have already shown how Parkerism necessitates the strange conclusion, that this being of transcendent wisdom was guilty of inconceivable folly in the choice of his disciples and laying plans for the dissemination of his doctrines. But there are more monstrous contradictions than this to be harmonized. Imagine it to be possible to disentangle the miraculous accounts from the Gospel narratives, and ascribe them all to the superstition of Christ's followers, and further imagine the teaching disentangled from the works, and so far from proving him a teacher of "absolute religion, nothing less, nothing more," these teachings will not allow us, on Mr. Parker's theory of his character, to believe him to have been even an honest man. All the documents agree that he promised to rise from the dead; this is woven through all the sayings and writings, and even Mr. Parker tacitly admits that no critical surgery can remove this prediction. Was he deceived, or did he deceive? The

first supposition involves a pitch of fanaticism wholly inconsistent with that rounded harmony of character which the theory assigns him. The second supposition ruins his moral character, it makes a falsehood to be woven through his life.

In discussing the "limitations of Jesus," he says that "the only one at all affecting his moral and religious character is this: that he denounces his opponents in no measured terms; calls the Pharisees 'hypocrites' and 'children of the devil.' We cannot tell how far the historians have added to the fierceness of the invective, but the general fact must probably remain, that he did not use courteous speech." But the generous Mr. Parker benevolently adds: "Considering the youth of the man, it was a very venial error, to make the worst of it!" *

But there are most formidable difficulties that are not to be glossed over in this comfortable, *nonchalant* style. There is language in the Gospels for which the hot blood of youth is no excuse, language not only rash but blasphemous from any being that is human, and only human. A sage, in the modest confidence of wisdom, may profess to teach the truth, but it is only as a seeker to his fellow-seekers; the greater his knowledge the greater his ignorance; the vaster the horizon which walls in the known, the vaster the walled-out unknown. Hence the wisest of the Greek sages stands in history a modest seeker, and declares at the end, "All I know is that I know nothing." What a contrast here between Socrates and Christ! Christ is never seen seeking, doubting; when we first see him he has found. He never acknowledges ignorance, never owns incompetence to answer the most difficult questions, though often rebuking the spirit in which they are propounded. Socrates modestly asks help from his weak disciples as he goes groping on; Christ stands self-supported. Socrates is ever praying for light, and is humbly, earnestly following a twilight glimmer when last we see him; Christ stands erect in the broad sunshine when first we see him. Socrates painfully reasons out conclusions; Christ summarily announces truths. Socrates professes only to *infer;* Christ professes to *see.* A man may profess to have found the truth; but what would it be for a man, a Socrates, to say, "I AM THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE?" What would it be for Socrates to say, "My Father is greater than I?" Christians have been troubled at this saying, but what blasphemy would it have been in Jesus's lips if he were only the son of Mary! Think of the wisest, holiest of the sons of men crying out, "No man cometh unto the Father but by ME;" "He that confesseth ME before men, him will *I* confess before my Father;" standing up

* Discourse, p. 291.

before his kindred dust, and saying, "I am the bread of heaven;" "Take MY yoke upon you and learn of ME; for I am meek and lowly in heart." Christ claims to be not only a Teacher of truth, but THE TRUTH incarnate; holds himself up before the race as a model character; claims divine authority. Now if Christ is to be ranked, as Mr. Parker ranks him, with Socrates, Confucius, Paul, Luther, eminent religious teachers and philosophers; if he were a mere human creature like them, then these claims convict him of arrogance and blasphemy so awful that language cannot furnish an appropriate epithet; it is a crime so dark as to stand forth in solitary enormity on the historic page. And this crime was committed by him whom Mr. Parker believes the purest being that earth has seen, a teacher of "absolute religion, absolute morality!"

The fact is that Mr. Parker is afraid to follow his doctrine to its logical consequences. When he denies the supernatural in Christ, he must also logically deny the integrity of his moral character. Mr. Newman sees this, and faces the consequences fearlessly. Starting where Mr. Parker does, in the denial of the supernatural in Christ, he arrives at the legitimate and inevitable conclusion that Christ was guilty of "egregious vanity," "crookedness of conscience and real imposture," "blundering self-sufficiency," "combined error and arrogance;" that the evangelists have given us what "seems to be the picture of a conscious and wilful impostor," "a vain and vacillating pretender."* Now why does not Mr. Parker march up to these consequences? Why does he tether his common sense as soon as it comes to the edge? Can it be that this hero of free thought, this champion of the "forlorn hope of the world," feels his courage fail as this specter starts before him? Why else does he stop here and paint such an unimaginable chimera, and call it Christ? Vast and unparalleled wisdom selecting dolts, fools, and fanatics to convey its lessons! Absolute morality committing high treason against the great God! And this is the theology which is to reconcile religion and common sense!

As Mr. Parker denies all revelation, except in that accomodated sense in which Cosmos and the Principia may be called revelations, what account has he to give of the deep craving of this human child to hear from its Father, the long prayer for light that rolls up from all the literature of the heathens? He throws our Bible down among the Shasters and the Vedas, and what does he give us instead? He puts out the lights that God has kindled, and what torch has he to give us? None; bare, chill negation is all he offers us. How we came here we know not; he tells us that we cannot know; whither

* Newman's "Phases of Faith," third edition, chap. 7.

we are going we know not, only as far as our eyes can see! No light from beyond, no prayer-hearing God; a cold, inflexible, absolute compressing us in its iron arms; but no Father to hold our infant hand as we totter on in the first steps of this mysterious being! A plan of salvation! Man needs none, he must save himself, if saved at all. Forgiveness! It is an impossibility; there is none in the universe. There is no help or hope for a being who has violated law, but to work out the penalty; no mercy in God's government. The cross, whose light and heat stream through human history; in whose radiance we thread safely the labyrinths of Providence, or at least see how we may one day do so; the cross toward which, in all lands, human hearts turn and open as flowers to the sun; the cross is dragged down, and what is reared in its place? Nothing. Parkerism tells us we need nothing. God never spoke to the race. He never commissioned prophet, apostle, or Redeemer to reveal his will. Not a word of sympathy for the suffering race has ever dropped from the brazen heavens. We behold the noblest of the sons of men straining their eyes and ears, to catch a gleam, to hear a sound from the other world, and Mr. Parker looks on and sneers at their weakness! Plato said: "We must wait patiently until some one, either a God, or some inspired man, teach us our moral and religious duties, and, as Pallas, in Homer, did to Diomed, remove the darkness from our eyes."* And again, expresses the strangely mysterious hope, that "there had existed in the immense past some people who had possession of a true philosophy *by divine inspiration*, (ἔχ τινος θείας ἐπιπνόιας ἀληθινὴ φιλοσοφία,) or that they might perhaps now exist *in some obscure part of the barbarian land*,"† but Mr. Parker looks with serene indifference upon the gift for which Plato longed. All those glimmering traditions of primitive revelation, whose scattered embers the noblest of the heathen sages gathered together from far lands, with painful toil, and blew for a little light, and over the feeble sparks shouted, crying, "Ha! I have seen the fire," this apostle of absolute religion spurns with his foot as lying legends or childish superstitions. Absolute religion—that which every man can discover for himself—this is all we have or can have; and he is weak in the head or diseased in the heart who asks for anything more. Who is this that so comfortably draws infallible conclusions where Plato and Cicero failed, and cried for aid in despair? Who is this that enters the sacred cell of Socrates, and as the childlike sage sits on the bedside, with his disciples at his feet, listening tearful and breathless, while the sun yet lingers on the mountains,

* Plato, Ed. Stalb. I. Alcib., 150, D. † Rep. Lib. vi, 499 B. C.

as he gives them the reason of the hope that is in him, by weaving together the vague and distorted traditions of primitive revelations, singing them as a swan-song,* to keep his heart strong in that fearful hour? Who is this that enters and sneers at the scene that is graven on the heart of the world? Let it change our indignation to pity, as we see that it is he who "drops a tear for the weakness" of Jesus Christ!

Art. VIII.—EXCURSUS ON THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

The topic proposed is, confessedly, one of extreme delicacy. For this reason, probably, it is rarely introduced into the pulpit, and almost as rarely finds its way into either the fugitive or permanent literature of the Church. Ministers and authors alike shrink from the task of descanting upon an evil in respect to which both hearers and readers are known to be so very fastidious. And this reluctance is often increased by a doubt on the part of the speaker or writer, whether he have sufficient skill to treat the subject in such a way as not to offend even a correct religious taste. Timidity in one begets timidity in another. Afraid of being thought vulgar, or assuming, or officious, even the Christian watchman scarcely dares to lift up his voice, though the sword of the moral assassin is red with the blood of its victims wherever he turns his eye. And, in reference to this matter, it is to be feared there is much less courage now than there used to be. A perverted taste, or perhaps rather a false modesty, is stealing over society; so that what might once have been said without offending the most delicate ear, is now thought to be scarcely tolerable. Thus a monster vice stalks abroad, led on and ministered to by agencies almost everywhere at work; and yet the Christian pulpit and the Christian press are either wholly silent, or speak in tones so feeble or so indistinct that they are barely heard, and of course little felt.

To point out all the evils that result from the sin of lewdness, would be too great a task for any human being. Omniscience only can determine how much misery and wretchedness it has introduced among the sons and daughters of Adam, or to what extent it connects itself with the destinies of the unseen world. That it is a very great evil the wise and good must deeply feel and readily admit. But we are inclined to think that when the black catalogue of human

* Phædo 84 D. E. 107, et seq.; cf. Cicero, ubi sup.

crimes is spread out before the bar of the final Judge, and when the actions of men are seen in connection both with their cause and their effect, that the influence which the vice in question will then be seen to have exerted on the characters and final destinies of men will astonish, if not absolutely overwhelm, an attending universe. Enough of its bad effects may however be seen, even in the present state, to awaken the deepest concern in every philanthropic bosom.

It may be characterized as in some sense a universal vice. It is found in all parts of this sin-stricken and distracted orb, and in all the gradations of human society. In heathen lands, especially, it is the master-vice; the all-pervading, everywhere ruling passion. Would that it were confined to the dark corners of the earth, that it dwelt only in the habitations of cruelty, and that it might not be found where the star of science and the sun of revelation have so long thrown their commingled, resplendent, and heart-gladdening beams. But stubborn facts mock the aspiration. It is here in the midst of us; here in the sparsely populated country, as well as in "the city full;" here where the Sabbath dawns, where truth shines, and where heaven all but mingles with earth!

And mark the corrupting and degrading influence of this monster vice. The late celebrated Dr. Paley affirms concerning it, "that it corrupts the mind and debases the character more than any other single species of vice whatever." It evidently tends to fill the imagination with the most impure conceptions, and the mind with equally unchaste thoughts, until the heart is, so to speak, completely saturated with the very spirit of a groveling sensuality. From the mind of the voluptuary all reverence for God is necessarily excluded. Candor, and truth, and equal justice, are regarded as antiquated whims, and the dread disclosures of an hereafter mere tales of the nursery. A single example will show the justice of these remarks. Who among all the heroes of the American Revolution was better qualified to act an honorable part than Aaron Burr? And yet his very name has become little else than a proverb of reproach. Nor do we now refer either to the treason or the tragedy which so dishonorably attaches to his memory. There were sins that lay back of all this. He was an unprincipled villain in his relations to the fair sex. From early manhood, down to near the close of a long and vicious life, he was ready to cajole the weak and to entrap the unsuspicious. Nor did he take much pains to conceal his habits. Nay, he even gloried in his shame. He could boast of his successful amours, as if he had acted the part of a gentleman when he had been guilty of a despicable crime. And this is the man who, to vindicate his honor, murdered our Hamilton!

Indeed, when the perpetrators of this crime have reached a certain point in their downward course, they become heathen in all but the name. Like those of whom St. Paul speaks, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, they seem given over of God to "a reprobate mind." Like them, too, they are "filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful," and so on, embracing a most frightful catalogue of kindred enormities.

Nor is this all. The impure delight to communicate the infection, evincing a sort of diabolical pleasure in leading others down to ruin. The moral atmosphere around them, scarcely less than the physical, is tainted by their very presence. In certain localities, and especially in some of our larger cities and towns, where the vice of lewdness extensively prevails, the virtuous may, not inaptly, be compared to a person in a hospital, surrounded with the dying and the dead, breathing the very atmosphere of disease, putrescence, and death.

The effects of this vice upon bodily health and upon human life, are almost absolutely appalling. Those who give themselves up to it violate, most palpably and incontestably, the laws of health, and are as certainly visited by the appropriate penalty as the effect follows its proximate and controlling cause. And no other disease that ever assailed the human body is so perfectly loathsome and intolerable as the one which, under the constitution of nature, follows the unlawful commingling of the sexes. It would seem as if the vengeance and the mercy of God had combined to guard the law of purity; vengeance in attaching so awful a penalty to its violation; mercy in placing that penalty so near the crime. Let any one visit those receptacles which have been provided in the immediate vicinity of New York for the victims of this pernicious and degrading vice, and he will witness such scenes of agony as one might imagine could be found only in connection with the undying worm and the unquenchable fire. A young lady of piety and intelligence, with whom the writer is well acquainted, has, from motives of Christian charity and kindness, spent days and nights in these abodes of despair and wretchedness, as they may not improperly be called; and her simple description is enough to chill the warm blood in one's veins. O the shrieks, the groans, the lamentations, the dying agonies! We seem to hear them now, so firmly fixed are they in the imagination.

It has been maintained that the average length of life, after this

course of vice has been fairly entered upon, does not exceed four years. If so, and we see no reason to doubt the calculation, how many wretched human beings must be swept away from a suffering time to an awful eternity in a single year. It has also been estimated, by those best acquainted with the statistics of this guilty matter, that not less than twenty thousand deaths per annum occur in these United States, as the direct consequence of libidinous indulgence.

Even where the sin in question takes a less gross and revolting form, consisting only in occasional and limited departures from the path of purity, its effects have often been of a character quite too painful and distressing for human language to describe. Only think how exquisite must be the feeling of shame when the mother, rather than encounter the consequences of exposure, imbrues her hands in the innocent blood of her own illegitimate offspring. Nay, perhaps more frequently she lays violent hands upon her own person, choosing rather to encounter the wrath of a sin-avenging God than to expose herself, bereft of her virtue, to the sneers and reproaches of a censorious world.

And only see the havoc of this wretched vice within the domestic circle. Go to yonder cottage. The scene which there spreads itself before your view is sufficient to break and melt any heart save that of the base profligate. There sits one whose cheek is pale with grief and bathed with tears. Upon her maternal heart a canker is secretly preying which is destined, at no distant day, to number her with the dead. The story of her protracted woe can be told in a word. The child of her affection has fallen a prey to the seducer or the pimp—has become a courtezan or a libertine. It is this that spreads her cheek with paleness; it is this that opens the living fountain of her tears; it is this that kills her. Through the live-long day, and the dull midnight hour, she pores over her grief, while her bruised heart bleeds in secret and public. She remembers, too, the artless prattlings and joyous innocence of childhood; the ready obedience and affectionate amiableness which in youth characterized her now fallen child. The reminiscence of the past only draws a deeper gloom over the present. The joys of other days are only mockers of existing agonies. Nor is it wonderful that in these trying moments, when she contrasts the past with the present, the stricken mother should confess, as many have done, that though it would have been hard to kiss for the last time the clay-cold lips of her dead daughter, or lay her body in the grave, it is still harder to know that she has become so debased in life that her death would be greeted as a mercy. O, had the loved one died, bequeath-

ing to her and her family an untarnished name, and the example of virtue to bloom for her companions upon her lonely grave, though the mother might have wept bitterly indeed, the tears of grief, shed in such a case, would not have been the tears of shame. But to think of her daughter fallen from the station she once adorned; degraded from respectability to ignominy; at home, casting bitter ingredients into the sweet fountain of domestic bliss; abroad, thrust as a self-branded outlaw from the companionship of the worthy, O, this is the woe of woes; one which a mother feels to be infinitely worse than a pious death—altogether more dreadful than a virtuous grave!

Nor is this the worst view that may be taken of the sin of impurity in its bearings upon the domestic circle. When the perpetrator of it is a husband or a wife, the consequences are still more dreadfully malign. It is then that the deadly poison is cast into the very fountain-head of domestic bliss. The development of conjugal infidelity is often like the explosion of a magazine, scattering in broken fragments the family compact, and filling the little community with "mourning, and lamentation, and woe."

Nor should it be forgotten that the vice in question is ruinous to the soul. Being a violation of the grand statute law of Heaven, it is punished not only with the loss of health, with the ruin of character, with remorse and anguish of spirit, with the destruction of domestic bliss and the like, but with the utter and hopeless ruin of the deathless soul. On this point the word of God is very explicit. "For ye know that no whoremonger, nor unclean person . . . hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." Gal. v, 5. "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness . . . and the like; of which I tell you before, as I have told you in times past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Heb. xiii, 4. "Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor abusers of themselves with mankind . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Cor. vi, 9, 10.

Here, then, we behold the last and worst feature of this malignant foe. Not the body only, but the soul, is its victim, and its inflictions are eternal.

> "It weaves the winding-sheet of souls, and lays
> Them in the urn of everlasting death."

It not only depopulates heaven but it peoples hell. It robs the former of its songs, and it helps to fill the latter with its blasphemies. Well may the Christian tremble as he surveys this mighty ruin, as

he beholds thousands upon thousands of his fellow immortals borne on the bosom of this deep and burning torrent to a world of fearful retribution.

But mere emotion is not, by any means, all that is demanded by the exigencies of the case. While we *feel* we must *act.* The former is nothing worth without the latter. We do not say that the expression of pity is wrong, but we do say that it is not enough. Unless emotion excite benevolent feeling, and be followed by benevolent action, it will soon degenerate into a mere dead sentimentality. To arrest and roll back the tide of wickedness, so far as such a thing is practicable, is an obvious Christian duty, and a duty which cannot be safely neglected. A few things, certainly, can be done.

The public should be put upon its guard. A very imperfect idea is entertained as to the prevalence and alarming character of the sin of lewdness. This is particularly the case with the masses of our country people. If nothing more than the simple truth were told them, unaccompanied by the most irrefutable evidence, they would be tempted to think it an unpardonable perversion of fact, as well as a gross slander upon the species. Thus the enemy is closing in upon them on every side, and they know it not. How important, then, that they should be aroused to a sense of their danger? And who so proper to sound the alarm as Zion's watchman? It is, as we have already admitted, a duty that requires great delicacy of execution; but a duty, nevertheless, which *must* be performed, or the omission will involve the minister in the accumulated guilt of the perishing myriads around him. Indeed, one reason why there is such *indecent squeamishness* on the subject—we use the apparent solecism of set purpose—is, there is so little said on the great evil in question. There is a sort of practical admission that it must not be touched—that any but the most cautious and circumlocutory allusions to it are at all consistent with the delicacy and dignity of the pulpit. And it is worthy of special remark, that the most vicious are generally the first to complain. They can be guilty of the most revolting impurities, but the minister cannot expose and denounce their deeds of darkness without soiling his robes of office, and especially without offending *their* exquisitely delicate ears! Thus while rampant vice goes on, silence reigns all along the walls of Zion. We repeat it, it is high time there was an end of this. The pulpit and the press may not be able to stop the evil, but they must not connive at it. Nay, they must speak out in thunder tones against it.

The friends of chastity must go still further. They must expose and utterly repudiate from their society the determined debauchee;

for so long as the rake can cloak his real character, or so long as, where that character is known, he shall be accounted a respectable man, and be treated accordingly, just so long will efforts to purify and reform society be unavailing. It is our unquestionable duty, when we ascertain an individual is guilty of this sin, to use our best private endeavors to reclaim him. But if we do not succeed, if he continue to give practical evidence that he is destitute of principle, let him be exposed and branded as a heartless villain. Direct the public gaze, point the finger of scorn at him, till he shall either reform or retire beyond the walks of virtuous life. The lascivious man is a concealed tiger; and who would not avoid such a monster in human shape? Who would not notify the community of his approach? As to fixing a stigma upon the opposite sex, when guilty of this sin, the public need go no further in that direction. The world is already sufficiently inclined to condemn and stigmatize the fallen woman. While the guilty wretch who robs her of her virtue not only goes "unwhipped of justice," but is often even flattered, and caresssed, she, the comparatively innocent victim, is doomed to eternal execrations. Is this right? Is it holding the balance of justice with an equal hand? Is it following the dictates of fidelity and truth? Indeed it is not. And yet we are sorry to say that females themselves are often, if not even commonly, guilty of this criminal partiality. Why it should be so it is difficult to conjecture. The fact, however, is indubitable. Dymond, in his excellent treatise on Moral Science, not only notices it, but administers a merited rebuke to those who are guilty of it. He says: "Many a female, who talks in the language of abhorrence of an offending sister, and averts her eye in contumely if she meets her in the street, is perfectly willing to be the friend and intimate of the equally offending man. That such women are themselves duped by the vulgar distinction is not to be doubted; but then we are not to imagine that she who practices this inconsistency abhors the *crime* so much as the *criminal*. Her abhorrence is directed not so much to the *violation* of the moral law, as to the *person* by whom it is violated. . . . To little respect has that woman a claim on the score of modesty, though her reputation be white as the driven snow, who smiles on the libertine while she spurns the victims of his lawless appetites."

The seducer should be excluded from the sweet charities and kindly attentions of the domestic circle. To live on terms of intercommunication with the vile, is practically to cover their sin and render them respectable. At least it is giving the world distinctly to understand that we do not consider licentiousness

as being a crime of sufficient magnitude to bar the perpetrators of it from our society and companionship. We seem to say they are, after all, respectable and well-deserving. Thus to treat them is, in fact, a premium paid to vice. It is a practical concession that it is right to stigmatize the sacredness of marriage; that it is right to erase the Seventh Commandment from the moral code; that it is right to merge the gracefulness of virgin purity, and the matronal dignity of wife and mother, in the polluted mass of general prostitution. Such is, by fair construction, the practical avowal we make, when we invite to our tables, and to communion with our families, the man we know can

"Smile, and smile, and be a villain still."

It is regarded, then, as the solemn and imperious duty of every virtuous family to exclude from its hospitalities the justly suspected rake. In a word, to take such a course on this subject as shall make the impure man imagine, every time he passes the threshold of their dwelling, that he hears a voice issuing from its hallowed enclosure, saying:

"Procul, O procul, este profani."

Another important thing that can be done, and that should be done, is, that we guard the youth of our land against the malign influences of a corrupt literature. It is deeply to be regretted that many of our classical books are wholly unfit for the study of those into whose hands they are thrust. And yet the student must read them. Nay, he must busy himself, for months and years, in translating what it were well the eye of youth might never see. Too many of these books not only minutely describe the workings of a polluted imagination, and the debasing pleasures of sensuality, but even palliate them by high example. They not only extenuate, but even recommend habits of vice by maxims which represent them either as the necessities of nature, or as the fruits of an inherent passion too impetuous to be controlled. Is it inquired whether we would banish these languages from our present system of public education? Our response is, by no means. But then we would not have a single page of them read in school or college till it has been purged and made fit for the eye even of the most chaste virgin. And if by such a process some volumes were reduced to half their present size, it is confidently believed that enough would still remain for all the purposes of instruction.

But our present business is rather with the popular literature of the day. There can be no doubt but that the temptations to improper reading are, just now, much greater and more ensnaring than at any

former period. As the varieties of fictitious works are increased, and access to them is the more easily obtained, allurement becomes correspondingly the more frequent and strong. And then "these messengers of Satan" are sent forth in such enticing forms as are admirably adapted to attract and beguile the young. No wonder, then, that so many fall a prey to novel-reading. Who, indeed, that knows anything of human nature, could do otherwise than look for a taint and blight, more fatal than mildew to the loveliest floweret of the vale, to follow in the train of those products of a polluted imagination which have been so industriously circulated among the youth of our land?

But we would not be misunderstood. We are by no means disposed to condemn everything that wears the garb of fiction. To do so would be to proscribe some of the most innocent and edifying things that have ever been written. What, for instance, is Bunyan's immortal allegory but a species of fiction? It is the *character*, and not the mere *genus* that we condemn. Even history, real palpable history, may be even worse than fiction. By its grossness of detail, and the inviting character which it may purposely give to vice, it may do more to pollute the imagination, to corrupt the heart, and to stain the life, than any production of the mere fancy. Even the histories of Hume and Gibbon (especially the Latin notes of the latter) contain much that is dangerous to the public faith and corrupting to the public morals.

The truth is, there are tales that ought never to be told, facts that should never be reported. The promiscuous circulation of them must have a malign influence. It can scarcely be otherwise, while human nature remains what it is. If known at all, they should be known only by those who are proof against their seductive tendencies, and whose professional duties may oblige them to know something in regard to them. The anatomy and physiology of the human system can be fully understood only by actual dissection; but it does not follow from hence that everybody should be admitted into the dissecting-room. Not knowing other facts, facts that do not fall under the immediate cognizance of the senses, the masses could not profit by the scene. It might corrupt but would not edify them. It might injuriously excite the imagination, but could do nothing toward expanding the mind and improving the heart. But an unchaste literature, especially when intended for the masses, is still more dangerous. Its power to corrupt and destroy can hardly be overestimated. It is probably doing more, at this very hour, to debauch the youth of our land, than all other agencies put together. Every one who writes for the public, whether a book or a paragraph,

should think of this. Alas! how few that wield the pen can say they have written "no line which, dying, they would wish to blot." How few can truthfully adopt the language of Johnson in his closing sentence of the Rambler: "We shall never envy the honor which wit and learning obtain in any other cause, if we can give ardor to virtue and confidence to truth." But, too frequently, other counsels prevail, other principles govern. While cupidity prompts the writer, the love of excitement tempts the reader; and thus the desolating tide of a vicious literature sweeps over the land.

Now against all these forms of temptation the minds of our youth should be sedulously guarded. In regard to vicious literature, unchaste symbols, indecent pictures, and the like, the motto of the household should be, "TOUCH NOT, HANDLE NOT." The eye, the ear, the understanding, the conscience, the sensibilities, must be not only guarded, but properly trained. To prevent an evil is always a wiser course than to solicit a dubious conflict to overcome it. True, some have been reclaimed from habits of impurity, and on this account we ought to attempt the reformation of those who have fallen, even though we should succeed only in one case in a thousand. But, as it is a thousand times easier to dissuade than to reclaim from a vicious course, *prevention* rather than cure claims our first and most zealous attention. If we cannot batter down the walls of a garrison, and slay the veteran troops that defend it, we may, nevertheless, prevent recruits and cut off supplies; and thus, by a process of undermining and starvation, compel those to capitulate whom we should seek in vain to conquer by direct attack. The impure are short-lived, and if all the children of our land are rightly instructed, a few years will suffice to give us the victory by only the common course of events.

In a word, the pure and the good must do whatever their judgment and their conscience tell them can be done and ought to be done to promote the proper observance of the SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.— The conflict of parties in The Established Church during the last three months has not presented any incidents of extraordinary importance. Some partial changes in the Cabinet are believed to have strengthened the influence of the High Church party, in whose behalf also Gladstone exerts himself strenuously and, as it seems, successfully. The party is well pleased with most of the appointments for the higher offices in the Church, and, at all events, prefers the present administration by far to that of Palmerston. Within the Church, however, the tide seems to have been stronger against the High Church party than ever before. The judgment given by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the appeal of the Rev. Alfred Poole has confirmed the course adopted by the Bishop of London in revoking Mr. Poole's license as curate of St. Barnabas. The control of an important association, in the Church, the Colonial Church Missionary Society, is now entirely in the hands of the Low Church party, for, as a High Church paper complains, at the last annual meeting, which was presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, "all the speakers, both lay and clerical, were of the most ultra-Protestant school." A fresh series of preachings has been commenced in Exeter Hall, and though as heretofore they are in defiance of the protest of the incumbent of the parish, yet the Bishops of Carlisle and Ripon are among the preachers announced. None of the English bishops gives greater offense to the High Church party than the Bishop of London, who has not declined to meet at a soiree, given by Sir Culling Eardley, with "Scottish Presbyterians, English Baptists, Independents, and Methodists, French and Swiss Calvinists, and German Lutherans," in order to consider with them in fraternal union a recent case of aggression on the Protestant Church at Arras, in France. The Bishop of Aberdeen has taken steps to prevent Rev. Patrick Cheyne, who, after being suspended from exercising the office of presbyter, (see Methodist Quarterly Review, April, p. 301) has ever since been performing the functions of deacon, from ministering in any way to the congregation. The Bishop of Oxford, who is unceasing in his efforts to conciliate opposing parties, has given great offense to the more advanced portion of his High Church friends by a declaration that he has "a jealous dread of every Romanizing tendency, and of everything else which in any measure savors of Romanism and is a departure from the spirit of the Reformed Protestant Church of England." On the other hand this declaration has called forth a remonstrance, signed by sixty incumbents in the diocese, which points out many instances of a Romanizing tendency, and demands that they may be abandoned, and that so all the causes of distrust may cease, and peace be restored. Like the Bishop of Oxford, other prominent High-Churchmen, as Mr. Beresford Hope, have deemed it necessary to waive all responsibility for certain usages and practices now in vogue among one portion of the party. Thus the prospects of the party look rather gloomy, which may explain, in part, the bitter language which most of the High Church organs, though they lay so great stress on the episcopal dignity, use of the bishops of the Low Church party. Thus the *Guardian* says of the Bishop of Aberdeen: "We hardly know whether to speak of him in the language of indignation, or of contempt, or of simple amazement." The Anniversary Meetings of the large religious societies were in general very numerously attended, and several societies reported for the past year an income larger than in any other year. The total receipts of the British and Foreign Bible Society have risen to £154,906; those of the Church Missionary Society amounted to £122,088. Also the receipts of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1858 are considerably in advance of the receipts of any previous year, exceeding £130,000. This income will enable the society to carry on with confidence the desired enlargement of the missions in China, India, and elsewhere. A Dublin writer asserts that the Protestant Churches in Ireland now contain fully one half of the whole population of the country, and that in consequence of this increase of Protestantism the character and habits of the Catholic population are rapidly changing for the better.

The Roman Catholic Church.— Great efforts are made by the Irish Catholics to obtain a charter for the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY. A deputation, consisting of twenty-six Irish members of Parliament and other influential gentlemen, has waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to make a formal demand upon him and the government in support of an application which has been made before on two different occasions. Mr. D'Israeli promised them to bring the subject again under the consideration of the Cabinet. A motion made in the House of Commons by J. D. Fitzgerald so to change the form of oath, taken by the ROMAN CATHOLIC MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, as to place them on a level with the Protestant members, has been supported by Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, and adopted by 122 votes against 113. The London *Weekly Register* publishes a letter from the Hon. Charles Langdale, one of the most active Catholic laymen of England, in which he complains that "in the united counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, and Westmoreland, it is only Protestants who have availed themselves of the PROVISIONS OF THE REFORMATORY ACTS, and that Catholics are quietly looking on while their poor children of this class are being sent to a Reformatory which Protestant charity has provided from their their own private resources, and intended for their own unfortunate children." The Protestant Reformatory, alluded to in this letter, contains about seventy boys, about one half of whom are of Catholic parents.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches. — THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORSHIP IN PRUSSIA is still in the hands of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, the president of the German Church Diets, which latter office he has, however, resigned, as incompatible with the functions of a state minister. He has until now succeeded in securing for his reformatory measures the votes of nearly all the Protestant members of the Prussian Parliament who do not belong to the Conservative (High Lutheran) party. The difficult divorce question has been temporarily regulated by a bill which acknowledges the validity of civil marriage, and which has been adopted in the Second Chamber against the united votes of the Conservatives and the Catholics. Other important measures for the development of the constitution of the Church have been announced, in particular the introduction of the lay element into those boards of the Church in which hitherto it has not been represented. A large portion of the RATIONALISTIC PARTY, however, exerts itself for depriving the Church again of that degree of independence and self-government which in late years had been conferred upon her. Thus also in the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, which has ever since the beginning of the present century been under the control of the Rationalists, the Supreme Consistory has been entirely abolished, and the whole administration of the ecclesiastical affairs transferred to the state ministry. Also, in other German States, as Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden, no party appeals more frequently to the episcopal rights of the princes than the Rationalists. THE LUTHERAN PARTY in the Prussian Church is very desponding, and Professor Hengstenberg intimates, in the first number of the *Evangelical Church Gazette* for the present year, that the time may now soon come when all the Lutherans in the Established Church will consider it a duty to secede. He advises his friends not to divide their strength, but either to stay together or to go together. The Lutheran Church government of Mecklenburg (Schwerin) has taken great offense at the sympathy which the Evangelical Churches generally have shown to the deposed Professor Baumgarten. It has in particular complained of the declaration of the German Church Diet in this matter, and declined to accept henceforth a copy of its proceedings. In Hesse-Darmstadt about eighty of the prominent Lutherans have petitioned the grandduke to give to the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Evangelical Confessions a separate organization, in accordance with Art. 75 of the constitution, which recognizes these three denominations as established by law. In the Duchy of Nassau the old Lutherans (seceders from the state Church) have not yet received the permission of meeting for divine service, although the duke has promised their last deputation that their grievances should be removed. In the Grandduchy of Baden the Lutheran seceders have now organized three parishes with about 900 members. In Bavaria the Ministry of Public Worship has induced the Supreme Consistory to suppress the liturgy which W. Löhe, the leader of a High Church party among the Lutherans had introduced in his parish. THE FREE CONGREGATIONS and

German Catholics (Deutschkatholiken) have enjoyed a greater liberty since the Ministry of Public Worship has been given to Bethman Hollweg, and their scattered members therefore collect again. Rupp, of Kœnigsberg, has received permission to give to the children of his congregation religious instruction, and Uhlich, of Magdeburg, has reopened divine service before an audience of more than two thousand persons. In the kingdom of Saxony the government has ratified, though on very restraining conditions, the Church constitution of the German Catholics. The Methodist Church has established a mission at Berlin, and their missionaries live with a number of the preachers of the State Church on brotherly terms. They think Methodism is just what they want, provided that the missionaries will not build up a separate Church, but do as the Wesleys did, labor in the Church. Their cause, as well as that of the Baptists, is also greatly benefitted by the catholic spirit of the *New Evangelical Church Gazette*, which opens to them their columns. The Protestants of Austria do not yet display the same zeal as their brethren in many other German states. Still it cannot be denied that there is a constant and strong awakening of Protestant feelings. Thus the Protestants of Vienna have subscribed in four weeks one hundred thousand florins for the erection of a large school, and similar instances of liberality are reported from other places. The government still refuses some of the most just demands of the Protestants, as the petition of the two (Lutheran and Reformed) Consistories of Vienna, to change Art. 63 of the Civil Code so as to permit Catholic priests who have joined one of the Protestant churches to marry. On the other hand, however, there are also many facts which remind us that the relation of the Catholic governments to other Christian denominations materially differs from the prevailing views in the middle ages. Thus the emperor has repeatedly given considerable contributions for the erection of Protestant churches and schools, and the city council of Vienna has granted, without a single dissenting voice, fifty thousand florins for the erection of the new Protestant schools.

The Roman Catholic Church. — The Reformation of the Austrian Convents is carried through by the bishops in spite of all opposition, and the hard yoke of the old monastic disciplines again imposed upon thousands of reluctant monks. The Benedictines have endeavored, by sending two of their members to the Pope, to avert the dreaded reform. They have, however, been compelled to submit in all the more important points. At Lambach, one of the richest monasteries, an abbot has been appointed with whom the old monks were so dissatisfied that all of them intended to leave the monastery. Several orders will hold this year, for the first time since the reign of Joseph II., a General Assembly, and on that occasion fulfill the principal demands of Rome. The Jesuits in Austria have to enlarge their colleges and theological schools in several places on account of the large number of pupils which they receive from various countries of Europe. They have recently purchased an old castle in the valley of Lavant in order to establish a new novitiate for one hundred novices.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches. — In several cantons the Rationalistic party has made of late considerable progress. In a meeting of the Ascetic Society of Zurich, the oldest among the religious societies of the canton, in June, 1858, they attacked foreign missions in general, and in particular the way in which they were undertaken by the missionary societies. At the cantonal Synod of the same canton, held in November, 1858, Dean Loher, who read the annual report, drew a gloomy picture of the religious aspects of the country, and complained in particular that the negative theology of the Tubingen school was now even taught in the three higher classes of the gymnasium (college) of the capital. The correctness of the fact was readily admitted by the accused professor, who, however, supported by numerous friends, claimed for himself and every member of the national Church, the right to teach, without restraint, the doctrines which they found in the Bible. By the departure of Professor Schlotmann, the prominent representative of the evangelical party, the theological faculty of Zurich will be placed still more under the control of the Rationalistic party. The name of the professor of dogmatics, Alexander Schweizer, has appeared, since January, 1859, as assistant editor of the central organ of the Rationalistic party in Germany, the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung* of Berlin. In Basil, the exclusion of Mr. Rumpf, the editor of a Rational-

istic paper, (*Das Freie Wort*) from the ranks of the clergy, has given rise to an animated debate in the Grand Council, a friend of Mr. Rumpf making the motion that the vows which clergymen have to take at their ordination be so changed as to secure to the Liberal (Rationalistic) party the undisturbed right of admission to the clerical ranks. The motion was defeated by 72 noes to 27 ayes. In order to effect a closer organization of the party throughout Switzerland, a meeting of liberal clergymen, from the cantons of Aargau, Zurich, Basel Country, and Bern, was called for March 7, at Olten, where also the establishment of a Rationalistic Church Gazette was to be taken into consideration. Two important motions concerning THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE were discussed on December 2d by the Grand Council of *Vaud*. The one, made by Mr. Nicville, demanded the abolition of the decree of 1849 against the holding of private religious meetings; the second, made by Mr. Eytel, proposed an entire separation of Church and State. The latter was unanimously rejected, and even the former was not accepted, yet it was resolved to charge the State Council with drafting a decree repealing that of 1849, but at the same time obviating the abuses which the Swiss, like other Europeans still fear from full liberty of worship. A singular specimen of European state-churchism is mentioned from the half-canton of Basel Country, whose government has struck out, in a form of prayer prescribed by the supreme Church-board for a fast-day, such passages as "*O Lord the great and dreadful God*," (Dan. ix, 4;) "God our king," and others, as being at variance with the republican feelings of Basel Country. Similar sentiments have been professed by the Grand Councils of several other cantons.

The Roman Catholic Church. — THE INFLUENCE OF ROME during the last six months has not been increased. The hope of the Catholic party in the canton of Tessin to carry the election of the new Grand Council on February 12, has been disappointed. The government remains, as it has been for years, in the hands of the Liberal party. In the Grand Council of Bern a motion has been carried to make, on the Federal Council, the demand to see that the independence of the Swiss cantons and the honor of their representatives be guarded against the encroachments and the conduct of the papal *Chargé d' Affaires*, who had called the president of the Bernese government a liar. A VICTORY OF THE CATHOLIC PARTY is reported from the canton of St. Gallen, in which the last elections have given to the Catholic party a majority of votes over the Liberals and Protestants united. A change of the constitution and a regulation of public instruction on a strictly denominational basis will be among the first consequences of this election. The number of cantons whose government is in the hands of the Catholic party, amounts now to six (Freyburg, Valais, Uri, Unterwalden, Schwyz, St. Gallen,) of which St. Gallen, with 150,-924 inhabitants, is the most populous.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches. — THE NEW CONVENTICLE LAW IN SWEDEN, by which the absolute prohibition of religious meetings of Lutherans in any other place except the parish church is repealed, has commenced to operate most beneficially. It is expected that it will considerably promote the spreading of the revival, which for many months has been pervading the whole land, and has been participated in by members of every class of society. The rest of this intolerant legislation has not yet been abrogated, but the friends of religious liberty have stronger hopes than ever that the day of a radical change is approaching. The last quarterly report of the Scandinavian missions of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH shows the Methodist missions to be in a very prosperous condition. In Copenhagen the first Methodist Episcopal society in Denmark was organized on January 11th. Several persons of high standing were attending the sermons, and the little hall continued to be so crowded that many, for want of room, had to return home without hearing the preaching. In Norway each of the four congregations at Frederickshald, Sarpsborg, Porsgrund, Enningdalen, reports an increase of membership. Frederickshald had 112, Sarpsborg 170, Porsgrund 30 members.

The Roman Catholic Church.— THE JUDGMENT AGAINST THE CATHOLIC PASTOR OF CHRISTIANIA, in Norway, for not having sent in, according to the requirement of the law, a complete list of the members of his congregation, has been confirmed by the Court of Appeals, though the amount of the fine has been diminished on his plea that, being a foreigner, he had misunderstood the law and acted in good

faith. The court has enjoined on him to comply with the provisions of the law in future.

FRANCE.

The Roman Catholic Church.—THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT has not been of late as amicable as it used to be. The influential men in the party, the leading organs in the press, and the majority of the clergy, are opposed to a war of France with Austria, which is considered by them as one of the two strong pillars of Catholicism in Europe. They suspect, if not yet the Emperor, still some members of the Napoleonic family, of having again the intention, to strip the Pope of his temporal possessions. Even the pulpits have resounded with allusions to the un-Catholic views of the pamphlet, "*Napoleon III, et l'Italie*," though it was generally believed to represent the views of the Emperor himself. The language which the Emperor uses with regard to the Pope is still very respectful; the power of the Church has been apparently increased by the erection of a new archbishopric at Rennes; Catholic associations and institutions at home still enjoy, on the whole, as much liberty and patronage as in any other European country; but nevertheless the belief gains ground, even among the Catholic party, that the sympathies of the Emperor with their Church are not sincere, but like the other acts of his government, based on political considerations of expediency. In how great a degree PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION is still under the control of the Church, may be seen from the fact that the Brothers of the Christian schools alone have more than 800 establishments, and educate more than 300,000 pupils. Nearly all the charitable institutions of the country are under the charge of the Sisters of Charity, or similar orders. With regard to collegiate education, there is still a lively competition between the State colleges and the colleges founded and exclusively controlled by the Church. In behalf of the latter a great zeal is displayed by Father Lacordaire, the celebrated Dominican, who endeavors especially to buy up old Dominican convents, which fell during the revolution into the hands of private citizens. Thus he has bought, in late years, the colleges of Sorrèze, Oullins, and the Church of Flavigny, and more recently, the renowned convent of St. Maximin, at Apt, in which he is now establishing another literary institution of his order. THE CATHOLIC PRESS has been strengthened by the establishment of a new daily, the *Ami de la Religion*, which, as a tri-weekly, has been long the organ of the "moderate Roman" party, and as such the chief opponent of the school of the *Univers*. Many Catholic celebrities have been engaged to write for the new daily, and a number of the bishops have recommended it, some however only on the condition that it cease its quarrels with the other Catholic papers. Time must show whether these two circumstances will be able to increase the number of subscribers, who, at the beginning of the present year, were said to amount only to 500. The number of the Catholic papers in Paris is constantly increasing, but not so fast as that of the secular press. In the press the ultramontane school of the *Univers* is far ahead of the other parties existing within the Catholic Church, the *Univers* itself having by far the largest circulation of all Catholic papers in France (about 9,000). Of the two other Catholic dailies of Paris, one, the *Union*, (with 5,000 subscribers,) favors the ultramontane views, the other, *Gazette de France*, (with 2,500 subscribers,) is Gallican.

The Protestant Churches.—An important decree concerning THE LEGAL RELATION OF THE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT was issued on March 19th. It confirms the general principle of the French legislation, that the state has no right to demand an account of the personal belief of individuals, and that no one shall be annoyed on account of his own belief, but that, on the contrary, any public manifestation of a religious belief requires a previous authorization on the part of the government. In order to give new guarantees, that the requests for opening new churches, chapels or oratories will be judged of with impartiality, the Ministers of the Interior and of Public Worship have proposed to the Emperor, and he has decided, that the authorization for the foundation of new churches, chapels, and oratories, of both the National and the Free Churches, shall be given by the State Council, as being that public board which is least suspected of being influenced by local passions. The prefects will have in future only the power to give or to refuse the requested authorization provisionally. Although this decree leaves the establishment of new Protestant Churches or places of worship entirely at the mercy

of the secular power, it is considered by the Protestant papers, and the advocates of religious liberty in France, as a progress in two respects; first, because from the State Council greater independence of judgment is expected than from the provincial officers, who are too often under the influence of the bishops; and, secondly, because this is the first official document of the present century which mentions the existenee of the Free Churches. To what degree the fanaticism of provincial boards often endangers THE LIBERTY OF WORSHIP, has been recently again shown at Colmar, in Alsace, where, on Jan. 20, a Protestant citizen was fined fifty francs, for having sent to one of his neighbors an unstamped pamphlet on the worship of the Virgin Mary. The Court of Appeal, from which a reversion of this judgment was confidently expected, has confirmed the sentence, representing the mere fact of lending a book as a part of a system of proselytism and Protestant propaganda. The bishops by their pastoral letters, and the leaders of the Anti-Protestant Associations by their harangues, do their utmost to increase this spirit of intolerance. Thus the Archbishop of Lyons, in his pastoral letter of Feb. 12th, says that the Protestant ministers seek to buy souls, not in order to give to them any positive religion, but only in order to deprive them of the Catholic faith, and to make them victims of indifference, and of immorality. A Dominican Friar, Father Lecomte, preached in Lyons, at the establishment of a branch association of S. Francis de Sales, that formerly the laws of the state had been in favor of the Church, and that with their aid the Catholics had succeeded in extirpating heresy from their midst; but that nowadays the laws consecrated *the infernal principle of religious liberty and of liberty of conscience.* The new Society of S. Francis de Sales, is becoming the center for all the intolerant aspirations existing among the French Catholics. It held a general assembly on Jan. 29th, the day of its patron saint, when it was announced that the receipts amounted to 90,000 francs, though several provinces had not yet sent in their contributions; 50,000 books and 200,000 tracts have been circulated, and seventy archbishops and bishops of France have approved the objects of their association.

ITALY.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The dreams of Giaberti and other Italian patriots in 1848, to make THE POPE PRESIDENT OF AN ITALIAN CONFEDERACY similar to that of Germany, have been revived by a pamphlet, recently published in France under the title "*Napoleon III, et l'Italie*," which is believed, by both friend and foe, to represent the views of the French Emperor, and therefore to foreshadow the policy which he will pursue with regard to the Italian war. None of the leading Catholic organs of Italy has received this plan favorably, because they fear that its execution would soon bring on the ascendency of the Constitutional party, from whom the Protestants would obtain without difficulty the same rights which they have enjoyed ever since 1848 in Sardinia. For the same reasons, the ultra Catholic party in Italy is the only one which feels little sympathy with the national war against Austria, and which would even prefer the Austrian rule to that of the Constitutional party. Among the FOREIGN MISSIONARY SEMINARIES of Italy, the Seminary for young Negroes, in the City of Naples, attracts a growing attention. Established two years ago by Father Ludovico, a monk, who devotes himself entirely to the redeeming of young negroes from slavery, to their education and instruction, it had its first annual examination, towards the close of 1858, in the presence of the Archbishop, several ministers, and a number of other distinguished personages. The pupils, now over thirty in number, are educated for the priesthood. Among the most important news from the foreign missions of the Roman Catholic Church we count the reception into her communion of the king of Tigreh, in Abyssinia, and of a son of the king of Camboja, in Farther India. The number of NATIONAL COLLEGES AT ROME has been recently increased by one for South America, whose foundation has been the more eagerly encouraged by the Papal Government, as no other Catholic country is more destitute of ecclesiastical seminaries. At the opening of the college, whose direction has been given to the Jesuits, eighteen candidates from South America were present, and thirteen others were soon expected.

The Protestant Churches.—In the larger cities of Sardinia THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION are rooting themselves more and more firmly. The good example given in this respect in former years by Turin and Genoa, has recently been followed by Pinerolo, a town of 13,000 inhabitants. The town-

council which has to appoint the professors of the college, has appointed a Protestant, a member of the Waldensian Church, and this appointment has been confirmed by the Ministry. On THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM, the *Eco di Savonarola*, a Protestant Italian paper of London, remarks, that the Bible is continually circulating in Tuscany, Lombardy, Venice, Naples, and the States of the Pope, and the number of Protestants in every part of Italy is increasing. The editor of the paper is in possession of several interesting facts, but cannot publish them, as they would expose the young converts to persecution.

PORTUGAL.

The Roman Catholic Church.— THE CONCORDAT concluded, on Feb. 21, 1857, between the plenipotentiaries of the Papal See and the Crown of Portugal, has at length been ratified by the Portuguese Legislature, almost unanimously by the Chamber of Peers, but only by a majority of fifteen (66 votes against 51) in the Chamber of Deputies. This Concordat concerns only the present and former Portuguese possessions in India, and is not received by the Catholic press with the same joy as the Concordat with Austria and several other States, for it places again nearly the whole of British India under the jurisdiction of bishops appointed by the Portuguese government, whose influence, ever since the beginning of the present century, has proved so disastrous to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Asia. The concessions made by Portugal amount to very little, and, as far as the Chamber of Deputies is concerned, proceeded from no sympathy with Rome, as was clearly shown by a resolution, passed in March, with 88 votes against 7, by which the government is invited to watch over the liberal principles of the *Restauration* (1833) by firmly opposing the excesses and abuses of any religious reaction which might attempt to infringe upon them. A new bill concerning the Monastic Orders, which, since 1820, have decreased from 489 convents, with 10,722 members, to 124 female convents with 1228 nuns, gives offense to both parties; to the Catholic, because it suggests a further diminution of the convents; to the more advanced portion of the liberal, because it does not suppress the convents altogether, and confers on those retained the right and even the duty, to devote themselves to the instruction of girls.

SPAIN.

The Roman Catholic Church.— The draft of a NEW LAW ON THE PRESS provides that all writings on Christian doctrines or ethics, on the Catholic religion or the Holy Scripture, must be submitted to the previous censorship of the diocesan bishop, and that any writing on these subjects, which appears without the *imprimatur* of the bishop, will be seized as clandestine. It will be considered as an offense against religion to ridicule or attack the Roman Apostolic Church; to attack or to ridicule any of the rites, practices or objects of public worship; to spread doctrines contrary to the interpretation which the Church gives of the contents of the Holy Scripture; to offend the Roman Pontiff or the sacred character of the priests; or to demand that any other religious worship, beside that of the Catholic Church, be allowed in Spain. We learn from the *Univers* that most of the Spanish bishops have entered a protest against this law, not, however, as one might suppose, because it contains provisions too severe, but because it appears to them as not conferring enough rights on the bishops.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism. — The hopes of the Christian missionaries have recently been cheered by the CONVERSION OF SEVERAL INFLUENTIAL MUSSULMANS, and the open declaration, in favor of Christianity, of others. Thus it is reported that the secretary and historian of the sultan has been deposed from his office for having come out in defense of Christianity, and that in one of the principal cities of Turkey the missionaries have frequent visits from Turkish students in a higher institution, and that among these there are six young men who come regularly for religious instruction. Great hopes are also raised by the progress of PUBLIC INSTRUCTION. A large number of schools, it is said, have been established in the principal cities of the provinces of Albania, Herzogovina, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Rommelia, with branches in the villages and secondary towns, and steps have been taken to open similar schools in the principal towns of Asia Minor.

The Greek Church. — One of the Methodist missionaries reports that since the beginning of the Methodist missions ONE PROGRESSIVE STEP has been made by the Greek Church of Bulgaria in regard

to the observance of the Sabbath. For many years the Christian Sabbath, and Friday, the Mohammedan Sabbath, had been the two great market days, and often priests were seen returning from the bazaar on Sabbath morning carrying their purchases. After the missionaries had talked a great deal to the people about this desecration of the day, the Metropolitan issued an order in the church forbidding all buying or selling on the Lord's day. Any one that may be found working, buying, or selling on that day will be subjected to a heavy fine, and upon a repetition of the offense will be liable to imprisonment at the option of the Metropolitan. It is also added that the influence of the interdict upon the reading of the Bulgarian Scriptures is daily diminishing.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Society of St. Dionysius Areopagita, which was founded a few years ago in the island of Santorin, for the purpose of promoting a corporate union between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches, has transferred its center to Constantinople, and is now placed under the direction of Mr. Eugen Boré, the superior of the Lazarists in Turkey. The members of the association promise to pay a contribution of one frank and a half a year, and to recite every day four ejaculatory prayers, two of which are addressed to the Virgin Mary, one to St. Dionysius Arcopagita, and one to the holy fathers of the Church. The society begins now to spread also in the Western countries of Europe, and will therefore become a new auxiliary of the missions of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Protestant Churches.—The first completed Protestant church in Syria was dedicated to the worship of God, November 7, 1858, at Alma, a village about three miles from the Mediterranean Sea. The building costs only three hundred dollars, and will seat two hundred persons. The missionaries of the American Board report from the Armenian Mission, among many other interesting items, that Messrs. Schneider and Coffing, at Aintab, are giving religious instruction to a class of eight, about half of whom will become pastors, while the others will be useful as colporteurs and teachers; and that in the seminary at Bebek, and in the Protestant community in Constantinople, so marked a religious influence has shown itself as rarely, if ever before, has been seen in Turkey. The consecration of the Protestant Cemetery of Constantinople, the common property of the embassies of seven Protestant States, and, as such, a bond of union among the Protestants of all tongues, took place on February 18, and was participated in by American, English, German, and French clergymen.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review, and Church Register, April, 1859.—1. Commentary on the Four Holy Gospels: 2. Church Statistics: 3. Gladstone's Homer and the Homeric Age: 4. Contemporaneous Literature.

II. The American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register, April, 1859.—1. The New Priest in Conception Bay: 2. Theodore Parker and the Newest Theology: 3. President Hopkins's Discourse and the Church: 4. Church Schools and Colleges: 5. Randall's Life of Jefferson: 6. Sawyer's New Testament: 7. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit: 8. American Ecclesiastical History: Early Journals of General Conventions.

III. The North American Review, April, 1859.—1. Despotism in India: 2. Sir Philip Sidney: 3. Ancient Architecture: 4. Prince Gallitzin: 5. Bushnell's Nature and the Supernatural: 6. Primary Law of Political Development in Civil History: 7. La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay: 8. Life of James Sullivan: 9. Palfrey's History of New England: 10. Switzerland: 11. Carlyle's Life of Frederick the Great.

IV. The Evangelical Review, April, 1859.—1. The Three Saxon Electors of the Era of the Reformation: 2. Testimony of Jesus as to his Mediatorial Character: 3. Educational Efforts of the Pennsylvania Synod: 4. Reminiscences of Lutheran Clergymen: 5. Schmid's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church: 6. History of the Christian Church.

V. The Theological and Literary Journal, April, 1859.—1. Dr. Bushnell's Nature and the Supernatural: 2. Professor Osborn's Palestine Past and Present: 3. Notes on Scripture—Matthew xvii, 9–xx, 19: 4. Dr. Olshausen's Eschatology: 5. Regeneration. By Rev. E. C. Wines, D.D.: 6. Exposition of Acts iv and v: 7. Answers to Correspondents—The Delivery of the Kingdom, 1 Cor. xv, 24–28.

VI. The Southern Presbyterian Review, April, 1859.—1. The Deaconship: 2. National Righteousness: 3. The Changes Proposed in our Book of Discipline: 4. Morphology and its Connection with Fine Art: 5. Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind: 6. The Telluric Portion of "The Cosmos:" 7. Inaugural Discourse on Church History and Church Polity. By Rev. J. B. Adger, D.D.: 8. The New Theological Professorship of Natural Science in Connection with Revealed Religion.

VII. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, April, 1859.—1. The Calvinistic Church: 2. Necessity *versus* Liberty: 3. The Order of Religious Ideas in History: 4. The Movement to Revive Calvinism: 5. The Relations of Positive Thought to Religion.

VIII. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, April, 1859.—1. Re-union of the Synods of New York and Philadelphia, (second article): 2. Motley's History of the Dutch Republic: 3. The Church Extension Cause: 4. Recent Works on Palestine: 5. Do we need a new Doctrinal Agitation in our Church?

IX. Brownson's Quarterly Review, April, 1859.—1. The Church and the Revolution: 2. Politics at Home and Abroad: 3. The Mortara Case: 4. Religious Controversy: 5. Père Félix on Progress.

X. The Mercersburg Review, April, 1859.—1. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: 2. Natural and Supernatural: 3. The Religious Character of Washington: 4. A Discourse by Dr. Rauch—Every Man is the Lord's: 5. The Athanasian Creed: 6. The Palatinate—A Historico-Geographical Sketch, (second article): 7. Calvin's Order of Baptism: 8. Anglo-Latin Hymns.

XI. Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.—1. Bishop M'Kendree: 2. The Pulpit: 3. The Messianic Idea of the Old Testament: 4. Baptismal Regeneration: 5. Moral Obligation: 6. Dodd's Mathematical Series: 7. History of Methodism.

XII. The New Englander, May, 1859.—1. Anticipations of Man in Nature: 2. Chicago Theological Seminary: 3. The Sepoy Mutiny: 4. Dr. Bushnell's Sermons for the New Life: 5. James G. Percival: 6. Meteorology of Palestine: 7. Unchastity: 8. Common Version and Biblical Revision.

XIII. The Congregational Quarterly, April, 1859.—1. Leonard Woods: 2. American Ecclesiastical Denominations: 3. Did the Pilgrims wrong the Indians? 4. The Numbering of the Churches and of their Members: 5. Henry Wolcott and his Children: 6. Congregationalism in Western New York: 7. A Lesson from the Past: 8. The Connection of Pastor and People: 9. Publications of the Congregational Union of England and Wales: 10. Professors and Students in the Theological Seminaries of our Denomination in the United States: 11. Meeting Houses, considered Historically and Suggestively.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The Journal of Sacred Literature, April, 1859.—1. Criticism of the New Testament; Uncials and Cursives: 2. Jewish Sacrifices, with particular reference to the Sacrifice of Christ: 3. The Annals of Esarhaddon: 4. The Mosaic Dispensation compared with the Christian: 5. Scriptural Account of the Cherubim: 6. On the Country and Religion of the Empress Helena: 7. Annotations on Certain Passages in the Epistle to the Romans: 8. The Inspiration of the Evangelists—the Human and Divine Witness: 9. Suggestions for a New Interpretation of St. Matthew ii, 23: 10. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John, Rev. ix.: 11. Correspondence: I AM that I AM. Exod. iii, 14; Description of the Codex Zacynthius (Ξ); Yav in Assyria.

II. The London Review, (Wesleyan,) April, 1859.—1. Statistics and Fatalism—Buckle's History of Civilization: 2. Agriculture by Steam: 3. Virgil and Tasso: 4. Life of Mrs. Schimmelpenninck: 5. Goethe's Ballads and Minor Poems: 6. Ullman on the Sinlessness of Jesus: 7. The Marine Aquarium: 8. Table Talk: 9. Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation: 10. The Late Baron Alderson: 11. The Serampore Mission—Carey, Marshman, and Ward.

III. The Christian Remembrancer, April, 1859.—1. Party Honesty in the Earlier Half of the Eighteenth Century: 2. Greek Hymnology: 3. Civilized America: 4. Mansel's Bampton Lectures: 5. Jerusalem: 6. Ecclesiastical Dilapidations: 7. English Reviewers and Scotch Respondents: 8. The Vatican Codex and Syriac Gospels.

IV. The National Review, April, 1859.—1. Sir E. B. Lytton, Novelist, Philosopher, and Poet: 2. Mommsen's History of Rome: 3. Social Innovators and Reformers: 4. The Present State of Photography: 5. Mill on Liberty: 6. Morley's Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair: 7. D'Aguesseau and French Jurisprudence: 8. Peasant Life in Russia: 9. The True Difficulties of the Italian Question: 10. Schleiermacher's Life and Times: 11. Present Aspects of Parliamentary Reform.

V. The British Quarterly Review, April, 1859.—1. Cheap Literature: 2. Alison's History of Europe: 3. Physical Training: 4. Ellis's Madagascar: 5. Baron Bunsen's Bible: 6. The Punjab and its Administration: 7. Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair: 8. Japan: 9. Lady Morgan's Diary: 10. The Reform Question.

VI. The Westminster Review, April, 1859.—1. Yorkshire: 2. The Morals of Trade: 3. Weimar and its Celebrities: 4. The Drama in Paris: 5. The Italian Question: 6. Adam Bede: 7. De Lamennais: his Life and Writings: 8. England's Political Position in Europe: 9. Contemporary Literature.

VII. The North British Review, May, 1859.—1. Milton and his Times—Masson: 2. Birds: 3. Modern Literary Life—Douglas Jerrold: 4. The British Book and Newspaper Press: 5. Poetry—"Legends and Lyrics"—"The Wanderer:" 6. Henry, Lord Brougham: 7. Indian Colonization: 8. History and Development of Socinianism: 9. Select Memoirs of Port-Royal: 10. Sir William Hamilton's Lectures.

VIII. The Edinburgh Review, April, 1859.—1. Female Industry: 2. Barth's Discoveries in Africa: 3. Dr. Trench on English Dictionaries: 4. Life and Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis: 5. The West Indies as they were and are: 6. Montenegro: 7. Sir F. Palgrave's Normandy and England: 8. Rifled Guns and Modern Tactics: 9. Major Hodson's Life: 10. Austria, France, and Italy.

IX. The Quarterly Review, April, 1859.—1. Carlyle's Frederick the Great: 2. The Minstrelsy of Scotland: 3. National Gallery: 4. Baron Bunsen and the Chronology of the Bible: 5. Devonshire: 6. George III. and Charles James Fox: 7. Lord Brougham and Law Reform: 8. Foreign Affairs—War in Italy.

X. Revue de Deux Mondes. Ninteenth Volume. Paris. February 1, 1859.—1. She and He, (Elle et Lui,) second part. By M. George Sand: 2. The Last Days of the Empire of the Moguls, last part. By M. Theodore Ravie: 3. Geneva, and Genevese Society under a Radical Government. By M. I. Cherbuliey: 4. The Americans on the Pacific Coast—ii. San Francisco and Californian Society. By M. Ed. du Hailly: 5. The Restorations of Forests, and the Management of Rivers in France. By M. I. Clavé: 6. M. de Chateaubriand as a Publicist and a Political Man, (a review of M. Villemain.) By M. Amidée Lefèvre—Pontalis: 7. The Italian Question—The Problem of the Destiny of Italy—Austria and Piedmont in the Peninsula. By M. Charles de Mazade: 8. The Testament of a Prophet, (M. Prosper Enfantin.) By M. Emile Montigat: 9. Political and Literary Chronicle of the Fortnight.

February 15, 1859.—1. The Use of Steam Navigation in the Wars of the Continent. By M. V. de Mars: 2. She and He, (Elle et Lui,) third part. By M. George Sand: 3. Alcide D'Aubigny—his Voyages and Travels. By M. Albert Gaudry: 4. The Monarchy under Louis XV—The Ministry of the Duke de Choiseul, and the Fall of the Parliaments—last part. By M. L. de Carné: 5. Navigation and Agriculture in France—The Importance of Agricultural Products in freighting a Mercantile Marine. By M. F. Vidalin: 6. Modern Travelers; Madame Ida Pfeiffer in Malacca. By M. Charles Lavollée: 7. The Americans on the Coast of the Pacific—The Gold Mines and the Emigration, (last part.) By M. Ed. du Hailly: 8. Mutual Credit—Credit Unions in Belgium and Germany. By M. Bailleux de Masizy: 9. Poetry: 10. Chronicle of the Fortnight.

March 1, 1859.—1. She and He, (last part.) By M. George Sand: 2. A Satirical Humorist of the English Theatre, (Douglas Jerrold.) By M. E. D. Hargues: 3. The Representative Monarchy in Italy. By M. Albert Blanc: 4. England and English Life—Eccentric Forms of Industry—The Musicians of the Streets of London—The Foreign Showmen—The Strolling Players. By M. Alphonse Esquiros: 5. The Sugar Cane and the New Sugar Colonies. By M. Pagen, of the Institute: 6. Historical Scenes—The Termination of the League at Paris, (first part.) By M. Victor Cousin, Member of the Academy: 7. The Theater of Our Time, and the Comedies of M. Banière. By M. Emile Montégat: 8. Chronicle of the Fortnight—Political and Literary Record: 9. Essays and Notices—The Inedited Correspondence of Lavater. By the Prince Galitzin.

March 15, 1859.—1. Historical Scenes—The Termination of the League at Paris, (last part.) By M. Victor Cousin, of the French Academy: 2. La Loca Cuerda—A Tale of the Coast of Chili. By M. Theodore Pavie: 3. The Europeans in Oceanica—Our Antipodes, Tasmania, and New Zealand. By M. Alfred Jacobs: 4. Le Chevalier de Chasot, a Friend of Frederic II. By M. Henry Blaze de Bary: 5. German Literature of the Present Day. By M. Saint—Rener Taillandier: 6. The Nationality of Roumania, as expressed in its Popular Songs. By the Countess Dora D'Istria: 7. The Life of an Italian Emigrant—Giacinto de Collegno. By M. Charles de Mazade: 8. Electoral Reforms in England. By M. Villemain, of the French Academy: 9. Chronicle of the Fortnight: 10. Musical Review.

XI.—Theologische Studien und Kritiken.—Herausgegeben von Dr. C. Ullmann und Dr. F. W. C. Umbreit. Jahrgang, 1859, Zweites Heft. Gotha, bei Friedrich Andreas Perthes. Theological Studies and Critiques.—*Treatises.*—1. On the Ideas: a Visible and Invisible Church, by Ritschel. 2. On the Special Manifestations of God, as contained and described in the Holy Scriptures, by Graf. *Thoughts and Observations.*—1. Schneckenburger on the Date and First Readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Holtzmann. 2. On the Theandric Character of the Holy Scriptures, by Riehm. *Reviews.*—1. Schenkel's Christian Doctrine, Discussed from the Standpoint of Conscience, by Stëitz. 2. Riggenbach's Lectures on the Life of Christ, by Gess. 3. Schœpff's Aurora—a Personal Notice. 4. Colani's Sermons preached at Strasbourg, by Kienlen. 5. Manifestations of God recorded in the Old Testament, by Schultze.

The article on the Church is chiefly an examination of the views of the principal Reformers. Zwingli and Huss differed in some respects, but both agreed

that the Church is the entire body of the predestinated. Luther held that the true Church was not confined to one sect merely; neither did he or Melancthon suppose it free from all error or sin, similar to the Republic of Plato. They stood in different relations to the Reformation, Luther as the apologist and polemic of Protestantism; Melancthon as its dogmatist. The writer thinks the true evangelical conception of the Church, is a proper distinction between, and mutual dependence of, its doctrinal, ethical, and political relations.

Analytical and instructive is the treatise on the special manifestations of God. After a brief introduction the subject is divided and systematically discussed. First, *Conception of the Revelation.* (1.) Fundamental aspects on which the Scripture theory of a revelation rests. The idea of a divine manifestation depends upon two Scriptural truths: (a) That God is a living God; (b) That men are of divine origin. (2.) Object of all divine manifestations. This is the salvation of man. (3.) Means of manifestation; (a) general and special revelation of God; (b) literal and figurative, mediate and immediate, natural and supernatural revelation. Second: *Peculiar Nature of the Act of Revelation and its Relation to the Activity of the Human Mind.* The history and doctrines of the Bible lead to this result: Man has received special revelations of God only in the condition of religious or prophetical ecstasy. (1.) Religious or prophetical ecstacy: Its name and idea. (2.) Origin and limitation of prophetical ecstasy. (3.) Occurrences in the prophetical ecstasy and its results. The author concludes; in the prophetical ecstasy extraordinary impressions are produced on the human spirit, partially to reveal to it something altogether new and beyond the pale of human experience, partially to strengthen and consecrate the natural strength of the mind.

The Review of Dr. Schenkel's new work gives a fair idea of what the work really is. Christian doctrine, he maintains, implies three facts: (a) necessity for salvation, (b) communication of salvation, (c) participation of salvation. These three points he discusses at length. The work is yet unfinished, this being a review of only the first part. A book from the pen of Dr. Schenkel cannot be received otherwise than with pleasure. One of the leading theologians of Germany, he is at the same time an earnest advocate for evangelical religion. May his counsels be long heard on the bank of the Neckar. *Colani's Sermons* contain some striking passages. He thus shows the relation between natural and revealed religion: Between the so-called natural religion and the religion of Christ there is no antagonism; but it is the same difference that you see between the shades which come through the windows and move over the ceiling of a half-darkened room and those gladdening colors with which the summer sun adorns our landscape. The reviewer commends the work for its eminently practical character. In the concluding article the ground is taken that, in spite of many contrary theories, the "Angel of Jehovah," so often mentioned as appearing in Old Testament history, was none other than the Logos—the Son of God—the Christ of the New Testament.

The present number of the *Studien und Kritiken* is less rich in exegetical and doctrinal matter than usual; but it more than compensates for this by its excellent reviews of important works. We deem it the best that has appeared

for many months. Its articles translated would do honor to our American theological magazines. The day is passing by when our good men shake their heads at every religious work that comes to us from Germany; for the time is coming, nay, it has come, when the *straitest sects* of the American Church will lose nothing by a careful study of the opinions of the great living theologians of Heidelberg, Halle, and Berlin.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Eschatology;* or, the Scripture Doctrine of the Coming of the Lord, the Judgment, and the Resurrection. By Samuel Lee." (12mo., pp. 267. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co.) The volume before us will perhaps excite some attention in the religious world. It proposes a new theory concerning the great last events in the destiny of our race—the resurrection and the judgment. Its views do not immediately affect the subjects of the conditions of salvation, or the reality of retribution; but simply reconstruct the nature and the order of the final events. The work is characterized by candor, skillful logic, and plentiful if not sound scholarship. His object is fundamentally to solve the difficulty arising from that numerous class of Scripture texts which seem to indicate that the final judgment was to take place in the apostles' own day. He is scandalized at the fact, that not only skeptical writers, but even orthodox commentators, have, upon this subject, imputed *error* to the apostles and to the primitive Christian Church. His theory is as follows:

He distinguishes the "coming of the Son of Man" from the "coming of the Lord." The former event, the textual basis of which is found in Dan. vii, 13, 14, and the superstructure in Matthew xxv, 31–46, is realized in the establishment of the Christian dispensation during the period between the resurrection of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem. To that great establishment the entire class of texts, some twelve in number, of the Gospels, alluding to the *coming of the Son of Man*, are assigned. On the other hand the *coming of the Lord*, the fundamental text describing which is John xiii, 31-33, designates his coming to the judgment of every man at his death. Christ is now sitting in perpetual judgment; and every man as he leaves the world receives his sentence, and without any intermediate state, goes to his final reward of heaven or hell. Of the resurrection he gives about the Swedenborgian view. It occurs immediately at death, and consists in the soul's taking on its eternal nature. Thus resurrection and judgment, like death, run *parallel* to the line of human history, instead of *intersecting* and *terminating* it.

Objections both logical and exegetical occur to our mind on almost every

page. His mode of solving the fundamental difficulty appears to us, not only too expensive for its results, but contradictory to plain fact, and neglectful of the solution furnished by the apostles themselves. 1. It is plain, from their own account, that not only the apostles, but our Lord himself professedly knew not *the day nor the hour* of his second advent. Mark xiii, 32. The *times* and *the seasons the Father has reserved in his own power.* Acts i, 7. If then the apostles expressly intimate, as they do, that upon this subject no revelation is made to them, their ignorance or their error upon the subject could be no impeachment of their inspiration or authority upon any other point. 2. With regard to those passages which speak of the judgment as an impending event, it seems to us that an apostle's own solution renders perfectly unneccessary this elaborate solution by our author. Now St. Peter, in the third chapter of his second epistle, expressly states our author's difficulty and furnishes the inspired solution. Scoffers, he says, should come in the last days and raise this very problem, that his *coming* does not according to verbal promise *immediately occur.* "But," says St. Peter, in reply to this very difficulty, "beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise as some men count slackness . . . But the day of the Lord will come, as a thief in the night, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise," etc. Here it is plain that Peter recognizes the difficulty arising from the terms of immediacy with which the judgment day is predicted, and furnishes the rule of interpretation. It is the language of the eternal God, and must be interpreted by the measure of his eternity. Language that implied the delay of a few days may thus designate a period of thousands of years. It is the mysterious language of the Father, who reserves the times and seasons in his own power, revealing them neither to his angels nor even to the humanity of his Son. And one of the purposes of this reservation is to allow his Church to live in uncertain expectation, at one time, of his impending approach, and, at another, of its position in a distant point of the prophetic future.

Again, in John xxi, 22, (a passage which our author omits to notice,) Jesus says of the Apostle John: "If I will that he tarry *till I come*, what is that to thee?" From that expression, St. John tells us, a rumor was current among *the brethren* that he should not die. Now what "*coming*" was it here specified? We answer, it could not be the establishment of Christianity; for living until this coming specified implied perpetual exemption from death. Nor could it be Christ's coming to each man at death; for it implied that St. John, who should meet it, would not die. But it must be a *second coming which introduced the eternal state;* so that he who lived unto it would never die. But all these points upset our author's theory. It is also curious to remark, that St. John is inspiredly noncommittal as to the meaning of the Saviour's words. He repeats them *verbatim*, but declines all attempt at interpretation. This is a unique proof, that an inspired apostle was *professedly* ignorant as to the approach of his second advent in his day. And this again renders our author's theory superfluous. Finally, the current saying among the brethren that that apostle should not die, because he should tarry till

Christ came, clearly implied in his case a supernatural perpetuity of life. Hence the apostles could not very definitely have expected Christ's coming during their own life. They did not themselves expect to live until that event. It required a supernatural protraction of life to reach that event.

(2.) "*Bunsen's Bibelwerk.* Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde. In drei abtheilungen. Von CHRISTIAN CARL JOSIAS BUNSEN." (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus; New-York: B. Westermann & Co. 1858.) Behold, it lies before us! the very book which so many a Biblical student has been for months eager to read. And yet it is not the whole work; but just a half-volume, only the sixteenth-part of the author's long-standing pledge. But even this much tells which way the wind blows; and now we can augur the drift of what every subsequent chapter will be, should the veteran author live to drink the sparkling Rhenish, as he complacently writes "*Finis*" to his *Bibelwerk.* This *avant courier* has, indeed, excited no little surprise at home; and that is much to say, when we remember that works on the Bible are as common in Germany as Sylvanus Cobb's heartless ravings are in Gotham, on the day when the Ledger office disgorges its new edition to the outstretched hands of a hundred wrangling, ragged news-boys.

But about the contents of the *Erster Halbband.* More than half of it is taken up in Prefaces; nearly the whole of the other half is called Biblical Year-books, and gives a table of comparative dates for the history of the Jews, Persians, and Egyptians. It closes with a new translation of the first few chapters of Genesis, accompanied by expository notes; which last, we presume, are given that the world may have a specimen of what is in store for their future enlightenment. In the Prefaces the author has taken occasion to express his mind freely on many things but remotely connected with his task. He had some views he evidently wished to tell somewhere—a side-thrust at Hengstenberg, for example; and this he does in the various divisions, subdivisions, and supplements, into which the Prefaces are so minutely divided. But they abound in evidences of masterly scholarship, and are written in fresh, earnest, and vigorous style; yet the chevalier's blood seems always hot, as if from a tournament or tilting-match. Luther's translation has many grievous faults; this is the alleged cause of the *Bibelwerk.* The different versions since his day are scanned; but Bunsen attaches less importance to them than to the one of the great Reformer. The remarks on the true value of the old translations, manifest a fund of classical and Scriptural knowledge that is only to be found in Bunsen.

A most interesting chapter is that which furnishes a plan of the work and a history of the undertaking. The *Bibelwerk* is to extend to eight volumes, and to be completed in four years. It is to be divided into three Parts: 1. Bible Text, in four volumes; 2. Bible Documents, in three volumes; 3. The Bible History, in one volume. A glance at the author's early education takes us back to the first of the century, when young Bunsen read Genesis in Hebrew in 1805, and the Gospels in Greek in 1807. Nearly ever since then it has been his constant intention, ay, and labor too, to write a work on the whole Bible. Taking all his other books together, they are great enough to have been the life-labor of a dozen men; but we now find that they

have only been accessories to this work, which has been incubating for more than two-score years in Bunsen's brain. For this purpose he has become a Mezzofanti in linguistic lore, and a Crichton in versatility of acquirements. For this he has traveled and studied, not only in his own country, but has resided in Holland, England, and Rome. For this he has tried to draw from Egyptian history the dark vail which, for ages, has hidden the truth from the world. For this he has been a close student of patristic times—an irksome field for most men—and has been no idle observer of the tendencies of religion and politics in our day.

The exposition of the creation history at the close of the half-volume is cold and meager; and though the writer has issued a tirade against the followers of Semler in the Prefaces, yet here we find the very quintessence of Rationalism. And the British Quarterly assures us that such is the case in the second *Halbband*, which we have not yet seen. It speaks substantially thus: "On Exod. iv, 1–10, silence is observed; a hint is dropped in regard to Moses, that the circumstances took place on the 'field of inward vision;' Numb. vii, 8, 9, where Moses heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat, is passed over *sicco pede*. . . . The same is the case in regard to Miriam's visitation with leprosy, and the earthquake which swallowed up Korah and his company. . . . Thus Bunsen explains the passage of the Red Sea: 'Since the retreat of the sea toward the southwest is conceived of as a sundering, it is further said, in accordance with this figure, that the waters were to the right and to the left. The connection shows how this manifestly figurative representation, which is plainly taken from the popular talk, is to be understood. In reality the water was to their right hand only, and on the left hand, that is, where the passage took place there was nothing but the dry, sandy bottom of the sea, almost six miles broad.' . . . The pillar of cloud is only the smoke of the Israelitish army. . . . Of the tree with which Moses healed the bitter waters of Marah, says Bunsen, 'several species of wood are endued with like virtue.' All the patriarchs prior to Abraham, or at least his father Terah, are resolved into geographical, philosophical, or chronological myths, and are indulged with nothing but an ideal personality. Of course, the events with which their names are connected share the same fate. Even Adam and Eve are generalized into man and woman respectively, and lose all individual existence; as does also Noah, the second great head of the human family.

The Bible may be more critically rendered than Luther has done it; and Bunsen's work will be expected with interest by Biblical students; but we have not the slightest idea that he will bring out more of the soul that is in it than De Wette has. If such be the case, however it be with scholars, heaven save the people from such a Bible! Luther's translation has its faults, so has King James's edition; but it is the Bible which the German masses love, and is eminently adapted to the popular heart. In addition to Bunsen's long-known doubts on inspiration, we do not like his assistants, whose names he gives to us in the Prefaces, and whom he recommends so highly. Drs. Haug and Kamphausen are not the men to labor on an *inspired* book. They would make good classical critics; but before the *Bibelwerk* is completed, the

world will find out their lack of adaptation to Biblical exegesis. But we do not attach the importance to Bunsen's work that some do. A book from every sympathizer with Rationalism in Germany, will not be able to stay the tide of evangelical truth that, for the last few years, has been watering the home of the Reformation. H.

(3.) "*Sermons Preached and Revised*, by the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON, Fifth Series." (12mo. pp. 454. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln; Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1859.) Spurgeon is read in at least five different languages. More than one hundred and fifty thousand volumes of his sermons have been sold in America alone. The present volume contains twenty-seven sermons, with the excellences and defects which have characterized the four series previously issued. No one hearing or reading his hearty invitations and appeals would suppose him tinctured with the peculiar notions which assume the inappropriate name of the "Doctrines of Grace." He distinctly declares his belief "that there is nothing above, beneath, around, which is not according to the determination of [God's] own counsel and will; and while we are not fatalists, we do most truly and sternly hold the doctrine that God hath decreed all things whatsoever that come to pass, and that he overruleth all things for his own glory." Then, "whatever is is right;" and the repudiation of fatalism is pure nonsense. Sin is no longer sin, or God is the author, ordainer, and irresistible promoter of wickedness. Rum-selling, murder, and slavery are decreed by God, and tend to his glory. Opposition to them is fighting against God. If he ordains such opposition, his government is one of confusion, and he is at war with himself. Souls are damned, whatever they may do, simply because God decreed that they should sin and be damned. But then, Mr. Spurgeon says, "many persons have such shallow minds that they cannot perceive how God's determination and our own free action can go together." We confess that we fall under this condemnation. Nor does he, in this volume at least, attempt our impossible enlightenment.

The doctrine of Absolute Perseverance is presented with equal explicitness. "Sonship," he says, "is a thing which all the infirmities of our flesh, and all the sins into which we are hurried by temptation, can never violate or weaken." Then, David in his infamy was as truly and fully a child of God as when tuning his harp to its loftiest strains; and Judas, when about to hang himself, might have applied to himself the rhapsody addressed to the heir of heaven: "Thou canst sing of electing love; thou dost believe that a covenant was made with Christ in thy behalf, and that thy salvation was made secure in that moment when the hands of the Eternal Son grasped the stylus and signed his name as the representative of all the elect." And as one "may be infallibly sure that he is a child of God," into whatever depths of sin he may plunge, he cannot "weaken" his sonship, or peril his salvation. That Mr. Spurgeon is not a rank Antinomian is not the fault of his Calvinism. We are sorry that in this age such sayings are uttered as truth; but we nevertheless much prefer to see error stand forth in all its boldness of monstrosity than clad in beautiful robes, and disguised as to its real character. And while many of our Calvinistic friends are becoming fond of representing this doctrine of Perseverance to be the main ground of difference between them and us, we

commend to them the candor of Mr S., who bases that tenet upon the dogma of unconditional election.

This volume betrays sad ignorance of Arminianism. Hence, the following: "To give a man a new heart and a new spirit is God's work, and the work of God alone. Arminianism falls to the ground when we come to this point." "If that hymn (commencing, 'Come thou Fount,' etc.) be true, Arminianism must be false." He who stands in the pulpit should know of what he speaks. To him it is a "lax theology." If *laxity* consists in a splendid exemption from the cast-iron fatalities of Calvinistic partiality, and the eternally fixed decrees which make the infinite God a trifler with human souls, and give him a character dark with untruth in declaring that Christ "died for all," and with insincerity and deception in his offers of salvation to every man, Spurgeon is right.

The Methodists are very unnecessarily subjected to an ungracious sneer. "Our Wesleyan brethren," he says, "have a notion that they are going to be perfect here on earth. I should be very glad to see any of them when they are perfect," and he would pay high wages for one as a servant. What follows is an evidently intentional caricature of the Wesleyan doctrine of perfection, and of the pure clap-trap order of pulpit performance. The plea of ignorance will not avail here, for he shows his correct understanding of it, in expressing his belief that the day will come when God "shall not merely subdue our lusts, but when he shall cast the demons out," though it "shall not come until we enter into the joy of the Lord." He says to the Christian, "Thou art not yet free from sin, nor wilt thou be until thou hast washed thy garments in death's black stream, and then shalt thou be holy." This is too much like the *sub gurgite vasto* of Pagan Virgil to pass for good Christianity, and it incites in us a strong desire that our author may become acquainted with an essay by that staunch Arminian, John Fletcher, on "The Twin Doctrines of Christian Imperfection and a Death Purgatory. W.

(4.) "*The Immortality of the Soul and the Final Condition of the Wicked* carefully considered. By ROBERT W. LANDIS." (12mo., pp. 518. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street. 1859.) *Annihilationism annihilated* would have been, in the good old days of word-play and quaint title, the cognomen of this book. And that such has been, if not the *title*, certainly the *aim* of Mr. Landis, the whole character of the volume shows. His purpose has been, beyond all question, to make of it a thorough work. Fearing no foe, he has marshalled an array of opponents, selected as champions by our annihilation friends themselves, and compelled them to meet him face to face, without quarter, in the contest of destructive argument. He has taken full room and ample time. He has brought to the combat all the resources of theology, Biblical criticism, metaphysics, logic, with a spice of sarcasm and sternness. He has shunned no point of difficulty. His evident design has been to furnish a standard and exhaustive work, which, if it does not render all others unnecessary, will, nevertheless, stand as a permanent *resort* for the earnest inquirer, and a magazine of weapons whence the champions of orthodoxy may draw their equipment for their work.

Mr. Landis' work is divided into three general parts. In the First Part

he considers the argument for the immortality of the soul from reason and ancient testimony. In this part the various theories are discussed, and the arguments from the nature of the soul and the instincts of the race, are fully stated. In Part Second is stated the argument from Scripture, and from the views entertained by the ancient Jews and by the Primitive Christians. In this part is given a very thorough exegesis of all the Scripture passages upon the subject, both of the Old and the New Testament. In Part Third the subjects of Death and Penalty are considered. Death as a Scripture term, and as a natural event, is fully analyzed. Punishment, its nature and object, both temporal and eternal, is discussed. The results are brought to bear directly upon Restorationism, Universalism, and Annihilationism. The work concludes with a full and strong series of positive arguments in support of the doctrine of the eternal conscious punishment of the finally impenitent. The work will, we doubt not, perform an effectual part in the controversy of the present day, and make a deep and solemn impression upon the public mind.

(.5) "*The Greek Testament.* With a critically revised Text; a Digest of Various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, B.D., Minister of Quebec Chapel, London, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In four vols. Vol. i containing the Four Gospels." (8vo. pp. 835. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859.) The Christian scholars of our country will welcome, with a hearty plaudit for the Harpers, the reception of this noble publication. So constant is the reference of English critics to the commentary of Alford, and so decided the verdict by which they put him at the head of his class, that a strong wish has arisen among our American Biblical students for its possession, which was precluded by the formidable obstacle of the importation price. The first volume is upon our critical table—a pleasure to the eyesight. Its exterior execution is handsome, and quite as near splendid as economy, low price, and utilitarian purposes will permit. The Greek type is well defined, well shaped, and of a deep nigritude. A happy use of marked catch-words facilitates reference. An unblemished accuracy, so far as we have examined, is absolutely preserved. The artistic and external part of the work presents nothing for the exceptions of criticism.

The page is divisible into three parts: Text, Digest of various readings, and Commentary; nearly equal in extent, but Commentary, on the whole, is decidedly predominant. The Prolegomena on the Four Gospels, at the commencement of the volume, are concise, yet complete, mainly presenting *results* sustained by the briefest and most terse statement of the strongest point of argument. His doctrines of inspiration are not of the straitest kind, nor yet latitudinarian. Of a similar medium character are his views of Gospel discrepancies and the possibility of perfect verbal harmony. His commentary is eminently critical, unshrinking, well defined, yet moderate in views; reverent in spirit, and believing in its standpoint. The scholar or minister, therefore, that asks for the standard commentary of the day, embodying the original text, for constant use and reference, may here find his answer.

(6.) "*A Grammar of the New Testament Diction*, intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament. By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER, translated from the sixth, enlarged and improved edition of the original, by EDWARD MASSON, M.A., formerly Professor in the University of Athens. Vol. 1." (8vo. pp. 372. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., No. 40 North Sixth-street; New York: R. Carter & Brothers; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.) The present translation is from the sixth German edition, in which, as Winer informs us, the work has undergone the latest improvements it will ever receive from his hand. Although the revision was completed, as the author with much pathos mentions, under the influence of a nervous affection of the eyes threatening him with total blindness, yet the task was performed, by the aid of kind friends, with a thoroughness satisfactory to his own energetic mind.

It is unnecessary for us to pass any commendations upon a work which stands in the estimate of scholars, both in Europe and America, not only a standard, but absolutely alone in its field. The work presupposes in the student a mastery of classic Greek grammar, and deals with New Testament grammar in its peculiarities. It was commenced by the author while a tutor at the university, upon principles then in a great degree novel. The work proposes by a grammatical investigation of New Testament diction to check the license of arbitrary interpretation. It approaches the process of exegesis from its own peculiar direction, and exercises a healthful control over the caprices of neologists as well as the perversions of one-sided doctrinaires. If to be a good theologian it is necessary to be a good grammarian, Winer is the most valuable of all aids for a thorough and fundamental theological scholarship.

(7.) "*Commentary of the Gospel of John.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS THOLUCK. Translated from the German by CHARLES P. KRAUTH, D.D." (8vo. pp. 440. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co.; New York: Blakeman & Mason; Boston: Gould & Lincoln; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1859.) This noble volume will be a very acceptable presentation to the American Christian public. The first glance at its exterior reveals that it has received large additions since the first American translation by Mr. Kaufmann. The statement of the author informs us that these additions are the result of a faithful study of the most valuable publications which the earnest discussions and fundamental researches of the last few years have produced. The respective lives of Jesus, by Strauss, Neander, and Krabbe; the critical writings of Schwegler and Bruno Bauer; the commentaries of De Wette and of Lüke, in its late edition, together with Luther, Crell, Bucer, and Maldonatus, among early writers, have furnished the materials of the new accessions.

The name of Tholuck among American Christians gathers increasing veneration with advancing years. Müller's beautiful eulogy, quoted in the Translator's Preface, well describes his mind. Müller says: "Everything presents itself to the mind of Tholuck in large outline. . . Bold and brilliant images are always at his command. Not only does the Holy Bible open to him its treasure-chambers, but the sages of Greece, the ancient and modern teachers of the Church, the Christian lyric poets, present him their most beau-

tiful flowers, and lay at his feet the most apposite expressions. THERE IS GIVEN TO DR. THOLUCK THE POWER OF ENCHANTMENT OVER MIND."

The name of Dr. Krauth is an ample pledge for the excellence of the translation.

(8.) "*The Great Exemplar;* or, the Life of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. By JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor. In Two Volumes." (12mo. pp. 489, 388. Carter & Brothers, 1859.) Our friends, the Carters, though well-defined in their denominational position, are no bigots, as more than one fine volume of old English Church Literature which they have presented to the American public, can honorably attest. An eminent position in this section of their publications will be conceded to that venerated Christian classic now upon our table. Personally, we must confess that the peculiarities of style and thought which characterize the "Shakspeare of Divines" do not accord with our own idiosyncrasies of taste. But wherein we differ from the "common sense of mankind," we are doubtless wrong, and the world is right. Here the *quod ubique* rule of old Vincentius is sound; and we are heretic. We approve the ridicule which old Dr. South poured upon Jeremy, and join in the laugh at his pet formulas, "So have I seen," etc.; and his pet brilliances about "the fringes of the North Star," and his multitudinous swarms of quotations and outlandish allusions. But to the great world of readers, whose heart he warms, and whose fancy he kindles, this, our ditto to Dr. South, will be, as it should be, a matter of small concern.

His Life of Christ, from its narrative character, is less obnoxious to the hits of Dr. South than his sermons and discourses. It is marked by devotional glow and by exuberant description, in a style of full and flowing, perhaps cloying amplification.

(9.) "*The Pearl of Days;* or, The Advantages of the Sabbath to the Working Classes. By a Laborer's Daughter. With a Sketch of the Author's Life, by Herself, and a Preface, by an American Clergyman." (24mo. pp. 133. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859.)

(10.) "*Heaven's Antidote to the Curse of Labor:* or, The Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath, considered in Relation to the Working Classes. By JOHN ALLAN QUINTON. With a Prefatory Notice by the Rev. S. H. TYNG, D.D." (24mo. pp. 155. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859.) We have here a very unique pair of productions proceeding from an authorship of a peculiar and interesting character, presenting in a vivid manner a special and striking phase of a very important subject. A Scotch gentleman of piety and fortune offered prizes for the best essays upon the Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath. The former of the above two volumes was (very absurdly) rejected, because the writer was a female! The second received the first prize. The former was, however, very properly requested for publication; and for its beauty of style, as well as for its peculiar source, is a volume of much interest. Yet, for real practical force, and variety of telling points, the second is the superior volume. Both ought to be placed in the hands of every practical manual laborer in the land, who is in any danger of undervaluing the Sabbath.

(11.) "*A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospel of Luke*, for the Use of Ministers, Theological Students, Private Christians, Bible Classes, and Sunday Schools. By JOHN J. OWEN, D.D." (12mo. p. 400. New York: Leavitt & Allen, 379 Broadway. 1859.) Dr. Owen has brought his great linguistic attainments to bear upon this work with great effect and success, and yet with very little visible display. He has aimed to furnish, frequently by verbal translation of the original idiom, an exact idea to the English reader of the precise import of the original expression, without any presentation of the Greek type. Hence his sifting of the text is often, perhaps, as thorough as possibility admits. Though evidently Calvinistic in his theology, his creed has been less in view than an honest development of the force of the sacred text. The commentary of the volume is copious, devoting nearly as many pages to Luke alone as the former volume gave to Matthew and Mark. The style is simple and clear, wanting, perhaps, in glow, vivacity, and life, and never rising to a tone of rich feeling or a style of inspiring eloquence. It is to be ranked among the best contributions to exegetical literature our country has produced.

Dr. Owen's Commentary on John is in a state of advancement, and will soon appear.

(12.) "*Spirit Life and its Relations*, by Rev. T. SPICER, D.D." (18mo. p. 211. Albany: Munsell & Rowland. 1859.) Embodied in a neat popular manual, and expressed in his own lucid style, Dr. Spicer has here presented the arguments in favor of the doctrines of the Christian ages, in regard to the nature and destinies of the human soul. The volume is an admirable pocket or family preservative against some of the ephemeral heresies that are now afloat in our atmosphere. Of these heresies the indirect benefit is to draw out such restatements of truth, which, by their accordance with Scripture and consciousness, serve to restore the popular mind to its proper status.

The book is divided into three parts. The First analyzes with much simplicity and clearness the nature and properties of the soul. The Second traces its active powers, such as reason, instinct, will, and conscience. The Third develops the doctrine of the future state. Its topics are Immortality, Intermediate State, General Resurrection, General Judgment, Eternal States, both of the righteous and of the wicked. On these topics the general reader will here find the clear teachings of a judicious but independent thinker.

(13.) "*Notes, Critical, and Explanatory*, on the Acts of the Apostles. By MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, Professor of Biblical Literature, etc., in the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany City, Pa." (12mo., pp. 430. Carter & Brothers. 1859.) This is the fourth volume of a progressing work of much excellence on the New Testament, by Professor Jacobus. For the better performance of the work the professor prepared himself by a tour in Palestine for personal inspection of the sacred localities. He has used the best Biblical apparatus for the work. It is illustrated, judiciously, with pictorial engravings. The commentary is both searchingly exegetical and copiously inferential and practical, yet seldom largely homiletic. It is decidedly

Calvinistic, yet not Antinomian. Upon Acts ii, 23, he remarks, touching the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews: "All the steps were as much ordained and foreknown as the event itself. The event could not have been foreknown by God except as it was fixed. Nor was it foreknown merely as another's act uncontrollable, but as planned and provided for by himself."

(14.) "*The Lord's Supper.* By Rev. SAMUEL LUCKEY, D.D. With an Introduction, by Rev. BISHOP JANES." (18mo. pp. 284. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street, 1859.) This neat manual will be found a most refreshing and suitable preparatory, to every Christian heart, for the holy communion. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is delightfully analyzed in regard to its *institution* and *significance*. In a rich and eloquent style its *purposes* are copiously developed as a memorial, as a passover, a eucharist, a communion, and a sacrament. In all these aspects it is presented with a vivid view, and made productive of rich and plentiful meditation. The great sin committed against the Sacrament, or rather against its Author, by those who neglect to join the Church, and so neglect the communion, is forcibly illustrated. This is a "*seed thought*," from which more extensive and fruitful developments might be drawn. The Church will once more listen to the words of Dr. Luckey, as uttered by a well-remembered but long silent voice; and never did his words come more full of unction and eloquent piety.

(15.) "*The Precious Stones of the Heavenly Foundation.* With illustrations in Prose and Verse. By AUGUSTA BROWN GARETT, 'Author of Musical Compositions,' 'Hamilton, the Young Artist,' etc., etc. 'And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones.'" (16mo. pp. 327. New York: Sheldon & Company, 1859.) Of this volume, bright with red and gold, the fundamental idea is found in the apocalyptic description of the foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem. Each precious stone, the Jasper, the Sapphire, the Chalcedony, etc., was an emblem, and was luminous with a meaning and a lesson. To study that meaning, and educe that lesson, is the office assumed by the authoress, with no little beauty and success. In a style of freshness and freedom, interspersed with choice extracts from the best authors in Christian literature, she illustrates her varied topics so as at once to please the taste and animate the piety of her readers.

(16.) "*The Great Concern;* or, Man's Relation to God and a Future State. By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D.D." (12mo, pp. 235. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) Though a very unreliable expounder of Christian morals, Dr. Adams, the noted author of "The South-Side View of Slavery," is a very clear, terse, and sometimes eloquent champion of orthodox theology. Should he find it worth the while to take a trip to Salt Lake and furnish the public a Mormon-Side View of Polygamy, it would render him not a whit more unacceptable to a large share of the Christian community, both as a moralist and a theologian, than he now stands.

(17.) "*First Things; or, the Development of Church Life.* By BARON STOW, author of 'Christian Brotherhood.'" (16mo. p. 282. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Company; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) The "First Things" of Mr. Stow are not, as might be imagined, the primordia of the *creation;* but of the *renovation* at the early spring of Christianity, after the Ascension. Then took place the first developments of the life of the Church in those spontaneous forms, which are the type of all its subsequent movements. Then came into model existence The First Prayer-Meeting, The First Election, The First Outpouring of the Spirit, The First Sermon, and First Revival, with its First Converts. Adversely appeared the First Persecution, First Hypocrites, and First Concession. Then arose the First Deacons, and suffered The First Martyr.

Mr. Stow's book is the skillful development of a fertile "seed thought."

(18.) "*The Best Things.* By the Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., author of 'Rills from the Fountain of Life.'" (18mo. p. 293. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1858.) And what are the "Best Things?" Dr. Newton tells the young folks at home where to find them. He will tell his youthful inquirers, beyond all error, where are The Best Fountain, The Best Workers, The Best Work, The Best Warfare, The Best Loan, The Best Lesson, The Best Flowers, The Best Robe, The Best Helper. All this our eloquent friend does in a very beautiful and engaging way. The Things he specifies are very desirable; and it is all-important to take up with no second-hand or second-rate article; get the Best, the very Best.

(19.) "*The Mothers of the Bible.* By Mrs. S. G. ASHTON. With an Introductory Essay, by Rev. A. L. STONE." (16mo., pp. 338. Boston: J. F. Tilton & Co. 1859.) A very attractive addition to that class of books whose object is to select and present to view some particular phase of the "many-sided" Book.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(20.) "*Lectures on Metaphysics.* By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the Rev. JOHN LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D., Oxford, and JOHN VEITCH, M.A., Edinburgh." (8vo. pp. 738. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington-street; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) The admirers of Sir William Hamilton, and the inquirers into the nature of his philosophy, have now at length their gratification. The main amount of his own teachings, embodied in the best form which his most judicious disciples have been able to assign them, stand, or will soon stand, ready for public acceptance. Thoughtful men will now be able to determine how just are the superlative encomiums of his admirers; how true and clear his elucidations of the problems of philosophy, and what his actual contributions of original and indestructable thoughts to a science deemed by many totally unprogressive and hopeless.

Many will rejoice to learn that the contents of the present volume, consist-

ing of lectures addressed to university pupils, are somewhat condescending in their style, and somewhat tenderly considerate of the needs of ordinary students and thinkers. The essays in the Edinburgh Review, which, at the time of their first publication, startled the thinkers of Europe with surprise at their originality and depth, as well as at the mastery of their author over the whole field of thought, were expressed in that style of uncompromising terseness which assumed that the audience was up to the level of his own mind. If, through defect of early training, or any eclipse of intellect, you failed to grasp the thoughts, or required the definition of a term, you could take leave of absence, for this was no place for neophytes. Upon the subject of logic, also, his Reviews displayed that haughty universality of scholarship, and that profundity of development that seemed to dwarf all modern competitors to dunces, and compelled the age to acknowledge that *a greater than Aristotle is here.* The lavish and riotous display of universal scholarship exhibited by Sir William, immense as his reading undoubtedly was, creates in our mind some irrepressible suspicions of charlatanism. Universal scholarship in a single mind is an arithmetical impossibility. It is, in fact, a case under Sir William Hamilton's great category of the *impossibility of knowing the infinite.* It is the impossibility that a limited capacity should grasp an unlimited amount. And so when Sir William undertook to wave his scepter beyond his own imperial domains of metaphysics and logic, including both their literature and science, into the territory of historical theology, it encountered some raps of refutation and exposure from the Scottish doctors, decidedly admonitory to all claimants of universal erudition. From the heights of those grand essays produced by him in the noon of his intellect and morning of his fame, which assumed his addressing an audience of master minds, Sir William descends in these lectures to the presentation of the elements of established philosophy, illustrated by the flashes of his own clear mind, in language still partaking of the nerve and terseness of his natural style, yet so perspicuous in its expression, so explicit in its definitions, so orderly and progressive in its advancing steps, that every clear-minded scholar may begin with his beginnings and scale the elevation of his final stand-point. And whatever may be the certainty of the results of his philosophy, or of any philosophy, few students will pass through this career of thinking without feeling their faculties quickened, and their powers of perception cleared for all the future, and for every other field of thought.

The present volume embraces forty-six Lectures upon philosophy. After six introductory lectures upon the general nature of the science, the author gives his distribution of the departments of philosophy, of which the following is a tabular view:

Mind or Consciousness affords.	Facts—Phenomenology, Empirical Psychology,	Cognitions, Feelings, Conative Powers. (Will and Desire.)
	Laws—Nomology, Rational Psychology.	Cognitions—Logic.
		Feelings—Æsthetic.
		Conative Powers. Moral Philosophy. Political Philosophy.
	Results—Ontology—Inferential Psychology.	Being of God, Immortality of the Soul, etc.

All the lectures after the seventh are devoted to the subject of psychology. After three more lectures, devoted mainly to the explication of terms, in the eleventh lecture he states his psychological division of mental operations into Knowledge, Feelings, and Volitions. Taking first our Knowledge, he expends nine lectures upon the Consciousness as the basis of our mental operations. Then he proceeds in his twentieth lecture to a division of our Knowledge into six special faculties of Cognition, of which the following is a tabular view:

Cognitive Faculties.

I. Presentative,	External—Perception. / Internal—Self-consciousness.
II. Conservative,	Memory.
III. Reproductive,	Without Will—Suggestion. / With Will—Reminiscence.
IV. Representative,	Imagination.
V. Elaborative,	Comparison—Faculty of Relations
VI. Regulative,	Reason—Common Sense.

The elaboration of these faculties occupies all the lectures to the fortieth inclusive. The remaining six are occupied with the Feelings.

The Feelings he divides into two general classes, namely, the Sensations or External Feelings, and the Sentiments or Internal Feelings. The Sentiments he divides into the Contemplative and Practical. The Contemplative include the Feelings of the Sublime and Beautiful, which occupy the closing lecture. A Volume on Logic is yet to come.

From this it will be seen that Sir William Hamilton's Course of University Lectures were mainly occupied with the subject of the Intellectual Faculties, the Sensibilities being but slightly treated, and the Will wholly neglected. For this last omission, especially, the reasons assigned are the necessary brevity of a university course, and the great difficulty and obscurity of the subject. To our view a system of Psychology, without an analysis of the Will, is the "play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted." None of our natural faculties stand in so direct a relation to practical life, to moral responsibility, or to the principles of religion and the doctrines of Theology.

In the Appendix are furnished several fragmentary pieces left by Sir William, displaying his masterly reach of mind and his impatient terseness of style. Perhaps they also suggest not only a hatred of finishing but a slight repugnance to a steady exertion of the constructive power. Few men ever possessed a more lightning glance of mind into the depths of an opaque subject; no man in our day displayed so wide a range of erudition over the whole surface of metaphysics. Yet we cannot resist the impression that his mind was far more eminently revisory and critical than original and creative.

The Appendix, rather than the body of the Lectures, brings before us the peculiar points of Sir William's philosophy. We will state them as three:

1. The Non-existence of power in our minds to form any positive conception of the Infinite. We can possess only a *negative notion* of such a subject, attained by thinking away all the properties of the finite. What is left is a purely negative residuum.

2. His theory of Causation denies that effect is ever properly a new existence. By the very laws of our mind "we are utterly unable to construe it

in thought, as possible, that the complement of existence has either been increased or diminished." When an effect takes place "we are constrained to think that what now appears to us under a new form had previously existence under others." "The mind is thus compelled to recognize an absolute identity of existence in the effect and in the complement of its causes—between the *causatum* and the *causa*." "We think the cause to contain all that is contained in the effect; the effect to contain nothing but what is contained in the cause. Each is the sum of the other."

3. His theory of the Freedom of the Will affirms that such freedom is inconceivable, yet, nevertheless, is to be believed really existent. A free volition is inconceivable, because mind is unable to conceive a pure beginning. But our conception is not to be held the measure of our belief.

On the whole, we are to be numbered with the admirers, but not among the followers of Sir William Hamilton. We acknowledge with pleasure the vastness of his erudition and the penetration of his intellect; from his peculiar doctrines, we withhold our adhesion.

(21.) "*The Limits of Religious Thought.* Examined in Eight Lectures, delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1858, on the Bampton Foundation, by HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B. D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College; Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. First American from the third London edition. With the Notes translated." (12mo. pp. 362. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 59 Washington-street. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard.) The publication of these lectures has been an *event* in the philosophical world of England. An echo responsive, but proportionally faint, will be awakened by their appearance in America. They are the application of the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton to the principles of theology, and as such they are claimed as a standard production in the science of Christian evidence hardly inferior to the Analogy of Butler. Some parallelism they do indeed present to Butler's great work. As Butler professed to demonstrate that the great difficulties found by skepticism to exist in Christianity exist also in nature, so Mansel professes to demonstrate that all the difficulties in theology exist also in philosophy, even in that necessary philosophy which is forced upon us by compulsory thought. The difficulties in both departments are simply the result of human ignorance. They are purely the impotencies of the human intellect. They are projected upon us, with or without Christianity, from the vast domains of the unknown. And being such, they are as null in religion as in necessary philosophy. The result and process should, therefore, both in religion and philosophy, be the same. We must not reject principles for which we have positive phenomenal evidence, on account of difficulties raying out from the infinite darkness. The argument, it will be seen, is purely *rebuttant*. It is destructive of objections, but constructs no positive proofs of revealed religion. It clears the ground, and wards off all hostile assaults that the structure of positive evidences may be reared in firmness and security.

Sir William Hamilton's is emphatically the philosophy of *nescience*. Proud-

ly and imperatively does it profess humility, in the act of surrendering to the unknown all that margin which has hitherto been held a debatable strip between light and darkness. *The infinite cannot be known*, is the impatient axiom with which the debate is cut short. The thought of the infinite is full of contradictions. In his first and second lectures Professor Mansel analyses our conceptions *about* the infinite and develops the contradictions. He exhibits the self-destructions which both theologians and philosophers commit in meddling with the boundless unmanageable. Thereby he lays his foundations. A religion, like a philosophy, must abandon all attempts to deduce its system from the infinite and turn to the finite. High metaphysics must be abandoned for psychology; high theology for evident and revealed religion. Our religion must therefore be found not by analyzing God, but by investigating man. And to this work does Mr. Mansel now apply his power.

Analyzing, then, our own limited consciousness as it turns toward God and divine truth, we find it compelled to contemplate them under four finite conditions: namely, 1. Distinction between one object and another; 2. Relation between subject and object; 3. Succession and duration in time; 4. Personality. The actual objective existence of these in the infinite is, indeed, truly contradictory of the nature of the infinite, and the attribution of them to him is not a literal truth, but a necessity in us, subjectively, as finite. And in accordance with this distinction Professor Mansel concludes that religion must resign all theology as dealing in speculative principles drawn from the nature of God, and content itself with drawing from the nature of man, and from his limited views of God, a system of "*Regulative Principles.*"

In man exists primarily the sense of dependence and the sense of moral obligation; and from these two spring prayer, sense of sin, want of forgiveness and expiation, and consequently *regulatively* all religion. In prayer by necessity we address the infinite, *regulatively*, as personal, that is as finite; so the doctrines of the incarnation and of the atonement are accepted as *regulative truths*. Similarly, all the attributions of passions, perceptions, and corporeal members to God in the Scriptures, though absolutely error, is *regulative truth;* so all our contemplations of God as creator, governor, and judge, as angry, placable, forgiving, in spite of their contradiction of his infinite nature, are perfectly valid to us as *regulative truth*.

"No difficulty emerges in theology" (says Sir William Hamilton, and the passage forms a motto of this book) "which had not previously emerged in philosophy." The contradiction between these *regulative truths* to the nature of the infinite is the same contradiction as exists in natural and mental philosophy. Causation is as mysterious as God; and the observance of its laws is simply obedience to a *regulative truth* contradictory to its absolute nature. The trinity is contradictory in God; just as are the conceptions of the infinite and absolute. The eternal generation of the Son is just as contradictory as the infinite substance and its attributes. And thus the difficulties of the atonement, predestination, prescience, eternal punishment, justification by faith, are all shown to have their responsive or rather identical difficulty in philosophy and in necessary thought. They have therefore no validity. In all our finite life we are compelled to leave the infinite in its own domain of

darkness and go forth to our performances guided by the REGULATIVE TRUTHS which man is compelled to read in his own consciousness, and compelled to obey in particular action if he acts at all or would act wisely.

Upon all this train of reasoning we have no room to express a complete opinion. Nor from our very compressed statement of its varied argument should our readers make too positive inferences. The work is best able to speak for itself. To a large share of its argument we attach an important value. Much, indeed, is a restatement in different forms and relations of old truths. Its fundamental principle of the inconceivability of the infinite we think an overstatement. Its profusion of contradictions appears to us often a war of words. For its very definition of the infinite we yield no assent. Retrench these exuberances, however, and there is left a residuum which may perhaps be accepted as possessing a standard value.

(22.) "*Annual of Scientific Discovery;* or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1859, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, etc., together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year 1858. A list of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M. Author of Natural Philosophy, Principles of Chemistry, Science of Common Things, etc." (12mo. pp. 410. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co; Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard; London: Trubner, & Co. 1859.) This Annual is valuable not only to the scientific man but to every scholar or thinker desirous of keeping pace with the advancements of science. It opens with a review of scientific progress for the past year, an address of Professor Owen before the British Association, and an address of Lord Brougham at the inauguration of a statue of Sir Isaac Newton. Then follows a detail of the various points of historical interest in the progress of science for the past year, under the respective heads enumerated upon the title-page. The general result seems to be, that while the year has been distinguished by no startling development, yet a gratifying progress has been made and many points of interest evolved.

(23.) "*The Life of North American Insects.* By B. JÆGER, late Professor of Zoology and Botany, in the College of New Jersey, assisted by H. C. PRESTON, M.D. With numerous Illustrations from Specimens in the Cabinet of the Author." (12mo. pp. 319. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859.) The urchin, as well as the philosopher, may find entertainment in the introduction which Professor Jægar gives us to the innumerable populations of minimi, the live infinitessimals, that form the insect universe. The infinity of littleness, as we attempt to descend its bottomless depths with microscopic eye, and still more microscopic fancy, in the endless path towards *nothing*, is not less wonderful than the infinite of immensity. We find its conception even more difficult; and are half inclined to agree with Sir William Hamilton, that "The infinite is unthinkable."

> So naturalists declare the flea
> Hath other fleas on him that prey;
> And these have other fleas that bite 'em,
> And so descend *ad infinitum.*

Professor Jæger's written pages are nearly as pictorial in their style as his engraved ones with their illustrations. He sympathizes with the ways, and enjoys the society, of his bugs and butterflies, and makes his readers as much in love with them as himself. Their splendor of color or beauty of form, their various utilities, or other relations to man or each other, their myriadal number and vast system under the canopy of their infinite Creator, are eloquently unfolded to view. And from them he draws many a hint and practical inference for the benefit of us, the more stupendous human prodigies. Thus, touching that elegant and innocent, though much libeled insect, the dragon fly, (profanely called "the devil's darning-needle,") the Professor remarks: "During the prevalence of some fashions, their slender form would be considered one of the elements of their beauty; but in this swelling age, and among the expansive circles which are now deemed the most ornamental array of Nature's loveliest and most perfect beings, we presume the porcupine, with erected bristles, would be generally esteemed the more beautiful animal."

What can the Professor mean by such inuendoes?

(24.) "*Popular Geology.* A Series of Lectures read before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, with Descriptive Sketches from a Geologist's Portfolio, by HUGH MILLER, with an Introductory Résumé of the Progress of Geological Science within the last two years, by Mrs. MILLER." (12mo. pp. 423. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.) The opening of a new volume from the pen of Hugh Miller is like the recommencement of some remembered strain of the grandest mountain music. Especially is the pleasure increased when, as in the present case, the book is an unexpected prize—a waif recovered from the mass of his remaining manuscripts. It is a part of what he considered the Opus Magnum of his life, an extended work on the geology of Scotland. The book is prefaced with an Introductory Résumé of the Progress of Geological Science, written by his wife, Mrs. Lydia Miller, in a style not unworthy the pen of the master himself, intended to bring forward the view of geology from the period of the lectures to the present time. The lectures themselves trace the geology of Scotland in a strain of eloquence, abounding in graphic description, interspersed with episodes of incidental reflection, anecdotal illustration, and poetical allusion, which render the progress of the reader a result of fascination. We say less at present upon the matter, as Hugh Miller may be the subject of a complete article in our Quarterly.

(25.) "*Ancient Mineralogy;* or, an Inquiry respecting Mineral Substances mentioned by the Ancients; with occasional Remarks on the Uses to which they were applied. By N. F. MOORE, LL. D. Second edition." (18mo., pp. 250. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) Professor Moore published the first edition of this work some twenty-four years ago, while occupying the chair of Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College. The present edition appears in complete form, and will doubtless be very acceptable to scholars. As a manual of reference, it will be equally valuable for the classical, Biblical, and scientific investigator.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography*

(26.) "*The Life of John Milton*, narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By DAVID MASSON, M.A., with Portraits and Specimens of his Handwriting at different Periods. Vol I. To be completed in three vols." (8vo. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1859.) Such is the somewhat lengthy title of a work, the first volume of which has made a profound impression in Great Britain and in the United States. We propose to examine it with care; and, if the idea of a book notice is to give a just and faithful idea of the noticed book, it will in this case be necessary to speak of the several particulars which mark the volume whose title-page we have almost literally transcribed.

This Life of Milton, then, is to be a work of three octavo volumes, probably of about the size of the one before us, which consists of six hundred and fifty-eight pages, printed with clear type and on good paper, and very substantially bound in cloth.

This much we learn at a glance; and, as we open the book and roll the leaves over our thumb, we see that it contains a couple of finely-executed portraits, one of which purports to be a likeness of John Milton, at the age of ten, the other a second portrait of the same personage at twenty-one. The first is the bust of a boy of a very calm and thoughtful face, with a large, round, full head, and with the hair of it cut short to the skin, after the veritable round-head fashion of his day. The other gives us the same countenance, but with every feature more perfectly developed, with greater depth and power of expression, with more thought and feeling, with the hair parted at the middle of the forehead, like that of a girl, and flowing in long, loose, luxuriant ringlets upon his neck and shoulders. At this age the most casual observer sees the poet must have been surpassingly beautiful; and he ceases at once to wonder at the story, which the biographer pronounces mythical, of his being found by an Italian lady asleep in the shade of a tree, and of her putting into his unconscious hand a suddenly-composed memento of her admiration, which, on his waking, excites in his heart an equally sudden, but life-lasting passion of finding, first in the real world, then in the realms of poesy, the fair object of his responsive and undying love.

These, however, valuable as they are, are but the ornaments of a work whose chief value lies quite below and beyond the reach of this outside examination. The volume now given to the public is divided into eight chapters, four of which treat respectively of the ancestry and kindred, of the paternal residence, of the early education, and of the university training of the future poet; then comes in the fifth chapter a most thorough exposition of the Church and government of England during his day; this is followed by a still more satisfactory survey of English literature for the same remarkable period; next the youthful bard is traced through the six years of his glorious retreat from the streets of London to the country, where, amid the quiet and pastoral scenes of Buckinghamshire, he gives himself up to reading, to composition, and to the relations of social life; and then the concluding chapter takes him, at the age of thirty, after he had given the world his L'Allegro and his Il Penseroso, his Sonnet to the Nightingale, his Arcades and his Comus,

and when he had been welcomed into the circle of the first poets of his age and country, and sends him upon his continental travels, from the beginning to the end of which we see him celebrated, honored, and fêted by the men of learning and of genius in every part of Europe, till he sets his foot again on the soil of England, to begin the real and sober duties of a most eventful life.

No one can fail to see that this range of topics, all of them coming properly within the scope of the Life and Times of Milton, is wide and difficult enough to demand power of mind of the very highest order; the subject, in fact, is precisely of that character to blast the man rashly undertaking it, or to lift him to the highest place of literary eminence who executes, with due ability, an enterprise so grand and so full of recompense; and yet, hazardous as must be such an attempt, we are prepared, after a most careful examination of this volume, to add our voice to the general note of American and English criticism. We feel justified in going to the very verge of sober eulogy in reference to the work before us. We think it, indeed, one of the most able, the most learned, most satisfactory specimens of a true biography in the English language. It occupies all the space, and exhausts all the virtues of this species of composition, lying between the two extremes of the art of biography, as marked respectively by Tacitus and by Boswell. The Life of Agricola is not more philosophical and profound, and the Life of Dr. Johnson is scarce more circumstantial, than this biography of Milton; and yet, there are no barren declamations, such as mar the perfection of the Latin model; nor are there pages and chapters of meaningless detail, which wear out the patience of the reader of the English classic. The successful execution of the work is the more wonderful, also, when it is considered how positively meager was the amount of all that the world knew in regard to the parentage, education, habits, and daily life of Milton. Several memoirs had been written of the poet, and one of them by so distinguished a writer as Dr. Johnson; but they were all, in comparison with the real demands of the subject, common-place, sterile, and superficial; and the consequence was, that the learned of the present generation knew next to nothing of John Milton, excepting that he was the author of Paradise Lost, and other poems; that he was blind while composing his great epic; that he had some matrimonial difficulties of an indefinable character; and a few other leading facts of this general nature. Their ignorance was yet more perfect; for they not only knew very little of the bard, but they knew not where to look for materials or sources of information, or even to learn whether such sources did or did not exist.

Such was the state of the case when Mr. Masson undertook the labor of writing a true and circumstantial life of Milton. And now, behold the change! See what genius and industry have accomplished! The labyrinth has been explored; the mystery has been solved; and the result is, that every part of Europe, and every department of literature, seems to abound with unread and hitherto unknown materials for a complete life of the great master of the epic muse. When we remember that, prior to the publication of this volume, the world had settled down into the sorrowing belief that the life of John Milton was about the same as lost, or that it occupied about the same position as that of Shakspeare—which is known to be but a succession of fables strung along

a solitary thread of ambiguous truth—the value of the present achievement will be properly understood. The wealth of matter here laid open is astonishing, and it has produced a state of wonder throughout the literary world. We are now sure, provided this work proceeds, of knowing about as much of Milton as we know of George Washington, or of Daniel Webster.

In this state of the case the world at once wishes to learn who is this David Masson, hitherto an unknown name among us, but who now stands out as the author of one of the ablest specimens of biographical composition of our times. David Masson, it seems, is by birth a Scotchman. He was born in Aberdeen; he there received the rudiments of an education; he completed his college course at Edinburgh; he is now, at the age of thirty-six, Professor of English Literature in University College, London; and, until the publication of the volume before us, he was known only, and that to a very limited extent, as a former editor of a provincial Scotch newspaper, and for the authorship of certain brilliant articles in the North British Review, in the London Quarterly Review, and in other English magazines of the highest class. We remember that, in this country, the articles on Carlyle's Latter-Day Pamphlets, on Dickens and Thackeray, on the Life and Genius of Rabelais, on Literature and the Labor Question, on Pre-Raphaelism in Art and Literature, on Theories of Poetry, on Shakspeare and Göethe, on Hugh Miller of Cromarty, and on De Quincy and Prose-Writing, as they successively appeared in the British magazines, and were reproduced on this side of the Atlantic, were received with marked admiration by men of letters; but no one knew their author. It now turns out that these were but the exercises, the gymnastics of the young man, who now comes forth as the first biographer of our day. He must be a man, not only of lofty literary aspirations, but of extraordinary industry and of still superior genius; the world will wait with impatience for the remaining volumes of this singularly original, learned, and satisfactory undertaking; and when this is completed, it is our hope, in which we think we shall be joined by every reading man in this country and in England, that he will next take up the mortal career of William Shakspeare, and do for the bard of Avon what he has here done for Milton. T.

(27.) "*From Wall-street to Cashmere;* a Journal of Five Years in Asia, Africa, and Europe; comprising Visits during 1851 to 1856, to the Denemora Mines, the 'Seven Churches,' Plains of Troy, Palmyra, Jerusalem, Petra, Seringapatam, Surat; with the Scenes of the recent Mutinies, (Benares, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Delhi, etc.,) Cashmere, Peshawur, the Khyber Pass to Affghanistan, Java, China, and Mauritius. By JOHN IRELAND. With nearly One Hundred Illustrations from Sketches made on the spot by the author. (8vo., pp. 531. New York: published by S. A. Rollo & Co., 29 Park Row. London: Sampson, Low, Son, & Co. 1859.) He who travels the complete area of Mr. Ireland's title, needs not information as to the range of his pilgrimage. The two termini, Wall-street and Cashmere, redolent respectively of bank stock and Lalla Rookh, both demanded of Mr. Ireland, that, as he had traveled, so he should write. He has written a book, costly enough for Wall-street; magnificent as Cashmere. Fine materials, colored, and plentiful pic-

torials, and artistic finish, combine to make a volume. He is a good-humored, quick-sighted traveler; and if the reader is not pleased with him as a companion, it is not because he is not pleasant and pleased with himself. The range of his travel is wide, and his selection of points rare and interesting. He is a genuine patriot "every inch" and every page; holding that England is superior to all the world else, and America to England. He hates abolitionism with a Wall-street hatred, which blends equal proportions of money and morals. It is no disparagement to Mr. Ireland's claims as a traveler, that he is not Professor of Belles Lettres. Perhaps the only uneasy feeling in his book is a modesty on this point.

(28.) "*A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, M.A.* By ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Newton Theological Institution." (12mo. pp. 369. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard, 1858.) A highly interesting memoir, constituting a real contribution to our American religious history. Mr. Backus was converted, after deep religious conviction, during the great awakening under the ministrations of Whitefield in New England. Upon his conversion his deep reprobation of the loose discipline of the Congregational Churches, in admitting persons to the Church and communion without evidence of piety, and retaining them with full evidence of their impiety, induced him to become a Separatist. With but ordinary advantages of education, but with strong natural powers and earnest convictions, he soon felt impressed with the duty of preaching the Gospel. He soon became a doubter and a rejecter of infant baptism, then of affusion as baptism, and finally fully adopting close communion, became a thorough Baptist. He became an opponent of the domination of "the standing order," and an ardent and finally successful champion of the doctrines of religious liberty. He became the historian of his denomination, and occupies an honored place in her history. His reputation is fortunate in his having found a good biographer. The work throws a strong clear light upon the later Puritan times.

(29.) "*The Life of James Watt*, with Selections from his Correspondence. By JAMES PATRICK MUIRHEAD, M.A., 'Author of The Origin and Progress of the Mechanical Inventions of Watt;' 'Correspondence on the Discovery of the Composition of Water.' Illustrated with Wood Cuts." (12mo. p. 424. New York: D. Appleton. 1859.) Scientific men will be delighted to receive so copious an account of the life and character of Watt, bringing us so palpably into his ideal presence, and tracing the wonderful series and progressions of his inventive life. But to all intelligent readers it will prove a book of rich and absorbing interest. There is all the attraction of romance in tracing the advancement of the provincial Scotch boy through a creative career of inventions which enlarged and established the resources of his country; until, in an undimmed old age of eighty years, he stands an object of universal love and veneration, admired and eulogized in some of the most eloquent periods of Sir Walter Scott, closing with a tomb in Westminster Abbey, and an epitaph by Brougham, pronounced by the Quarterly Review to be "beyond all comparison the finest lapidary inscription in the English language."

(30.) "*Life of General H. Havelock, K.C.B.* By J. T. HEADLEY." (12mo., pp. 375. New-York: Charles Scribner.) This is the biography of a great military captain, and Christian man; characteristics which are seldom combined in the same person. General Havelock was evangelically converted, and lived his religion; and yet, strange as it is, he seemed to delight in war. He died as the Christian dieth. To a companion in arms he said: "For more than forty years I have so ruled my life that, when death came, I might face it without fear. I am not in the least afraid; to die is gain. I die happy and contented." The author of this book is well known in this department of literature. This is much more modest in style than its precursors of "marshals" and "generals." The military ardor of Mr. Headley is greatly abated. L.

(31.) "*Palissy the Potter;* or, the Huguenot, Artist, and Martyr. A true narrative. By C. L. BRIGHTWELL." (16mo., pp. 235. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.) "A true narrative" of a man, poor, unknown, and illiterate; but who, by means of a truthful, hopeful, observant, and decided spirit, full of sunshine and religion, made his way into courtly favor, and the fame of the world, by recovering the lost Moorish art of white enamel. He endured hardness for Christ's sake as a persecuted Huguenot, and ended his advanced life in prison. An entertaining and instructive book for young folks; and would be a very profitable one, if they would so read as to catch Palissy's spirit of energy and faith. J.

(32.) "*The Bible in the Levant;* or, the Life and Letters of the Rev. C. N. Righter, Agent of the American Bible Society in the Levant. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. (16mo. pp. 336. New York: Sheldon & Company; Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1859.) Dr. Prime has here portrayed, partly with his own attractive pen, and partly through the plentiful correspondence of his subject, the character and life of a noble young Jerseyman. In tracing Righter's course the reader is led in contemplation over all those lands of the East which history, Biblical or secular, has rendered wonderful, sacred, or classic. Their interest is undying, and each new traveler enables us, in identification with himself, to repeat with ever fresh feeling the survey.

(33.) "*The Poet Preacher,* a Brief Memorial of Charles Wesley, the Eminent Preacher and Poet. By CHARLES ADAMS. Five Illustrations." (16mo. pp. 234. New York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday-School Union, 200 Mulberry-street, 1859.) The graceful and fluent pen of Charles Adams is perfectly at home in portraying the genial and brilliant Wesley brother. The events and the characters of early Methodism, whose history has much of the charm of romance, are here attractively reproduced. For the young of our Sunday school and Church they cannot be too often repeated, and seldom more attractively than in this volume.

(34.) "*The New American Encyclopedia,* a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by Charles A. Dana. Vol. V, Chartrense—Cougar. (8vo. pp. 770. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1859.) The present volume

of this noble work contains fine biographical sketches of Governor S. P. Chase, Chateaubriand, Chaucer, Chillingworth, Rufus Choate, Cicero, Davis W. Clark, Cassius M. Clay, Henry Clay, Dewitt Clinton, Collamer, Spencer H. Cone, and Thomas Corwin. There are extensive articles on Chemistry, Chili, China, Chinese Literature, Chivalry, Christianity, Chronology, Comparative Anatomy, and Cotton.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(35.) "*Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales & Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates, and from their official reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of The Thirty Years' View." (8vo. vol. x, p. 756; vol. xi, p. 782. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.) This great national work makes rapid progress under the energetic hands of the Appletons. The present volumes include the interesting period of the closing part of the Administration of John Quincy Adams, the election of Jackson, and the earlier years of his administration, in which the triumph of the south was re-established, and another lease of power given to the slaveholding aristocracy. It covers the ground from Feb. 11, 1828 to July 16, 1832. During this period our palmiest congressional orators were upon the arena.

No great library should omit the acquisition of these volumes.

V.—*Educational.*

(36.) "*The Art of Extempore Speaking.* Hints for the Pulpit, the Senate, and the Bar. By M. Bautain, Vicar-General and Professor at the Sorbonne, etc. With additions by a Member of the New York Bar." (12mo. p. 364. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859.) We do not subscribe to the ancient maxim that the poet is poet born, and the orator is made. Both are born, and both are made. The orator, like the poet, requires the inborn mental requisites for his art; and in addition to these he must possess from birth many corporeal qualities, and many qualities lying in the region between the mental and corporeal, which the poet does not demand. Yet for both the shapings derived from models, and the guidance derived from masters, nature, as is her general rule, leaves much room for the finishings of art.

This truth is essentially recognized in the work before us. It first treats upon the qualifications which must be the gifts of nature. Then a large share of the work is devoted to the consideration of those qualities of both mind and body, which are either acquired or improved by culture. Next, hints are copiously furnished to guide the young orator both in the modes of improving his powers and of managing both mind and organs in the immediate preparation for and performance of his profession. Perhaps no more valuable treatise can be found for this field of education. The work does not descend to elocutionary details, furnishes few specific rules of gesture or intonation, presents no pictorial illustration or passages for declamation, Its purpose is rightly to shape the views of the young orator in contemplation of his work.

VI.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(37.) "*The Poetical works of* James Gates Percival. With a Biographical Sketch. In two volumes." (24mo., pp. 402, 517. Blue and gold, Boston: Tieknor & Fields. 1859.) The life as well as the poetry of Percival is a demonstration that the blended infirmities and brilliancies of genius are no mere traditional myth. The celebrated line,

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied,"

expresses not indeed with happy verbal accuracy, but with much impressive force, a genuine and melancholy truth. To this truth, indeed, in such a case as that of Edgar A. Poe, we look for a sort of relief in the solution of a great and a terrible moral problem. Of Percival the eccentricities were innocent in nature; evasions of the conventional proprieties and social harmonies of life, not violations of fundamental moralities and outrages upon all moral and honorable sense. We have been informed of a distinguished living poet, that his productions are the result of an intense concentration of thought, rising far above the level of ordinary life, forming thus a very seperate mental state from the normal mental condition. The result is, that in ordinary affairs he is the shrewd business man, transacting affairs with great practical sagacity. The real and the ideal world are thus separated by a massy wall, with its transition through an iron gate. But of Poe and of Percival the ideal world, marked off by no seperate embankments, flowed in upon actual life, spreading confusion and devastation in its course. The ideal world of Percival, however, lay in a very different region of the universe from that of Poe, and brought incursions of a very different material. His was the ideal of beauty and imaginative perfection. These when he innocently attempted to introduce into vulgar life were found strangely out of measure. Thence arose discord, disaster, disappointment. Then succeeded reactive disgust, resentment against men, repugnance toward woman, concentrated internal *hauteur*, segregation from society. And thus we arrive at the strange anomaly that the child of genius, the intense worshiper of the beautiful, himself almost an ideal being, becomes to the eye of the world a *brusque*, uncouth object of gaze, misapprehension, and sneer. The ideal world of Poe was located in the region of horror. Thence it poured into worldly life its inundations of the demoniac, the smoking streams and bubbles from the lava of Gehenna. He who spent his ideal hours rapt in the invisioned scenes of death and hell, came into social life with the impressions and passions of the infernal still around his soul. The traces of the paroxysm departed not with the hour of special seelusion. And thus to the eyes and ears of men he exhibited moods and actions considered, and truly considered, nothing less than demoniac.

In opening the volumes of Percival, every page will be found genuine poetry. It is not simply versification, fine versification, which is felt to be an octave or two below the inspired level. There may be blemishes, failures, breaks of smooth continuity; but the key of the whole is pitched in the lofty region of pure ethereal poetry. Any broken fragment, snatched from the

whole strain of song, will be found, by itself, a broken piece of poetry. Any single strain, will be as instantly recognised as *poetry*, as any accidental utterance of a perfect silver voice is felt to be *music*. Select we our first chance line; and though each word is a common human word, piled into the dictionary with the ordinary mass, yet none but a true poet could have strung them together, suffused with a magic like this:

"Star of the pensive! melancholy star."

And now that the first strain is given, and the key is pitched, can any mortal mind take up the strain and carry it to a fitting completion? No. There it stands. It is like the princely palace, built by the giant genius called by Aladdin's ring, which was so perfectly constructed that the one unfinished window not all the art of the sultan's architects could suitably complete. But Percivals own genius shall thus complete the magic task:

"Star of the pensive! 'melancholy star,'
That, from the bosom of the deep ascending,
Shines on the curling waves, like mourner bending
Over the ruins of the joys that were;
Or lone, deserted mother sweetly tending
Her hushed babe in its cradle, often blending
Her plaintive song and sigh repressed,—sweet star!
I love the eye that looks on me so far
From all this want, and wretchedness, and woe,
From out that home of pure serenity
Above the winds and clouds. When tempests blow,
The sailor through the darkness looks to thee;
Thou art the star of love, and fond hearts gaze
With feeling awe upon thy trembling rays,
And dream that other eyes are resting there;
And O what light around the bosom plays,
When, dwelling on the beautiful and fair,
We think that eyes beloved those beauties share!"

And who could suppose that in a heart apparently repelling all loveliness of woman, there dwelt such ideal attractions toward the sex as pervade each line and syllable of the following strain:

"Silent she stood before me, in the light
And majesty of beauty; and her eye
Was teeming with the visions of her soul;
She stood before me in a vail of white,
The image of her bosom's purity,
And loveliness enveloped her, as bright
As when, at set of sun, the clouds unroll,
Pavilioning the dusky throne of night.
There is a spirit in the kindling glance
Of pure and lofty beauty, which doth quell
Each darker passion; and as heroes fell
Before the terror of Minerva's lance,
So beauty, armed with virtue, bows the soul
With a commanding, but a sweet control,
Making the heart all holiness and love,
And lifting it to worlds that shine above,
Until, subdued, we humbly bend before
The idol of our worship to adore."

The popular themes of the day, the wars of Napoleon, the American contests for liberty, the Grecian war for Independence, awakened the pulsations

of Percivals' lyre. *Beautiful* is the epithet for each single piece. And perhaps their beauty was generally too pure, too ethereal, for appreciation by the masses. Hence no strain of his thrilled the popular heart, becoming a household and a street song, like the American Star of Key; a favorite for elocutionary declamation, like the Marco Bozarris of Halleck; or a pet of the mass of sentimentalists, like the Thanatopsis of Bryant. One piece, entitled "Liberty to Athens," comes into striking parallelism with Halleck's Bozarris; being published, not only on the same subject, but, if we rightly recollect, about the same time. The comparison will strikingly illustrate the remark we have made, that the *beautiful* in Percival's poetry was too ideal for the heart of the masses. But the comparison will also inspire in the heart of the refined reader a preference for Percival, awakening an unexpected discontent, arising from a nice perception of a sort of *ad captandum*, kettle-drum quality in Halleck's Bozarris. To exemplify these remarks we append two stanzas from Percival:

"LIBERTY TO ATHENS.

"The flag of freedom floats once more
Around the lofty Parthenon;
It waves, as waved the palm of yore,
In days departed long and gone;
As bright a glory, from the skies,
Pours down its light around those towers,
And once again the Greeks arise,
As in their country's noblest hours;
Their swords are girt in virtue's cause,
Minerva's sacred hill is free;
O may she keep her equal laws,
While man shall live, and time shall be!

"The pride of all her shrines went down;
The Goth, the Frank, the Turk had reft
The laurel from her civic crown;
Her helm by many a sword was cleft:
She lay among her ruins low;
Where grew the palm, the cypress rose;
And, crushed and bruised by many a blow,
She cowered beneath her savage foes;
But now again she springs from earth,
Her loud, awakening trumpet speaks;
She rises in a brighter birth,
And sounds redemption to the Greeks."

With but one more selection from this affluent casket will we gem our pages. Percival translated Filicaija's Sonnet to Italy, warning his readers, at the same time, that he had accommodated some of its lines to the Napoleonic invasion, then transpiring, of the classic Peninsula. We extract it, because, like a prophecy with a double fulfillment, it has now a new application to a similar incursion by a second Napoleon.

"SONNET TO ITALY.

"FROM THE ITALIAN OF VINCENZO DA FILICAIA.

"Italia! O Italia! whom the hand
Of Heaven arrayed in beauty—fatal dower,
For which unnumbered wrongs afflict thy land
And on thy furrowed brow the wasting power

Has stamped his burning characters of shame;
Less sweet and fair, but more robust and brave,
Thou hadst not been of lords the lovely slave,
Who seek thee with an all-devouring flame,
Pouring their blood in strife, and wasting thine.
O, wert thou braver and less fair, no more
Should I behold the armèd torrents roar
Down those tall Alps where snows eternal shine;
Nor see again those tireless hounds of war,
The French, their limbs with battle heated, lave
In Po or Lodi's gore-impurpled wave;
Nor see thee, chained to some proud nation's car,
And girt with foreign armor, idly brave,
Beneath the Gaul or Gothic despot's star,
Forever, conqueror or conquered, slave."

(38.) "*Poems, by Owen Meredith.* The Wanderer, and Clymenestra." (24mo., pp. 514. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859.) Owen Meredith! A new name in poetry, but not a new poet in the world. Under this fancy name of most inharmonious Welsh, Robert Bulwer Lytton, has furnished a series of poetic strains of most harmonious English. Their range is wide, through English, European, and classic history, and through all the climes of Europe—excepting Wales. Now he muses amid the gorgeous sceneries and chivalresque associations of the middle ages; now he sketches some picture suggested by the Shaksperean drama, or awakes to new voice, from the land of long silence, some magic strain from the lyre of the Troubadours. And then he enters with his muse into the faery land, habited by the little peoples born of the fancies of the great Teutonic brain; or with a more scholarly step he treads, lord of classic lore, into the grander domains of the Grecian, epic, or tragic muse. Religion, too, the scenes of Scripture history, the mysteries of religious truth, the depths of religious feeling, take their turn in the utterances of his muse. Through all these varying themes there is one true heart that feels, one true genius that speaks; a tone of unity amid the variety that assures us that the source of the whole is the genuine individuality of the man. He is a poet, not of fiction, but of truth.

The most extended piece is a specimen from Æschylus of the Greek drama, the heroine of which is that loftier Lady Macbeth, of Attic tragedy, CLYTEMNESTRA.

The religious poems, or rather poems touching on religious topics, are no fancy pieces. They are not "Hebrew Melodies," nor mimic "hymns" of tinsel religious sentimentality. They are the utterances of the heart. They fling out the blended expressions of faith and skepticism, of confused repentance and self-justification; the alternate trust in self and in the Saviour, which, altogether, form the moral chaos in the heart of a man of fashion, of genius, and of the world, in whom conscience has never been wholly dismissed, and the spiritual emotions have never yet quite repudiated the SPIRIT which would vivify them.

On the whole, these poems, though not of the very highest order, though affording no one specimen of the most startling power, abound in genuine, stirring, heart-felt poetry. They are the product of deep feeling and true

genius. Ticknor & Fields have fittingly enshrined them in miniature, blue and gold, to stand upon the æsthetic shelf of your library in uniform array with Percival and his fellows.

(39.) "*Igdrasil;* or, the Tree of Existence. By JAMES CHALLEN, Author of Cave of Machpelah and other Poems." (12mo., pp. 170. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859.) This elegant and poetical looking volume derives its subject and title from the following striking passage of Carlyle:

"I like, too, that representation they have of the tree Igdrasil. All life is figured by them as a tree. Igdrasil—the Ash Tree of Existence—has its roots down in the kingdoms of Hela, or death: its trunk reaches up heaven-high, spreads its boughs over the whole universe: it is the tree of Existence. At the foot of it in the death-kingdom sit three Normas—the Fates—the Past, Present, Future, watering its roots from the sacred well. Its boughs, with their buddings and disleafings—events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes—stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fiber there an act, a word? Its boughs are histories of nations. The rustle of it is the noise of human existence—onward from of old. It grows there, the breath of human passion rustling through it, or storm-tost, the storm-wind howling through it like the voice of all the gods. It is Igdrasil, the tree of Existence. It is the past, the present, and the future. What was done; what is doing; what will be done. The Infinite conjugation of the verb "TO DO."

With an opening that reminds us not unpleasantly of Faust and Festus, the author introduces Silence, Night, Space, and Light, in succession giving forth utterances that announce the commencement of EXISTENCE. A description is then given of the symbolical Igdrasil, followed by a varied scene of poetical expatiation upon the phases of life and destiny. It is musical in rhythm and rich in imagination, essaying its gorgeous theme with no little power and success.

(40.) "*Rambles among Words:* their Poetry, History, and Wisdom. By WILLIAM SWINTON." (12mo., pp. 302. New York: Charles Scribner; London: Sampson, Low, & Co. 1859.) Let no one imagine that the wide field through which Mr. Swinton "rambles," the field of "words," is a dry and arid waste, without attraction, or flower, or fruit. Contrarywise to him who enters it with true spirit it will be found full of pleasant meanders, sweet refreshments, rare surprises, and copious results. And our author shows himself wisely aware that there are vast tracts of unrifled territory to reward the bold pioneer. The man who has but a slight drill in the principles of comparative etymology will find discoveries of unexpected relations in the fibers of his native language perpetually turning up. Every writer, speaker, or liberal literary man, should make the nature of words a matter of refined and subtle investigation, both as a training of intellect and as a means of their complete mastery and exact use. Mr. Swinton's book is a delightful production from a skillful and thorough investigation in this beautiful department.

(41.) "*Mosaics.* By the Author of Salad for the Solitary," etc. (12mo., pp. 420. New York: Charles Scribner.) The collector of this volume (to authorship he scarcely aspires,) is already favorably known by other pleasant

gatherings for the public. In his Epistle to the Reader, he justifies at length this method of book-making; and adds concerning this one: "What follows, then, hath been hunted up, brushed up, and picked up—from heaps of rubbish, from old books and new books; some covered with the dust and cobwebs of literary catacombs; but all possessing something quaint, pungent, or picturesque." To this estimate we make no objection. The readings have been well assorted, and are here well combined. There are ten chapters, "Author Craft, Youth and Age, The Human Face Divine, The Witchery of Will, Single Blessedness, Origin of Celebrated Books, Night and Day, Fame, Magic of Music, and the Bright Side," all of which are interesting and instructive. The publisher has done his work admirably. L.

(42.) "*The Musical Guest:* a Weekly Publication, containing twelve pages of new and popular Music; comprising Songs, Ballads, Duets, Piano Pieces, etc. HENRY C. WATSON, Editor." (4to. New York: M. Bell & Co. 1859.) This truly elegant work is designed by the publishers to furnish, on the plan of the English Musical Library, to all lovers of secular music the best compositions of the Italian, French, German, English, and American masters. It proposes to furnish for five dollars what has hitherto cost forty. The interior execution, and the exterior finish, are both done in the very best style. We apprehend that the work will very much monopolize the business of musical publication in our country.

(43.) "*The Sacred Musical Guest.* A monthly supplement to the Musical Guest; to be issued on the fifteenth of each month. HENRY C. WATSON, Editor." (4to., pp. 28. New York: M. Bell & Co. 1859.) The Sacred Musical Guest, on the same style as the Musical Guest, will consist of the newest Psalm and Hymn Tunes; single and double Chants, Te Deums, Offertoriums, Glorias, Sacred Songs, Duets, etc. A year's volume of this work will form one of the finest collections of church and parlor sacred music extant. The price of the Sacred Musical Guest is twenty-five cents per copy, or three dollars per year. It is clearly and beautifully printed, with the notes large and the paper fine. It may be safely recommended, we think, to the lovers of sacred song.

(44.) "*The Tin Trumpet;* or, Heads and Tails for the Wise and Waggish. A new American Edition, with Alterations and Amendments." (12mo. pp. 262. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.) Under this insignificant title we have here a sort of quaint gentleman's dictionary of common-places. Words, as topics, arranged in alphabetical order, are made the pegs on which to suspend paragraphs of wise and witty reflection. A vein of sarcasm, not amounting to misanthropy, pervades his thought. The book seems to have been written originally by an English reformer in Church and State, ("the late Paul Chatfield, M. D.,") and has been Americanized by a cis-Atlantic editor. It is the product of a sharp but not profound thinker. It wants the depth of insight as well as cynicism of Rochefocault; it hardly equals Colton's Lacon; it would desire no comparison with the wise sentences of Bacon.

(45.) "*Works of Michael D. Montaigne.* Comprising his Essays, Journey into Italy, and Letters, with Notes from all the Commentators, Biographical and Bibliographical Notices, etc. By W. HAZLITT. A new and carefully revised edition. Edited by O. W. WIGHT. In four volumes. (16mo. Pp. 492, 533, 510, 573. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.)

(46.) "*Adventures of Telemachus.* By FENELON: Translated by Dr. HAWKESWORTH, with a Life of Fenelon by LAMARTINE. An Essay on his Genius and Character by VILLEMAIN. Critical and Biographical Notices, etc. Edited by O. W. WIGHT, A. M." (16mo., pp. 559. New York, Derby & Jackson.

(47.) "*History of Charles XII.* By M. De VOLTAIRE; with a Life of Voltaire by Lord BROUGHAM, and Critical Notices by Lord MACAULAY and THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by O. W. WIGHT, A. M." (12mo., pp. 452. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.)

(48.) "*The Provincial Letters of Blaise Pascal.* A New Translation; with Historical Introduction and Notes. By Rev. THOMAS M'CRIE. Preceded by a Life of Pascal, a Critical Essay, and a Biographical Notice. Edited by O. W. WIGHT, A. M." (12mo., pp. 470. New York: Derby & Jackson. 119 Nassau-street. 1859.)

Derby & Jackson are publishing, as the reader will perceive by the titles of the above seven volumes, a series of the standard classics of French literature. This noble enterprise is conducted under the editorial supervision of Mr. O. W. Wight, the able and learned editor of Sir William Hamilton's philosophical works. Mr. Wight's competence for the task is amply evinced, as well by the judicious selection made of the authors as by the apparatus of introductions and biographies which he has appropriated from the whole range of both French and English literature for the volumes. The entire work is executed in elegant uniform style, and will introduce into American literature a splendid accession from the most brilliant nation of continental Europe. Never were a more splendid set of foreigners naturalized in our country than Montaigne, Fenelon, Voltaire, and the miraculous Pascal.

(49.) "*Studies, Stories, and Memoirs.* By Mrs. JAMESON, Author of 'Characteristics of Women, etc." (24mo., pp. 408. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.) Mrs. Jameson is one of the established lady classics of English literature. The pure, flowing, imaginative, feminine character of her writings renders them a favorite with the best class of minds. The present volume is a delightful miscellany. The "studies" are mainly of Byron, Goethe, Schiller, Hoffman, and other German topics, natural and supernatural. Then there are four Tales; and then Art Criticisms upon Titian, Washington Allston, and Adelaide Kemble. It is one of Ticknor & Fields' blue and gold series of English and American classics, uniform with Percival and Owen Meredith.

(50.) "*The Pasha Papers.* Epistles of Mohammed Pasha, Rear Admiral of the Turkish Navy. Written from New York to his Friend, Abel Ben Hassen. Translated into Anglo-American from the Original Manuscripts, to which are added Sundry other Letters, Critical and Explanatory, Laudatory and

Objurgatory, from Gratified or Injured Persons in various Parts of the Planet." (12mo. Pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner. London: Sampson, Low, Son, & Co. 1859.) The pasha inspects American affairs on American ground from a high, philosophical, Mussulman aspect. His quizzing-glass detects very many exposed points. Its magnifying power sometimes gives them a peculiarly exaggerated magnitude which illustrates the real ridiculousness even in their proper dimensions; just as a microscope, even by magnifying, reveals proportionate truth. On the whole, seen in the lights he reflects upon us, we are a great, funny, foolish, incomprehensible set of peoples. It is good to be made to laugh at our own follies. It aids digestion and reformation together. Good, therefore, is the pasha!

VII.—*Juvenile.*

"*The Angel of the Iceberg*, and other Stories, illustrating great Moral Truths. Designed chiefly for the Young. By JOHN TODD. (16mo., pp. 374. Northampton: Bridgman & Childs; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1859.)

"*Ben Sylvester's Word.* By the Author of 'The Heir of Redcliff.' (18mo., pp. 141. Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Fanny the Flower-Girl;* or, Honesty Rewarded. By SELINA BUNBURY, Author of 'Glory, Glory, Glory,'" etc. To which are added other Tales." (18mo., pp. 159. Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Truth is Everything.* A Tale for Young Persons. By Mrs. THOMAS GELDART, Author of 'Emilie the Peacemaker,' etc. First American from the Third London Edition." (18mo., pp. 171. New York: Sheldon & Co.)

"*Alice and Adolphus;* or, 'Worlds not Realized.' By Mrs. ALFRED GATTY, Author of 'Parables from Nature.'" (24mo., pp. 164. Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Agnes Hopetown's School Days and Holidays.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT, Author of 'Katie Stewart,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 298. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.)

"*Henry Willard;* or, the Value of Right Principles. By the Author of 'Edward Clifford.'" (18mo., pp. 318.)

"*Sunday Sketches for Children.* By a Father." (24mo., pp. 259. M. W. Dodd. 1858.)

"*More about Jesus.* With Illustrations and a Map. By the Author of 'Peep of Day,' 'Reading Without Tears,'" etc. (Square 12mo., pp. 246. Harper & Bros. 1859.)

"*Howard and his Teacher*, the Sister's Influence, and other Stories. By Mrs. MADELINE LESLIE, Author of 'Cora and the Doctor,' 'Household Angel,' etc. (16mo., blue and gold, pp. 244. Boston: Shepard, Clark, & Brown. 1859.)

"*The Circle of Blessing*, and other Parables from Nature. By Mrs. ALFRED GATTY." (24mo., pp. 153. Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Motes in the Sunbeam*, and other Parables from Nature. By Mrs. ALFRED GATTY, Author of 'Worlds not Realized,' 'Proverbs Illustrated,' 'Aunt Judy's Tales,'" etc. (16mo., pp. 153. New York: Carter & Bros. 1859.)

"*A Little Thing Great;* or, the Dance and the Dancing School. Tested in a few plain Sermons. By JOHN T. BROOKE, D.D., Rector of Christ Church, Springfield, Ohio." (16mo., pp. 116. Robert Carter & Bros. 1859.)

"*The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure.* By MEDERITH JONES." (16mo., pp. 333. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Uncle Jack*, the Fault Killer." (16mo., pp. 143. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

VIII.—*Miscellaneous.*

"*The Christian Graces.* A Series of Lectures on 2 Peter i, 5–12. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church." (12mo., pp. 280. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.)

"*Prairie Farming in America.* With Notes by the Way on Canada and the United States. By JAMES CAIRD, M.P., Author of 'English Agriculture,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 130. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Home Memories;* or, the Echoes of a Mother's Voice. By Mrs. CAREY BROCK, Author of 'Children at Home,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 329. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Adam Bede.* By GEORGE ELIOT." (12mo., pp. 496. Harper & Brothers.)

"*The Romance and its Hero.* By the Author of Magdalen Stafford. (12mo., pp. 424. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Proverbs Illustrated.* By Mrs. ALFRED GATTY, Author of 'Parables from Nature,'" etc. (24mo. Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*The Exploits and Triumphs in Europe of Paul Morphy.* By Paul Morphy's late Secretary." (16mo., pp. 201. New York: Appleton & Co.)

"*Catharine.* By the Author of 'Agnes and the Little Key.'" (12mo., pp. 192. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co.; London: Knight & Son. 1859.)

"*Gerald Fitzgerald 'the Chevalier.'* By CHARLES LEVER." (12mo., pp. 112. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Love me Little, Love me Long.* By CHARLES READE, Author of 'It is Never too Late to Mend,' 'White Lies,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 434. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*The Bertrams.* A Novel. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE, Author of 'Barchester Towns,' 'Doctor Thorne,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 528. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*The Christian's Daily Treasury*, a Religious Exercise for every Day in the Year. By EBENEZER TEMPLE, Author of 'The Domestic Altar,'" etc. (12mo., pp. 432. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.)

"*Frank Elliot;* or, the Wells in the Desert. By JAMES CHALLEN, Author of 'The Cave of Machpelah,' 'Christian Morals,'" etc., etc. (12mo., pp. 347. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son; Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859.)

"*The American Home Garden*, being Principles and Rules for the Culture of Vegetables, Fruits, Flowers, and Shrubbery. By ALEXANDER WATSON. Illustrated." (12mo., pp. 519. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Christian Brotherhood*, a Letter to the Hon. Heman Lincoln. By BARON STOW, D.D., Pastor of the Rowe-street Church, Boston." (12mo., pp. 206. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1859.)

"*History of the Republic of the United States of America*, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and of his Contemporaries. By JOHN C. HAMILTON. Vol. III." (8vo., pp. 569. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Memoirs of the Empress Catharine II.*, written by herself. With a Preface by A. HERZEN. Translated from the French." (12mo., pp. 309. New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Summer Pictures.* From Copenhagen to Venice. By HENRY M. FIELD, Author of 'The Irish Confederates, and the Rebellion of 1798.'" (16mo., pp. 290. New York: Sheldon & Co.; Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859.)

"*Duties of Christian Masters.* By H. N. M'TYEIRE, D.D., edited by THOMAS O. SUMMERS, D.D." (24mo., pp. 287. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1859.)

IX.—*Pamphlets.*

An Essay on the Treatment of Cataract. By MARK STEPHENSON, M.D., Surgeon of the New York Ophthalmic Hospital, Fellow of the New York Academy of Medicine. Read before the American Medical Association at the City of Washington, May 6, 1858. (12mo., pp. 28. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer. 1858.)

"*Church Anti-Slavery Society.* Proceedings of the Convention, which met at Worcester, Mass., March 1, 1859. (12mo., pp. 31, with Circular. New York: J. F. Trow. 1859.)

"*A Statistical View of American Agriculture*, its Home Resources and Foreign Markets, with Suggestions for the Schedule of the Federal Census in 1860. An Address delivered at New York before the American Geographical and Statistical Society on the Organization of the Agricultural Section. By JOHN JAY, Esq., Chairman of the Section, and Foreign Corresponding Secretary. (12mo., pp. 81. Appleton & Co. 1859.)

X.—*Recent Publications.*

CARLTON & PORTER, 200 Mulberry-street, New York, have recently added the following to their list of publications.

GENERAL CATALOGUE.

The Mother's Mission. Sketches from Real Life. By the Author of "The Object of Life." (Wide 16mo.) Five Illustrations.

Pleasant Pathways; or, Persuasives to Early Piety: containing Explanations and Illustrations of the Beauty, Safety, and Pleasantness of a Religious Life.

being an Attempt to persuade Young People of both Sexes to seek Happiness in the Love and Service of Jesus Christ. By DANIEL WISE, Author of "The Path of Life," "Young Man's Counselor," etc., etc. (Wide 16mo.) Two Illustrations.

The Immortality of the Soul, and the Final Condition of the Wicked, carefully Considered. By ROBERT W. LANDIS. 12mo., pp. 518.

The Lord's Supper. By SAMUEL LUCKEY, D.D. With an Introduction by Bishop JANES. 18mo.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL CATALOGUE.

Willie's Lessons; or, Simple Illustrations of Verses of Scripture. Three Illustrations. 18mo.

Willie Trying to be Manly. By the Author of "Willie's Lessons." Three Illustrations. 18mo.

Willie Trying to be Thorough. By the Author of "Willie's Lessons." Three Illustrations. 18mo.

Young People's Library.

The Poet Preacher: a Brief Memorial of Charles Wesley, the Eminent Preacher and Poet. By CHARLES ADAMS. Five Illustrations.

My Sister Margaret. A Temperance Story. By Mrs. C. M. EDWARDS. Four Illustrations.

Palissy the Potter; or, the Huguenot, Artist, and Martyr. A True Narrative. By C. L. BRIGHTWELL. Eighteen Illustrations.

Sunday School and Youth's Library.

What Norman Saw in the West. By the Author of "Four Days in July," and "A Winter at Woodlawn." Eight Illustrations.

The Backwoods Boy who became a Minister; or, the Family and Personal History of Henry Adolph. By Rev. J. H. PITEZEL, Author of "Lights and Shades of Missionary Life." Seven Illustrations.

Little Joe Ashton; or, Forbidden Ground. With other Stories. One Illustration.

Old Jonas; or, the Kind Old Sailor who conquered his Temper: and The Three Baskets; or, what Henry, Richard, and Charles did while Papa was away. One Illustration.

Paul and Harry Fane; or, the Two Sons. With other Stories. Two Illustrations.

Minnie Wingfield and Polly Bright; or, Wings and Stings. By A. L. O. E., Author of the "Roby Family," etc. Three Illustrations.

Georgy Lee; or, the Boy who Became a Great Artist: and The Shadow in the House. By Mrs. O. A. S. BEALE.

Henry's Fireside, with Peeps at his Grandpa's Farm. By the Author of "Little Ella." Two Illustrations.

Faithful Bridget.

Little Orange Seller.

Library A.

Four Pretty Stories for Little Boys and Girls.
Janet Bruce, and other Stories.

NEW TRACTS.

The Judge is Merciful.
This Year thou shalt Die.
Address to Convinced Sinners.
I will be a Christian.
Wrath of God.
How much do you Owe?
Prayers to the Virgin.
Bible Baptist.
Woman's Duties.
Mind your Business.
Remember.
Advice to a Young Convert.
Without God in the World.

NEW HAND-BILL TRACTS.

Now is the Day of Salvation.
Jesus died for me.
Apostasy and Tears.
Speak gently.
Worth of the Soul.
Thy Will be Done.
The Brazen Serpent.
Dr. Johnson's Death-Bed.
Wants.
The Ten Commandments.
Christ, a Revelation of God.
Do you attend Worship?
What cannot God do?
Just as I am.
Yet Alive.
The Cross.
Last Opportunity.
"Yet there is Room."
Important Questions.
Nearer to Thee.
Another Child in Heaven.
Should I be happy in Heaven?
Horrors of the Second Death.
Is Christ your Saviour?
Joy in Heaven.
The Confessional.

BOOKS IN PRESS.

Inside Views of Methodism; or, a Hand-book for Inquirers and Beginners. By Rev. W. Reddy.

Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D., etc. By Rev. J. W. Etheredge, M.A.

Dr. Stevens's History of Methodism. Volume II.

A Pretty Little Library. 10 vols. 48mo.

Stories in Verse, for Children.

Facts about Boys: a Selection of Interesting and Instructive Anecdotes.

New Sunday School Manual.

Young Pilgrim. A Story illustrative of "The Pilgrim's Progress." By the Author of "The Giant-Killer," etc.

The Arbor; or, Sequel to Voices from the Old Elm.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1859.

ART. I.—LEWES'S BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

The Biographical History of Philosophy, from its Origin in Greece down to the Present Day. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. In two vols. 8vo. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

IT cannot be reckoned among the least of the many cheering signs of promise that now illuminate the moral horizon, that infidelity is shifting its ground—abandoning in despair the long-contested battle of the evidences, and seeking for a new point of attack upon Christianity. Nor should it be a matter of either surprise or alarm that the wonderful progress of scientific discovery, during the first half of the nineteenth century, should have awakened in the enemies of the cross the hope that at length the wished-for opportunity had come, and that science now offers a standpoint from which a new Archimedes may move, not the earth, but the heavens, by overturning and uprooting the last ground of intelligent faith in God and a future life. And the fact that the latest phase of skepticism (that is, Positivism) finds it necessary to prepare the way for its crusade upon religion by a sweeping attack upon philosophy, should not be without significance to those who have been accustomed to regard the latter as a handmaiden of infidelity.

Mr. Lewes's work may perhaps be regarded as a formal announcement of the permanent domiciliation of the Positive Philosophy of M. Comte in the Anglo-Saxon mind; and it aims at nothing less than a demonstration of the impossibility of metaphysics, as the preparatory step to the inauguration of the new system. Its plan is somewhat novel, as the author, departing from the beaten track, attempts to individualize his theme, and to sketch the development

and epochs of philosophy as they are presented in the opinions and labors of a few representative men, *Chefs d'Ecole*, leaving unnoted those less important features which have originated with their disciples. He has eliminated, moreover, all elements, however important in themselves, which in his judgment were not pertinent to the issue. He has wholly ignored the Egyptian, Indian, and Oriental systems; has barely glanced at the tentative efforts of scholasticism, and has neglected much in modern times that fills a large space in other histories. It is obvious that such a method is to the last degree *subjective*, and leaves the casual reader almost wholly at the mercy of the historian. This latter consideration was perhaps not without its influence upon one who had undertaken to write a history of philosophy "*in order to prove that all attempts to solve its problems are nugatory.*" We cannot, perhaps, better characterize his labors and their results than by adopting his own significant language: "*There are more false facts than false theories in the world.*"

It is foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into any extended description or analysis of Mr. Lewes's work, interesting and profitable as such a task would be. We have to do only with his fundamental position and the results which he has reached, which may be fairly stated in the author's own brief summary, namely:

"Modern philosophy opens with a method and ends with a method, (that is, with Bacon and Comte,) and in each case the method leads to positive science and sets metaphysics aside. . . . It has reproduced in philosophy all the questions which agitated the Greeks, which also pass through a similar course of development. Not only are the questions similar, but the evolutions are so. . . . After the Eleatics had vexed the problems of existence to no purpose, there came Democritus, Anaxagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, who endeavored to settle the problems of the nature and origin of human knowledge. So in modern times, after Descartes came Hobbes, Locke, Leibnitz, Reid, and Kant. The ancient researches into the origin of knowledge ended in the skeptics, the Stoics, and the new academy; that is to say, in skepticism, common sense, and skepticism again. The modern researches ended in Berkeley, Hume, Reid, and Kant; that is, in idealism, skepticism, common sense, and skepticism again. These inquiries terminating thus fruitlessly, a new and desperate spring was made in Alexandria: reason was given up for ecstasy, philosophy merged itself into religion. In Germany a similar spectacle presents itself: Schelling identified philosophy and religion. . . . Thus has philosophy completed its circle, and we are left in the nineteenth century precisely at the same point in which we were in the fifth. Modern philosophy staked its pretensions on the one question: *Have we any ideas independent of experience?* This was asking, in other words, *Have we any organon of philosophy?* The answer must always end in a negative. If any one, therefore, remain unshaken by the accumulated proofs this history affords of the impossibility of a philosophy, let him distinctly bear in mind that the first problem he must solve is: Have we ideas independent of experience? Let him solve this ere he begins to speculate."

Such is our author's conclusion, boldly stated, and in general fairly argued. That it is destructive to all philosophy (if true) is obvious; that it is equally fatal to religion and science, can, we think, be clearly proved. It is therefore of the last importance to determine the validity of his premises and the correctness of his logic, that we may intelligently accept or reject his conclusions, and decide whether valid knowledge and rational faith are possible to man, or whether we are doomed to vibrate perpetually between universal skepticism and a blind, unreasoning faith, or to wander like Noah's dove, to and fro, finding no rest amid the ever-surging tides of phenomena, causeless, purposeless, and objectless, as positivism declares them to be.

Mr. Lewes's argument may be embodied in two general propositions, namely:

1. All attempts to construct a valid system of philosophy have failed, therefore must always fail; and,

2. All our ideas are derived from *experience*, hence are *subjective*, and therefore invalid as the basis of a rational system of philosophy.

Other minor points, worthy of at least passing notice, are occasionally introduced, but all of them may be referred analytically to one or the other of the above cited propositions, and must stand or fall with them.

It would not be pertinent to the present discussion for us to enter into any examination of the relative merit or demerit of the various systems of philosophy which are struggling for supremacy in the world of intellect. The issue, as we shall attempt to show, is independent of the question whether any one of them as a whole be true, or whether all alike be defective or false; unless, indeed, it can be demonstrated that speculation has exhausted the cycle of possible forms—a theorem which Mr. Lewes would hardly attempt to establish.

His first proposition, "that all efforts to construct a valid system of philosophy have failed, *ergo*, must always fail," is nothing more than a plausible but baseless assumption—a repetition of the oft-exploded, but as oft-repeated fallacy, that negative experience can disprove the existence or possibility of any event whatever. And yet the sole and avowed object of our author's two elaborate volumes is to prove this failure as to the past, and to draw this conclusion as to the future. It is a sufficient reply, *ad hominem* at least, to retort, "all efforts to construct a valid system of sociology have failed;" *ergo*, the science is impossible. And yet the problems of sociology are confessedly less recondite than those of philosophy,

and mankind had been engaged for ages in a practical effort to solve them before metaphysics were dreamed of as a distinct subject of human inquiry.

It is worthy of notice here that our author has sought to lighten the burdens of his self-imposed task, by the assumption of a novel and unwarrantable definition of the term metaphysics, namely, "*that its office is to penetrate into the essences of things;*" that is, to determine the nature of substance considered apart from its attributes; a definition which, *à priori*, would seem to place it beyond the scope of human reason. But what school of philosophy proposes to do this? And, could such a one be found, its vagaries would not justify the "*Io triumphe*" with which Mr. Lewes celebrates his bloodless victory over this man of straw. The problem is not, what are substance, mind, God, apart from their attributes; but, are there essences or substances underlying the phenomena of sensation and consciousness, whose existence and attributes reason can authoritatively determine. This simple correction alone undermines one half of his labored arguments.

Nor does his attempt to demonstrate, *a priori*, the impossibility of philosophy relieve the baldness of his miserable sophisms. Such an argument on positive principles can have no deeper basis than experience. And we hazard nothing in propounding it as an axiomatic truth, that no argument based upon phenomena can disprove the existence of causation, substance, or a Supreme Being; the relative cannot by any possibility exclude the absolute, nor can it even justify a denial of its probable existence. An affirmation of phenomena may not perhaps involve (theoretically) the idea of an underlying substance—may raise no logical presumption of *real* existence; but it is sheer absurdity to assume that it can throw any doubt, *however slight*, upon our practical faith in either. The Kantian theory is the logical limit in this direction. If the pure reason cannot transport its subjective processes beyond its own domain in order to establish the reality of objective existence, it is equally powerless to use them to disprove it. It cannot, therefore, invalidate the testimony of the practical reason, or the inherent faith of humanity in a Supreme Being. The fundamental postulate of positivism, namely, "that science is radically opposed to and excludes all philosophy and theology," is consequently a baseless chimera.

Mr. Lewes's argument on his own principles (and by them it should be judged) is less forcible than it would be were it grounded upon some one of the systems which he repudiates. Having with M. Comte denied in advance the validity of all conceptions of *first*

and *final* causes, and having laid down the postulate that we *know*, and *can* know, nothing even of phenomena except their invariable relations of succession and resemblance, he is logically precluded from the use of all *a priori* considerations or premises whatever. The utmost limit of validity which can be accorded, therefore, to his denial of the possibility of metaphysics is simply this: that inasmuch as all past efforts have failed, there is nothing to warrant the hope of future success. Any step beyond this lame and impotent conclusion is a virtual abnegation of his own cherished system, and is inadmissible unaccompanied with a formal renunciation of its errors. His argument, it is true, is a seeming induction based upon experience, but it is as worthless as that which declared on the testimony of centuries that all swans are white.

We do not deem it necessary to follow Mr. Lewes through the various epochs of his history, nor to make any issue with him as to the verity of his statements, although the onesidedness of his views, and the too obvious grasping (everywhere apparent) after every discouraging fact which may serve to darken the foreground of his picture, offer ample scope for criticism. It suffices, however, to have called the attention of the thoughtful reader to the essential fact that, on his own principles, his elaborate volumes are worthless as proofs of his initial dogma "that a valid philosophy is an impossibility." Were the failures of metaphysics in the past tenfold more complete than he represents them to be, his argument were still insufficient as a demonstration of his proposition. A necessary link in the chain of his logic would still be hopelessly wanting. Moreover, it will appear in the sequel, notwithstanding his gratulations over the superior clearness and certainty of positivism—the refuge offered us from the dreary cycle of ever-recurring skepticism which he alleges to be the inevitable terminus of all metaphysical speculation—that it is itself a system of skepticism more arid, more dreary, and more hopeless—an utter *nihilism* that entombs both *subject* and *object*, *substance* and *phenomena*, in one common grave.

His second proposition, namely, that all our ideas are derived from experience, (that is, from sensation,) will require more attention, inasmuch as it involves the real central point of all metaphysical controversy. He has well said in reference to it: "This question is all important. And what gives it its importance? The conviction that if we are sent into this world with certain connate principles of truth, those principles cannot be false; that if, for example, the principle of causality is one which is antecedent to all experience, and is inseparable from the mind, we are forced to pronounce it an

ultimate truth." The nature and necessity of a criterium in philosophy is a point upon which our author expends much time and labor, proposing the problem as an *experimentum crucis* by which the claims of metaphysics may be tested. Ordinarily he deals with the question fairly, but at times he seems to demand a criterium which would not only be an impossibility, but an absurdity; one which shall not merely be independent of experience, but independent of the thinking being also; a requirement which not only transcends the possible limits of human reason, but also any rational conception of Divine Omniscience. To the more moderate view embodied in the words cited above there can be no reasonable exception taken, and we shall assume it to be the real position of our author on this fundamental point. It is almost needless to add that we fully coincide with him in the opinion there expressed—"that if we are sent into this world with certain connate principles of truth, those principles cannot be false."

The all-important question, therefore, occurs: "Are all our ideas derived from experience?" Mr. Lewes affirms, we deny; the *onus probandi*, therefore, rests with him. There is, as will be remarked on very slight analysis of this question, an indistinctness and indefiniteness in the verbiage employed that necessitates a preliminary limitation of the terms. The phrase, independent of experience, is to the last degree equivocal; like the famed tent of the fairy princess Paribanon, it may suffice to cover only the palm of the hand, or it may envelop in its ample folds a numerous and well appointed army. In one sense, assuredly, we have no ideas that are independent of experience; nor, in that sense, could we have, even on the most extreme theory of innate ideas; for by the very initial utterance of the reason which reveals them, they become a part of our experience, and could not, therefore, be independent of it. But a more natural construction is possible, according to the theories of Kant and Cousin, who have shown conclusively that sensation must furnish the occasion, the stimulus, to arouse the slumbering reason to action. But this neither implies nor necessitates the admission that the conceptions of time, space, and causation are mere generalizations from experience, or that they depend upon the verity of sensation for their validity. In the only sense, therefore, in which it is pertinent to consider the problem at all, namely, Are these conceptions derived from, and dependent upon sensation? we answer unhesitatingly, No! and join issue with our author, whose line of argument we now propose to examine critically. His positions, if we do not misconceive them, are embodied virtually in the two following general considerations, namely: 1. A

new theory of ratiocination, by means of which he hopes to exclude from the domain of thought all absolute elements and *a priori* conceptions as illegitimate; and, 2. An attempt to deduce philosophically all the "so called" necessary truths from sensation.

Subordinately to these, he has introduced some objections to the opposite doctrine, which may receive a passing notice. His theory of reasoning possesses at least the merit of novelty, conjoined to a kind of Condillackian simplicity; but it sadly needs verification in order to give it even the *vraisemblance* of truth. It is as follows:

"Reasoning, if I apprehend it, is the same intellectual process as perception; with this difference, that perception is inferential concerning objects *present*, and reasoning is inferential respecting objects *absent*. Perception is distinguished from sensation by the addition of certain inferences; as when we perceive a substance to be hard, square, odorous, sweet, etc., from certain inferences rising out of its color, form, etc., although we do not actually touch, smell, or taste the object. What is this process of inference? It is a presentation before the consciousness of something which has been formerly observed in conjunction with the object, and is therefore supposed now to be actually present in fact, although not present in sensation. In each and every case of perception a something is added to sensation, and that something is inferential, or the assumption of some quality present in fact which is not present in sense. Reason is likewise inferential, but about objects which, although they were formerly given in sense, are now absent altogether. Reasoning is the presentation before the consciousness of objects, which if actually present would affect the consciousness in a similar manner."

The strange theory of perception contained in the above extract merits at least a passing notice. Mr. Lewes obviously confounds perception with association of ideas. It is absurd to say, as he does, "I perceive its sweetness when I see a lump of sugar." Perception is experienced only in connection with an actual sensation. In the case noted, I may *imagine*—may *believe*—nay, may *know* that the sugar I look upon is sweet, but I do not perceive it to be so until I *taste* it. By rigorous analysis, perception seems to involve: 1. A simple recognition of the sensation experienced; and, 2. A reference of that sensation to some quality of an external object as its exciting cause; and these elements are present in the first as well as in all subsequent acts of perception.

Nor can a more lenient judgment be accorded to his theory of ratiocination. It involves at least two fatal defects, namely:

1. It is incapable of accounting for some of the more obvious trains of thought which enter into the experience of common life, outlawing them as completely as Mr. Lewes hopes to outlaw the absolute conceptions of metaphysics by showing that the latter (that is, the ideas of substance, infinity, etc.) have no outward exter-

nal objects corresponding to them, which ever have or ever can be made present to the senses. But, unfortunately for so promising a theory, it is easy to show that the abstract conceptions of the higher mathematics lie equally beyond the grasp of sensation, and must therefore be included in the same irrational or suprarational category. Nor are other illustrations wanting; the ideas of honor, virtue, benevolence, goodness, and, in a word, all the essential elements of the moral code are ideal conceptions, which were never present to any of the senses and can never be; they are therefore—Mr. Lewes being judge—wholly without the pale of rational thought, for he has declared in unequivocal language that nothing can be a legitimate object of thought which has not been, and cannot again be made present to some of the senses.

But, secondly, this theory utterly ignores the one essential element of all reasoning, namely, the connecting link or common measure between the compared facts or phenomena. The process it describes is purely mechanical. One fact is brought in contact with another, and the agreement or discrepance of the two noted, or rather measured. But what is the measuring unit? what the connecting link? Mr. Lewes's sole answer is: "Reasoning is the *re*-presentation before the consciousness in their natural order of facts once present, but now absent." But what then? How or in virtue of what is the conclusion drawn, and by what agency? If reason, as he affirms, is destitute of all creative power, and is limited in its scope to a strictly reflective or formative process, (that is, to molding into shape crude sensations,) the process is an insoluble mystery. The question then recurs, What is the common measure? Is it itself a fact? If so, the chain is endless. Is it a purely subjective ideal element? What then is the guaranty of its validity? Either alternative is fatal: the one ends in an utter absurdity, the other in an acknowledgment of mind as a supraphysical entity endowed with creative power. No mere function of the brain, acting either mechanically or chemically in the cerebral laboratory; no voltaic action between the medullary and cineritious matter; no vibratory motion of the cerebro-spinal center, can evolve from two adjacent facts any inference whatever, much less a connected train of thought, such as that which endowed the world with the *Principia* of Newton, or the *Mecanique Celeste* of La Place. On any theory the problem is a difficult one; but when mind itself is declared to be a function of the brain, in the same sense that digestion is a function of the stomach, the difficulties become insuperable, and no amount of declamation about the absurdity of metaphysical entities can long divert attention from the greater absurdities involved in the process of

reducing thoughts, emotions, and volitions to mechanical or chemical changes in the cerebral organism. Vainly withal do Mr. Lewes and the various schools of materialists invoke the aid of the mysterious principle of life, in order to cover the nakedness of their theories, since with them life itself is but a derivative from organization. It may therefore add to, but it cannot lessen their difficulties.

In recurring to Mr. Lewes's attempt to deduce the "so called" necessary truths from sensation, it is due to him to say that he has the candor to admit that which Hume and sensationalists generally have had the hardihood to deny, namely, that we do invariably associate the idea of power with that of causation. The latter, therefore, both philosophically and popularly, does imply something more than invariable succession. His theory, in brief, is that the idea is a generalization from experience; that is, from sensations modified by perception and ratiocination, according to the theoretical processes previously described.

"If," he says, "we believe that similar effects will follow whenever the same causes are in operation; if we believe that fire will burn, we are simply believing in our experience and nothing more. We cannot help believing in our experience—that is irresistible; but into this belief the idea of either past or future does not enter. Custom has, primarily, nothing to do with the belief; if we had only one experience of fire, we should believe that it would burn." Again he says: "To say that we cannot know this cause, (that is, of any phenomenon,) cannot perceive the relation, and that antecedence and sequence are all that we can perceive, is only saying that we cannot penetrate beyond phenomena and their successions; but this is no more a ground for the denial of the *causal nexus* than it is for a denial of an external world." Query: On positive principles, would it not justify a denial of both? It should be remarked that elsewhere logical consistency compels him to admit somewhat contradictorily, "Hume was right in saying that, *en derniere analyse*, invariableness of antecedence and sequence is all that experience tells us of causation."

All this is very plausible if not scrutinized too closely; but it will not bear the test of rigid analysis. Mr. Lewes himself being witness, the idea of causation involves at least three distinct essential conceptions, namely, that of the antecedent, or cause; the consequent, or effect; and the *causal nexus*, or the idea of power: all of which must be logically accounted for and deduced from sensation alone. And since our author contends strenuously, in opposition to M. Cousin, that children and savages are the proper subjects

of psychologic observation, we propose to limit the discussion to an examination of the first act of perception in the dawning intellect of the child.

Perception, as we have seen, involves, first, a sensation experienced; and, secondly, a reference of that sensation to some quality of an object external to the sentient being as its cause. It includes, therefore, a concrete (not abstract) affirmation or recognition of the subject (or self) of the object, (or external world,) and of the causal relation. Will Mr. Lewes then analyze and indicate the successive steps of the perceptive act, when a lump of sugar is placed upon the *papillæ* of a child's tongue? Will he follow for us the nerves, as with electric swiftness they bear their mysterious message to the brain, and awake that hitherto dormant organ to conscious action? will he explain to us how and why experience then begins? how the idea of self, or personality, originates? how that of externality is awakened or, more properly, created? Nay, more; will he tell us what there is in the simple sensation of sweetness to suggest (since he has affirmed that sensation may suggest) that of causation? for, after all, the last named idea must needs precede that of an external world. Why does the mind refer the sensation to an external rather than to an internal cause? Nay, we should ask, Why does it refer it to any cause whatever? Experience surely cannot account for this case, since it is experience itself that must be accounted for; and Mr. Lewes has well said, "that custom, primarily, has nothing to do with it." Cavil, therefore, as he may, the patent fact remains, utterly insoluble by any sensational hypothesis, that the child does actually and always, in the first as in all subsequent acts of perception, refer the sensation to an external cause.

Grant to sensationalism this first step, and the rest were easy. But, alas! with reference to this first step, it may well cry out with the son of the prophet, "Alas, master, for it was borrowed." The difficulty is fatal; sensation, perception, and reasoning on positive principles are alike powerless here. But grant for one moment the truth of the opposite theory, that causation is an *a priori* affirmation of the reason in the presence of the phenomena of sensation, and the whole difficulty vanishes. Mr. Lewes having discarded that theory as unsound and illegitimate, is logically necessitated to fill the void he has thus wantonly created. Accordingly, with a vague consciousness of the insufficiency of his other theories, he hints at the laws of mind as offering the required solution. But what does he mean by a law of mind? Is it a new metaphysical entity, which he would foist upon us in lieu of those which he has so indus-

triously exorcised? To us the idea of law dissevered from that of a lawgiver is a simple absurdity, an utterly unmeaning term. It is true that he has said that sensation may suggest the needful conceptions; but how or why? What is there in the sensation to create (for no milder term will express the truth involved) the ideas of personality, externality, and causation—ideas which he affirms had no existence, actual or potential, prior to the given sensation. One of two alternatives is inevitable: either sensation alone or reason alone originates them. Experience is wholly out of the question; for, should he even assume that these conceptions are the result of many successive sensations, the difficulty is not diminished one iota; for the question still recurs, why should one or many sensations suggest the thought of any cause whatever? From this dilemma, then, there is for sensationalism no escape; it must account for these ideas or abandon the field.

Nor will the dialectical subtlety that quibbles and cavils at the fact that children and savages do not comprehend the meaning of the law of causation, when it is repeated to them, avail anything at this juncture; for reason, in its initial acts, affirms personality, externality, and causation in an enveloped, not a developed, in a concrete, and not an abstract form; and it is the fact and not the form of the *a priori* affirmation which constitutes the pertinent element in this discussion, and the fact is indisputable. True, Mr. Lewes may have found men like his marvelously thick-headed chemist, who did not believe the truth of the causal formula when presented in its abstract form; but will he be kind enough to inform us whether that same chemist, when he perceived unexpected changes taking place in the color, form, or texture of the various chemicals in his laboratory, was accustomed to regard them as happening fortuitously, without cause, or whether he did not at once begin to search with eager interest for the hidden cause of the new phenomena? And would he not have laughed to scorn any consistent disciple of Positivism who might have ventured to suggest that events happen sometimes without any cause operating to produce them? A little more attention to considerations like these would have saved Dr. Whewell from the humiliating necessity of resorting to such self-contradictory hypotheses (as Mr. Lewes attributes to him) in order to account for the absence of such *a priori* affirmations of the reason from the minds of the ignorant and unreflecting. In their abstract form they are rarely present; in the concrete they are never absent.

Here, then, we rest the issue: How on sensational principles can experience begin? Even the Lockeian theory of reflection fails to

answer this inquiry, and, *a fortiori*, Mr. Lewes's must fail. Neither the one nor the other adds anything to the material furnished by the senses, and that material (in the given case) is simply the sensation of sweetness; consequently, however much it may be modified by reflection, there can be nothing in the perception which was not really or potentially present in the sensation; but, torture the latter as we may, it is sweetness and nothing more. Nor is this all: our author has demonstrated with admirable clearness that a simple engorgement of the bloodvessels, acting by mechanical pressure upon the sensory nerves, may produce all the phenomena of real sensation without the interposition of any external object whatever; consequently, any suggestion of an external cause, if such a conception could by any possibility enter the mind, would be unwarranted as a deduction from experience. But no such suggestion is possible; for, however closely the sensation be scrutinized, however frequently it be presented and re-presented before the consciousness, it is, after all this Sysiphean labor, nothing more than a simple affection of the brain of the sentient being; and the problem of perception is left all unsolved—a hopeless paradox. What then becomes of this much-vaunted deduction of the idea of causation from experience? Failing to account for the first and normal act of the reason—for the first concrete evolution of the law of causation—it is necessarily worthless. The conclusion is therefore irresistible, that the idea in question is an *a priori* truth, revealed by the reason in a concrete affirmation that the given sensation must be referred to an external object as its exciting cause. Mr. Lewes, therefore, being witness, we do possess a valid *organon* of philosophy.

It will be remembered that our author has said "that sensation may suggest the idea of causation, but cannot guarantee it." Now let this be analyzed critically, and what is it other than an unconscious admission of the very theory he combats, namely, that reason, on the occasion of a sensation experienced, affirms, *a priori*, that this effect must have had a cause? a declaration which it subsequently embodies in the abstract form of the general law, "that every effect must have a cause." The principle of suggestion is foreign to the experience theory, as it necessarily implies creative power, and such power cannot rationally be attributed either to sensation or reflection on Mr. Lewes's theory. Nor can the fact that these *a priori* affirmations are made only on the occasion of a sensation experienced vitiate the argument; for, in any case, the senses sustain no higher relation to the reason than the humble sentry at the door does to the commander-in-chief of an army, when on the morn-

ing of the day of battle he arouses him from his slumbers, and summons him to his post at the head of his conquering legions. It matters not that the sentry may be deceitful, nay, may be idiotic, if his voice but reach his master's ear in season, and break the chain of slumber. The verity of reason, in its affirmations of personality, externality, causation, etc., is independent of the reality or falsity of the sensation that awoke it to action.

Mr. Lewes has a wholesome dread of the logic of consequences, and complains bitterly of its application to Spinoza, Hume, and other of his philosophical favorites; yet he has used it himself with an unsparing hand, in dealing with systems which contravene his own cherished dogmas. He must not, therefore, complain if its artillery is turned against his own defenseless positions. Let Positivism, then, be tested by his theory of ratiocination, namely: "That no object can come within the scope of valid reasoning which has not been, and cannot again be made, present to the senses," and the discrepancy between the various parts of his ungainly system will become painfully apparent. Positivism assumes the verity of the testimony of the senses, but by what right? Will Mr. Lewes venture to assert that the senses are face to face with their objects? (that is, with phenomena.) If so, what is the guaranty, or how can the fact be verified? Will he assert that they verify themselves? Then we retort his own dilemma: "*Quis custodiet custodes?*" He has broadly affirmed this logic to be valid as against the claims of reason; is it less so when applied to the senses? or will he appeal to reflection as his guaranty? It surely owns no such office. Shall reason, then, be the arbiter? Alas! he recognizes no such metaphysical entity. Upon what basis, then, does positive science, to say nought (in charity) of the positive philosophy, rest? Or of what value is our author's triumphant refutation of the idealism of Berkeley, which he confidently asserts to be, not only conclusive, but the only possible one? Methinks his logical standpoint here leaves the great idealist himself far in the shade.

But if his theories are utterly untenable against the idealism of Berkeley, are they more stable when assaulted by the skepticism of Hume? How can his admission of the presence and verity of the idea of power in causation be justified? To which one of the senses can it be made present? And if to none, must it not be dismissed to its fitting home and congenial associations in the dream-land of metaphysics? Causation, therefore, "*en derniere analyse*," reduces to invariable succession; but hold! the same logic may be applied with equal propriety to both terms of this definition—"invariable" and "succession." Can either be made present to any one or all

of the senses combined? If not, away with them. But perhaps he may object that they are necessary inferences or suggestions of reflection? We reply: 1. According to his own theory, it is an absurdity to say that reflection can suggest anything; and, 2. The doctrine of necessary suggestion belongs to the opposite system of philosophy. Removing, therefore, from causation (as we must) the ideas of power and invariable succession, what remains as a basis for positive science? The only answer possible is, *nothing—absolutely nothing.* His system, therefore, ultimates in utter *nihilism.* It cannot even justify the subjective validity which it accords to the phenomena of sensation, or the existence of an external world. The identical arguments with which Berkeley and Hume have (in Mr. Lewes's estimation) successively overthrown the bulwarks of objective truth, are at least equally fatal to subjective certitude. We heartily indorse his declaration that "men demand certainty;" but must differ from him "*toto cœlo*" as to where this certitude can be found. Does he assert that it is undiscoverable in the realms of metaphysics? We reply, that it can be demonstrated by parity of reasoning that it is equally a stranger to positive science. Does he assert that reason is subjective? We reply, *a fortiori*, so are the senses? Does he assert that it cannot be shown that reason is face to face with reality, therefore cannot determine the existence of objects *per se?* We reply that the same objection lies with equal or superior force against the senses. Or, finally, falling back upon the logic of common sense, will he affirm that our faith in our senses is necessary and irresistible? We reply: 1. That faith is a strange basis for positive philosophy; and, 2. That faith in reason is quite as legitimate and irresistible. One of two alternatives is therefore inevitable: either the fundamental dogma of Positivism, which limits all knowledge to that of the successions and resemblances of phenomena, rejecting alike all first and final causes—in a word, all causation must be discarded; or, logically, universal nihilism must be accepted as the only legitimate goal of all science as well as of all philosophy.

M. Comte, the great author of Positivism, wisely ignored the whole question of the validity of sensational knowledge, probably because he perceived that after rejecting the category of causation, there was nothing left upon which a valid theory of perception could be reared. But his less cautious disciple has not only admitted the legitimacy of the problem, but has himself actually proposed it, and cannot, therefore, justly complain, if, like Banquo's ghost, it will not down at his bidding. Positivism, as interpreted by Mr. Lewes, is essentially the same that it was in the hands of its author; and

we cannot, perhaps, better sum up our views of it than by a quotation from our own review of the system in the Southern Methodist Quarterly,* namely:

"Positivism is the virtual culmination of the sensational philosophy which sprang from the *Nova Instauratio* of Bacon, who proposed, in view of the superior clearness and directness of physics, to postpone metaphysics to a later stage of human progress; trusting that, in the light of a developed science, a solution of its problems would become less difficult. His illustrious disciple, Locke, deeply imbued with the spirit of his master, really, though perhaps undesignedly, subordinated consciousness to sensation—the study of the internal to that of the external world; but he fully recognized, notwithstanding, the existence of mind as a substance superior and superadded to physical organization. His successor, Condillac, went one step farther: ignored any internal source of ideas; identified consciousness with perception, which he defined to be simply a consciousness of sensations; and declared all intellectual states and affections to be mere modes of the operation of the external world upon an organized material being, through the medium of its senses. Having thus reduced mind to entire passivity, and the problems of metaphysics to simple questions of physical science, he attempted to verify his conclusions by a logical deduction of all our ideas from external sources. Materialism was to him a theorem to be demonstrated, the goal toward which his philosophy ever tended.

"M. Comte, treading with a bolder step in the same pathway, coolly assumed Condillac's conclusion as a point of departure; not, however, in virtue of his predecessor's attempted demonstration, but as an axiomatic premise which needed no verification. Hence, in his 'Law of Evolution,' he peremptorily sets aside all theological (absolute) conceptions as fictitious, abolishes metaphysics, substitutes mathematics for logic, and restricts human knowledge to the narrow limits of an empiricism which excludes all cognitions that contain any element other than a perception of the relations of succession and resemblance in the phenomena of the external world. Causation and consciousness rejected, all ground for the affirmation of the thinking subject is lost, and objective skepticism is the inevitable result.

"The cycle is thus completed, and the subjectivity of Berkeley, which denies the existence of the external world, by resolving it into a mere mode of human thought, is exactly counterbalanced by the objectivity of M. Comte, which, in turn, resolves thought and mind into mere modes of organized matter. It is passing strange that both Comte and Berkeley failed to perceive that the same principles which led the one to reject mind, and the other to deny the existence of matter, logically demand the union of the two apparent extremes in a synthesis which shall at the same moment blot out both mind and matter—physics and metaphysics—and proclaim an *utter nihilism* to be the necessary goal of philosophical speculation. The extreme right of idealism thus blends with the extreme left of sensationalism in a mutually destructive union, which exhausts and solves the great problem of philosophy by blotting from existence both *subject* and *object*. From such a conclusion reason revolts, and humanity turns away in disgust."

We had purposed here to terminate our labors; but one thought has followed us so persistently throughout our investigations, that we will venture to give it utterance, albeit we know that it is little

* See Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for July, 1857, and January and April, 1858.

likely in the present age to win approval. The thought in question has reference to the relation of the doctrine of the impersonality of reason to the great problem that has been the topic of discussion in the preceding pages, namely: Have we an organon of philosophy? To us the one has ever seemed to be the necessary complement of the other, logically accounting for and guarantying the objective validity of the *a priori* necessary truths which constitute that organon. And it may well be doubted whether any theory short of this can offer a basis sufficiently broad for the establishment of a valid, all-comprehending system of philosophy, which shall be adequate to the present intellectual wants, and to the ever-expanding necessities of human development, and thus become, virtually at least, a finality in the field of speculative activity; not indeed by fixing, as Positivism has attempted to do, arbitrary limits to the scope of human inquiry, but by establishing rationally the grand landmarks of thought, which shall guide the student in his adventurous course. Such a system should comprehend, co-ordinate, and classify all the correlated branches of science, philosophy, and theology.

The doctrine of the impersonality of reason, in its abstract form, unquestionably seems paradoxical on its first announcement, because, perhaps, all the other attributes of humanity are necessarily personal. Did space permit, we think, however, that it might be shown that, *a priori*, such a supremacy is due to reason, and necessary for man's welfare; but under present circumstances a few obvious considerations, easily verified by the thoughtful reader, must suffice. We remark, then,

1. That no reflecting man ever deliberately uses the same phraseology with reference to reason that he is accustomed to apply to the senses, or even to the judgment. Nay, more: we hazard the assertion that even the unreflecting, who use language most loosely, rarely use the same verbiage with respect to it that they do when speaking of confessedly personal attributes. The expressions, "my senses," "my memory," "my judgment," &c., are heard constantly, but "my reason" rarely or never. Men seem to feel instinctively that they have no right of property in *that*—that it has none of the attributes of personality. What is this other than the unconscious testimony of reason to its own impersonality?

2. We never deliberately, in view of all the facts, attempt authoritatively to subject others to the determinations of our individual senses or judgment, and we instinctively rebel if another seeks to subjugate us in a like manner; but we appeal unhesitatingly to reason as to a legitimate tribunal, and, in turn, we bow as readily to its rightful authority when others invoke its decisions against us.

Nay, more: a man is declared to be crazy who will not listen to reason, no matter how strongly or persistently he may plead that his individual reason sanctions his opinions. The smile of ridicule, the mocking laugh, or the straight-jacket, is deemed to be the only suitable answer in such a case. But wherefore, if reason be not identical in all men—if it be not impersonal?

Finally, on no other intelligible hypothesis can discussion or argument between man and man be justified rationally; for it obviously implies and necessitates the recognition of a common standard, to which both parties are amenable as a condition precedent. But if reason be a subjective attribute, no such tribunal exists, and the logic of the sword and the battle-field is as rational as that of the intellectual arena, and no truth whatever can have any authority beyond the threshold of the individual intellect in which it originated. Men are therefore logically isolated from each other, and from all higher orders of intelligent beings. Such a conclusion is at variance with all the feelings and instincts of our nature, with the necessities of our intellectual life, and, we might add, with the teachings of the oracles of God, which clearly recognize the essential identity of reason in man the creature, and in God the Creator, by the appeals which God makes to it in vindication of the righteousness and justice of his dealings with men.

Unpopular as this doctrine of the impersonality of reason now is, we hazard the prediction that the day is not distant when not merely the necessities of philosophy, but even those of positive science, will necessitate a re-examination of this question and inaugurate a new theory; for without an organon of philosophy such as this much derided dogma would afford, if rationally conjoined to the affirmation of the existence of *a priori* truths independent of experience, we must believe that any valid system of philosophy is impossible.

Art. II.—HUGH MILLER.

1. *My Schools and Schoolmasters;* or, the Story of my Education. By Hugh Miller. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1856.
2. *The Life and Times of Hugh Miller.* By Thomas N. Brown. New York: Rudd & Carleton. 1858.

Hugh Miller was born of humble but respectable parentage, in the little town of Cromarty, on the northeastern shore of Scotland, in the second year of the present century. His father, whose cognomen also was Hugh, as that of all his male ancestry in a direct line for generations had been, was a seafaring man, dauntless, indomitable, of great force of character and uncompromising integrity. His mother, the granddaughter of the venerable Donald Roy, (a name still well known in the tradition of the north of Scotland, and who, though at the age of eighty, had the courage alone to protest against the intrusion of an obnoxious presentee,) was one of those affectionate and confiding women who make at once the fond, devoted wife and faithful mother. While to his paternal side Hugh Miller may be indebted for much of that intellectual robustness, independence, and force of character which have so pre-eminently distinguished him, it was doubtless from this excellent woman that he inherited, in a great degree, those sentiments and feelings which have given energy to his talents as the defender of revealed truth, and the champion of the Church of his fathers.

While Hugh was yet a boy of five summers, the same fate which in turn had overtaken his grandfather, two granduncles, and several of his more distant relatives, until indeed it seemed to have become quite hereditary, overtook also his own father. The sloop he was sailing foundered and went down amid a terrible tempest at sea, and he was never heard from more. Mere child as he was, the dark shadow which this melancholy event cast over Hugh Miller's mind seems never to have passed altogether away.

Hugh Miller's mother experienced the usual difficulties and reverses which a widow without means has, in the decent education of her children, to encounter. Her necessities, however, were materially alleviated through the very generous conduct of her two brothers, one a harness-maker and the other a carpenter, to whose manly and simple virtues Mr. Miller has left—in that most delightful of his works, his *Schools and Schoolmasters*—a most grateful and endearing tribute. These brothers advanced her money as she needed it; provided altogether for her eldest daughter, "a docile

little girl of three years;" and moreover supplied, so far as best earthly friends could, that loss which Hugh himself so keenly and so ceaselessly mourned. Previous to his father's death Hugh had been sent to a dame's school, under the tuition of whose worthy superintendent he mastered that grand acquirement of his life, the art of holding converse with books. Hugh Miller early became a great reader. Falling one day upon the delightful story of Joseph, it occurred to him for the first time that reading was only the "art of finding stories in books." Henceforth what had been only an irksome duty became one of his most delightful amusements. From the classical romances of childhood, detailing the adventures of an epic Jack or a traveled Sinbad, to those works recording the patriotic struggles of his nation, or even to the scientific or philosophic treatise, he passed by an easy and rapid transition, mastering all that came in his way.

Transferred at length to the grammar school, he commenced in course the study of the classics. If under the tuition of the dame, with humble confidence in whose awful wisdom he slowly plodded along without knowing whither anything tended which he learned, the progress of acquiring knowledge was at first a dark one, it seems to have been even more so now. But his own account of his progress in acquiring the Roman tongue is sufficiently explicit:

> "I labored with tolerable diligence for a day or two; but there was no one to tell me what the rules meant, or whether they really meant anything; and when I got as far as *prima*, and saw how the changes were rung on one poor word that did not seem to me of more importance in the old than in the modern language, I began miserably to flag, and to long for my English reading, with its amusing stories and picture-like descriptions. The Rudiments was by far the dullest book I had ever seen. It embodied no thought that I could perceive, and certainly it contained no narrative. None of my class-fellows were by any means bright; and yet when the class which the master very soon learned to designate as the heavy class was called up, I was generally found at its nether end."

Thus, and not so much, after all, from any peculiar inaptitude for, as from a very natural aversion to it—an aversion, as we have seen, strengthened by the circumstances of his education, when by a wise and judicious mode of instruction it might have been corrected—was thrown away Mr. Miller's only chance of learning the tongue of Cicero and Cæsar. He was next transferred to a subscription school. The difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers here, it seems, occasioned in his course of study frequent and serious interruptions. These interruptions, however, to Hugh Miller were by no means lost. On the contrary, they served him with ample opportunity for pursuing branches of his education which, though they went on outside the pale of the school-room, were none the less important.

"The shores of Cromarty were strewed over with water-rolled fragments of primary rock. Upon the various pebbly beds of these, especially when shaken by recent storms, I soon learned to take a deep interest in sauntering and learning to distinguish their various component parts. . . . The hill of Cromarty also, at this time, served me as at once my school and favorite play-ground. This hill is one of a chain belonging to the great Ben Nevis line of elevation, and though occurring in a sandstone district, is itself a huge primary mass, upheaved of old from the abyss. When still wet with the receding tide, its veins and beds of hornblend rock seem as if highly polished, and present a beautiful aspect. Hither, almost daily, I was in the habit of picking my way, hammer in hand, and filling my pocket with specimens."

The opportunity, indeed, afforded by these vacations just alluded to, of making his excursions of exploration and discovery among the rocks and through the woods of Cromarty, among the precipices, and caves, and wild cliffs of the neighboring coasts, was always hailed with peculiar delight by Hugh Miller. Nay, however a dunce at school, or noted as the harum-scarum boy who would sooner play truant than master a Latin form, who had rather read strange books, tell queer stories, or lead an expedition to the woods, than "sleep out a regular course of *hic, hæc, hoc* under the auspices of some erudite ignoramus," yet, in the open field, among the hills, by the waters, he not only found pleasure, but even then was busy laying up those stores of knowledge he was born to dispense to his fellow-men. We venture nothing in saying, that to his wanderings at this time, now with his Uncle Sandy by the sea, speculating upon some water-rolled fragment of rock, or upon the habits of the crab or lobster, anon pausing to admire the tints of the sea-moss, or wonder at the organism of the sea-hare or cuttle-fish; at another time along Cromarty hill, admiring its red splintry hornstone; or still again, with a gang of town boys, to the precipitous sea-shore, with its wild cliffs and caverns—we may attribute the permanent formation of his taste for the study of natural science, and the laying the foundation of that extensive and accurate knowledge of the marvels of nature which have subsequently so justly distinguished him.

"——— The woods and rills,
The silence which is in the starry sky,
The sleep which is among the lonely hills
Had been his daily teachers; and his books
The original manuscripts of God."

Hugh Miller had now grown to be a great boy. The last master of the subscription school—a combination of the coxcomb and the pedant—had become very odious and unpopular. A difficulty in relation to the pronunciation of a certain word, one day, arising between the tutor and our pupil, and the latter proving

somewhat obstinate, a scuffle ensued, in which the unfortunate pedagogue was made to play a very sorry part. Young Miller, however, deeming, properly enough, his connection with the school thus dissolved, at once "packed up his traps" and left. Under auspices such as these was it that Hugh Miller completed his curriculum of academic study, and bade adieu to academic life.

Called upon now to gird himself for the real business of life, he sets at once about deciding what that business shall be. His uncles urge him to decide in favor of the ministry, assuring him that the means necessary to obtain a university education, if desired, should not be wanting. So deeply intrenched, however, in the recesses of his mind, wild boy as he had ever been, lay the belief that ministers, to be *real*, must be the special creations of the grace of God, and that, unless *called* of God to the Church's proper work, they had no business in that sacred calling; that though the only alternative was to "face a life of labor and restraint," no inducement could prevail upon him to "obtrude his unworthiness upon the Church." Unwilling, for sufficient reasons, to adopt either of the other two learned professions, medicine or the law, it remained for him only to decide in favor of a life of manual labor. Having observed that the employment of a cousin, who was a mason, left him, during a considerable portion of the year, long intervals of leisure, and trusting that in the amusements of one half of the year he should find ample compensation for the toils of the other half, he concluded to adopt that handicraft; and accordingly, now seventeen years of age, he began work on a morning of early spring, and, as he tells us, "with a heavy heart," as an apprentice in a sandstone quarry of Cromarty.

Let it not be understood, from what has been observed above, that it was any part of Hugh Miller's intention to spend his leisure hours in idleness. On the contrary, though he had deliberately chosen a life of manual labor, yet had he already felt his bosom swell with aspirations of a lofty character, nay, had even dared to believe that literature, or mayhap natural science was, after all, his proper vocation. Hence, at the outset, we find him resolving that much of his leisure time "should be given to careful observation and the study of the best English authors."

In the humble calling of a quarrier, Hugh Miller, quite contrary to his expectations, found much to excite his curiosity and engage his attention. The wholesome restraint which confined him day after day to one spot led him to examine, and so to become familiar with, certain features of the rock he was working, which, though

subsequently of great value to him, would otherwise have escaped his attention. His taste for natural scenery particularly proved a never-failing spring of delight, "scarce a day passing," he observes, that he "did not experience its salutary and exhilarating effect." But with all its enjoyments he did not escape the evils incident to excessive toil:

> "I used to suffer much from wandering pains in the joints, and an oppressive feeling about the chest, as if crushed by some great weight. I became, too, subject to fits of extreme depression of spirits, which took almost the form of a waking sleep, (results, I believe, of excessive fatigue, being naturally slender and loosely knit,) and during which my absence of mind was so extreme that I lacked the ability of protecting myself against accident in cases the most simple and ordinary."

It is the opinion of Mr. Brown that right there, in that quarry of Cromarty, were sown the seeds of that mysterious combination of physical and mental disease, which at last did its work in so very tragic a manner in his solitary chamber at Portobello.

We have already alluded to the necessity which made Hugh Miller a quarrier, as having likewise taught him geology. Indeed, for the future geologist, how could we conceive a better training than it was his fortune to receive here, with the sea-beach and quarry for his school, and the pebbles and mosses of the one, and the strata of the other, his lecturers on natural science; not long had he been confined to the quarry—a quarry forming an upper member of the old red sandstone—ere he began almost daily to discover among its ancient beds objects of wonder and instruction. At one time it would be the "ridged and ripple-marks, similar quite to what the tide leaves upon the sandy shore;" at another, "certain circular depressions in the sandstone, broken and flawed like the bottom of dried pools shrunk and split in hardening;" anon large "stones rounded and water-worn as if they had been tossed in the sea or bed of a river for centuries," or some fossil deposit abounding in organisms of extinct species of animals and plants. What had become of the waves which had thus fretted the solid rock? Was the clay which enclosed those apparently water-worn stones created upon the rock upon which they lay? Could those fossil deposits have been created fossils? Does a workman ever manufacture a half-worn article? were the ejaculations of our geologist at his alphabet. Quitting at length the long-wrought quarries of his native town, he began work in one which had been opened in a lofty wall of cliffs which overhung the northern shore of the Moray Frith, and in an inferior member of the old red sandstone. The gorgeous description which he has given of a liasic deposit, amaz-

ingly rich in organisms, which he early discovered here, attests at once his sympathy with nature, and the remarkable range and delicacy of his descriptive powers. "The great Alexandrian library," he remarks in conclusion, "with its tomes of ancient literature, the accumulation of long ages, was but a meager collection, not less puny in bulk than recent in date, compared with the marvelous library of the Scotch lias. After once spending even a few hours in such a school, who indeed could well avoid being a geologist? I had once derived much pleasure among rocks and caves; but it was the wonders of the Eathi lias that first gave direction and aim to my curiosity." In consequence of his master's being unable to procure work elsewhere, a large share of the second year of his apprenticeship was spent in the new and noisy school of the bothy. The field of his operations was distant some twenty miles from Cromarty, in one of those lovely spots where, as Heber has it,

> "Every prospect pleases,
> And only man is vile."

Whoever may have read Mr. Miller's "Scenes and Legends in the North of Scotland" cannot have failed to notice how profoundly he was imbued with a love for the marvelous. "From reason's earliest dawn," in the words of Mr. Brown, "until reason was no more, he seemed to have been encompassed with a strange machinery of the wild and supernatural—to have been perpetually meeting some ministrant to that element of the mysterious which so often sheathes in clouds and darkness the flame of reason, leaving man the prey of gorgons, specters, and chimeras dire." His earliest experience touching these matters dates as far back as the day previous to his father's death. No foreboding of that catastrophe had as yet reached the bay of Cromarty. Day was fast passing into night; the sailor's household had gathered around the family hearth; the mother plies her cheerful needle by the cottage fire; her son is sitting by her side, when the house door, left unfastened, having burst open, and the youth being dispatched to shut it, he saw, as he avers, as distinctly as ever he saw anything in the world, within less than a yard from his breast, a dissevered hand and arm, of a "livid and sodden appearance," stretched out toward him. Fearfully startled, he ran shrieking to his mother, telling her what he had seen.

One incident more, unimportant, perhaps, further than as illustrating this singular hold which the supernatural seems to have had upon Mr. Miller's mind, we would like to allude to in this connection. Toward the end of September, of the subsequent and last

year of his service as an apprentice, his master succeeded in procuring work somewhat nearer home than the bothies at Cononside. The job was to rebuild an old-fashioned wall of a gentleman's pleasure-ground, a wall lining the side of a deep ditch and raising its top to but the level of the sward. The ditch in this instance was wet, half-filled with old fallen materials and "dirty stanes," of which it had to be cleared. The result was that Mr. Miller, in pursuing this most painful and trying employment, soon found all his fingers oozing blood at once, while his poor hands in the night-time "burned and beat as if an unhappy heart had been placed in each of them," and cold chills, sudden as electric shocks, used to run through his feverish frame. His general health, too, was manifestly failing. The stone-dust inhaled at every breath while engaged in hewing had exerted the usual weakening effect upon the lungs. But now, working with wet feet in a water-logged ditch, he began to be sensibly informed by dull, depressing pains in the chest, and bloody expectorations, that he had really caught harm from his employment, and might very soon lay by his mallet and pick forever. He was resolved, however, notwithstanding these forebodings of an early death, to accomplish, if possible, the full term of his apprenticeship, now so nearly completed. The incident alluded to shall be given in his own words:

"One day, when on the top of a tall building, part of which we were throwing down to supply us with material for our work, I raised a broad slab of micaceous sandstone, thin as a roofing slate and exceedingly fragile, and, holding it out at arm's length, dropped it over the wall. I had been worse than usual that morning, and much depressed; and ere the slab departed from my hand, I said, looking forward to but a few months of life, 'Like that sandstone slab, I shall soon break up, and likewise perish as little known.' But the sandstone slab did not break up: a sudden breeze blew it aslant as it fell; it cleared the rough heap of stones below, where I had expected it would have been shivered to fragments, and lighting upon its edge stuck upright, like a miniature obelisk, in the green sward beyond. Though none of the philosophies nor logics would have sanctioned the inference, I nevertheless at once felt assured that recovery awaited me—that I was to live, and *not* die; and under the cheering influence of that conviction I felt lighter during the few remaining weeks that I toiled at that place."

The bothy and the barrack afforded Mr. Miller no less favorable opportunities for becoming a thorough student of human nature than had the quarry, of natural science. Nay, the singular minuteness of his acquaintance with Scottish life, especially in its lowlier forms—unsurpassed, indeed, by either that of Wilson, Scott, or Burns—may be attributed, doubtless in a great measure, to his peculiar experience in these by-paths of social life. Here, however, as ever heretofore, we are struck with something unusual in the conduct of this mason—something predicting that he is not going to

die in his present relation. As in the quarry, we noticed that while those who toiled with him found no sermons in the stones they were turning, felt no questioning arise in their minds as they stumbled upon specimens of plants and shells which had some way "got into the stone," his own eye would kindle with the quick piercing gleam of curiosity, and his natural impulse to question, examine, infer, was at once manifest; that while the former could only nod and drowze over the evening fire, avowing even novel-reading insufferably dull, he, though mayhap with hands bleeding and bones aching by working all day in a wet ditch, could yet derive comfort, relaxation, and the means of improvement from the scientific or philosophic treatise; that while they, at the hour of noon, thought only of lounging, dozing, or smoking, this young man found his rest and pleasure in gazing alone upon that sublime panorama where, in the west, Nevis presides among the mountains, and the glassy Frith lies lake-like at the monarch's feet,

> "In bridal rest,
> Sleeping with his glorious image on her breast,"

so now also the same studious, thoughtful, contemplative man, his habits of taciturnity and musing prevail over any disposition to indulge in the boisterous hilarity of the bothy.

We can hardly forbear mentioning an incident which occurred about this time, which suggested many profound and profitable reflections in relation to the doctrine of a particular providence. Five years previous, while attempting to rob a raven's nest, he narrowly escaped destruction by observing, just before taking the last step necessary to secure his prize, that the smooth surface of the rock glistened in the light, being incrusted over by a thin layer of chlorite, therefore very slippery. The same feat this year, it seems, was attempted by another lad, and with tragic result: no sooner had he committed himself to the treacherous chlorite than he shot at once over the precipice, falling one hundred feet, dashing head foremost, and with tremendous force against the smooth sea-stones below. Hugh Miller felt, on hearing of this melancholy incident, that not, after all, his knowledge of the properties of the chlorite, but the interposition of a Providence, arrested his steps and saved his life. He inferred that this must have been so from that spontaneous gush of thankfulness which he experienced as soon as he realized his deliverance; that, hence, such a belief, being so natural to the human mind, has its ground in the necessities of our nature. He had aforetime received intellectually the doctrine of a special providence; but it required this narrow escape, this touch of danger, to

render it emotional, and give it vitality and strength within. Several instances of literally hair-breadth escapes are given, at each of which, though the occurrences were perfectly natural, this spontaneous gush of acknowledgment, he well says, "would have forever set at naught the skepticism which would have held that there was no providence in it." And why not something genuine in these instincts, these intimations of our nature? We firmly hold that nature cannot lie. And are not the apprehensions of the soul in relation to this matter entitled to as much consideration as in reference to its own immortality? Mr. Miller speaks like a man not less at home in speculative philosophy than in that of a more scientific character, when he observes:

"Though there never was a time, perhaps, when the doctrine of a special or particular providence has been more doubted than at present, yet that skepticism has been one of effort, conjured up by toiling intellects in a quiet age. Unmoved, though mayhap partially overshadowed by it, that belief lies safely intrenched all the while in the fastnesses of the unalterable nature of man. Let danger but come to touch it, and it will spring up in all its old proportions. So indigenous is it to the human heart, that if it will not take on its cultivated form as a belief in a Providence, it will to a certainty take to its wild form as a belief in fate. Of a doctrine so fundamentally important that there can be no religion without it, *God himself seems to have taken care when he molded the human heart.*"

Mr. Miller's second working season, as a journeyman mason, opening with but indifferent prospects at home, he determined to try his fortunes in the city of Edinburgh. Setting sail, he reached that famed city on the evening of the fourth day after he lost sight of the hill of Cromarty. Probably no man who was himself destined to add to the literary celebrity of Scotland had ever so singular an introduction to the society of its capital. That society then numbered among its members such men as Dugald Stewart, Jeffrey, Wilson, and Walter Scott. But none of these men had the Cromarty mason the privilege of seeing, not even in the street. Through the good offices of a friend, Mr. Miller procured work at length at a manor house then being erected in the vicinity of Niddry Mill. The squad with which he worked appears to have been tainted, even in an extraordinary degree, with the narrowness and exclusiveness common among the more ignorant classes of operatives; and to them, on account of his own independence of character, singular probity in life, and conservatism in politics, he became an object of undisguised hostility and dislike. After spending ten months in this city, he returned, in consequence of feeble health, to his native town. Here, engaged in the lighter work of his profession, such as the preparation of tombstones for the country church-yards of Cromarty, he spent, with the exception of a few months at Inverness, the remaining

years which he devoted to manual labor. On Mr. Miller's return from Edinburgh to Cromarty, he found an old companion, one of the band he so long led in the days of his youthful frolic, relinquishing superior commercial prospects and entering the curriculum of preparation for the work of the ministry. The two friends spent much of their time together, and, very naturally, much of their talk was upon religious topics. So far as his intellectual belief was concerned, nurtured in the Puritan school, Hugh Miller was already a Christian; but as, in the lack of a personal and living, appropriating faith, his Christianity had never become *real* to him, he had still been left subject to those peculiar misgivings, and doubts, and fears which so naturally breed in every thoughtful soul whose faith and whose hope is grounded upon no true and lively Christian experience. Kept, indeed, by his hereditary prejudice—thanks to his early Christian culture—from being whelmed in its dark, troublous waters, he nevertheless had not escaped altogether the wintry influences of a skeptical philosophy. He had lived on, as thousands do, in a kind of uneasy, see-saw condition, wavering constantly between two extremes, now a believer, anon a skeptic, with no firm ground where he could at once reason and believe. But the day is approaching when in Christ that firm ground, so ardently longed for and sought after by every earnest, thoughtful soul, is to be found; when the mists of skepticism are to take themselves forever away, and religion's tranquil star, which those mists had hitherto obscured, is to shed over his soul its divinest influence. The perfect disinterestedness of his companion's abnegation of every worldly advantage under the influence of religious devotion, brought Christianity for the first time before him, not merely as a system of doctrines, but as an operative power upon the heart. The thorough adaptation to our nature of, and the love and mercy of God toward an apostate race as revealed in, the redemption scheme, hitherto hidden, were, through the agency of his friend and the Spirit of God, being disclosed to him as facts of experience. The consequence was that he was soon led, in the spirit of perfect obedience, loyalty, and love, to submit to the truth, "believe on the Lord Jesus Christ," and thus speedily to rejoice in the knowledge of having been translated from the power of sin and Satan unto God. From the circumstances of his history, the conversion of Hugh Miller derives a peculiar significance. A devoted student of the book of nature, he realized that man's relation to the Infinite was by no means to be learned from that book alone. Appreciating on the one hand the difficulty of squaring the doctrine of the incarnation with the "blowing clover and the falling rain," he did not yet,

as have done our transcendentalists, discard it as incredible. On the contrary, as he fathomed his own heart and ascertained the wants of his moral nature, he recognized the necessity of just such a scheme as the Christian one, however mysterious in parts, to reveal the fatherhood of God, to disclose the HEART of Deity, and finally to restore man personally to that intimate communion with his Maker which his happiness and the moral progress of his soul in this world imperatively demand.

Toward the close of a certain day in autumn, as our stonecutter was enjoying a conversation with some rather elderly females in the old church-yard where he was at work, a young lady of some very considerable attractions, apparently about nineteen, all flurried with running, came hurrying down to bid the group come away, and as instantaneously departed. Hugh Miller did not observe that she even looked at him; and yet it was for him alone that she had put herself to so much trouble to take care of her friends. The young lady's mental powers were equal to her personal charms. Having heard of Hugh Miller as the "Cromarty poet," and having felt a strong anxiety to see him, she had taken this method, it seems, to realize her object. Suffice it to say that curiosity soon ripened into love, and in due time Miss Lydia M. Fraser became Mrs. Hugh Miller—a lady since known to fame, not more indeed from her relation to the editor of the *Witness*, than as the author of several works of remarkable interest and ability.

Engaged now in marriage, and yet—so scanty were the earnings of his labor—enjoying no very bright prospects of supporting a wife and family, he seems to have seriously contemplated emigrating to this country. Fortunately a new and very unexpected employment was proffered to him. It was proposed to establish in Cromarty a branch agency of one of those great banking companies which play so considerable a part in the social economy of Scotland. Connected with this agency, Hugh Miller was nominated to the office of accountant. Accordingly, in 1834, after having received some preliminary instructions in the business, he was duly and finally graduated from the school of manual labor, and inducted into this new field of exertion and inquiry. It was during the second year of his accountantship that he was married. The bank office furnished Hugh Miller an entirely new field of observation; particularly did it prove a very admirable school for the cultivation of shrewd common sense. But his experience here proved of great value to him also in another important respect. While engaged in the discharge of his duties as bank clerk, he was by no means satisfied with simply mastering the more *mechanical* duties of his office:

he diligently improved his opportunities to gain such a knowledge of the *principles* of banking as enabled him afterward to take a very active and able part in the discussion of that difficult and complicated subject. Though devoting much of his leisure at this time to literary pursuits, Mr. Miller does not speak of them as forming any part of his education. It must, nevertheless, have been evident to him that his connection with literature was not only extending, but was gradually becoming the basis of a personal acquaintance with a class of minds which was likely to prove of eminent service to him in the future. His labors, however, continued to be comparatively obscure, until an event transpired which brought him into a more prominent position, and afforded him the means of speaking to the world. In 1839 the House of Lords decided on appeal against the right of the assemblies of the Scottish Church to regulate, according to a time-honored usage, the admission of their own ministers. Conspicuous among those upon whom it devolved to return this decision was Lord Brougham. Pained and alarmed by the tone and arguments of the speech in which that eminent statesman supported the finding of the House of Lords, Mr. Miller determined at once upon taking up the popular side of the question, and stating to the people his views in reference to the arguments or grounds upon which that remarkable decision professed to have been based. The result was a tractate which at once introduced him to the people of Scotland, and designated him as one eminently calculated to act a conspicuous part in the coming struggle.

Preferring to dissolve at once their connection with the state rather than yield the required submission to her demands—demands so utterly and manifestly repugnant to the whole spirit and the very letter of the ancient constitution of the Church—without a murmur, as without debate, the entire non-intrusion or Free Church party resolved to withdraw from the Establishment. On the 18th of May, 1843, therefore, while the General Assembly was sitting in Edinburgh, four hundred ministers solemnly arose, withdrew, repaired to their own hall, and in four days had formally and legally completed the disruption, and organized and established the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Who, by the way, can contemplate this scene of four hundred clergymen voluntarily renouncing all the emoluments and privileges of an establishment, and thereby subjecting themselves to all that privation and persecution which invariably pursue a Dissenting body,* and all for the keeping of a good con-

* Many ministers were driven from loveliest homes, compelled to study in garrets, and to sleep frequently with nothing between them and the open heavens but the cold slate. The privation and exposure was often too much for them,

science, and in behalf of the liberties of the Church, and not feel assured that the spirit of the old Covenanters still lives; who can behold it and longer despair of making the Gospel, the good old Gospel, antiquated and effete though modern sciolism write it, a power yet in the great heart of humanity?

At the time of this triumphant exodus of the Free Church, when her ministers and members, in the full flush of their victory, assembled in Canonmills Hall, the appearance of none of her defenders, among that vast and animated throng, it is said, among whom Chalmers and Candlish stood conspicuous, elicited plaudits longer or louder than when Hugh Miller was seen lifting his stalwart form and noble head among the people.

As already intimated, Hugh Miller's tractates proved his ready passports to the high and responsible position of conductor of the leading journal to be devoted to the advocacy of the views of the Free Church. Yet it was not at the mere whim of taste or temperament that he assumed this weighty, this important responsibility. At the behest of duty only did he, who in early life felt no call to become a minister of the Church, in the maturity of his powers thus assume the onerous and responsible position of defender of that Church's most sacred liberties; while the results of his labors, his eminent service to that cause with which his name must henceforth stand indissolubly associated, at once evince the energy with which he threw himself into that stormy ecclesiastical contest, and confirm the prediction of Dr. Candlish, "that he was just the man for the post." It can, indeed, hardly remain a question, whether in all Scotland there could have been found a man better qualified than Hugh Miller for the work for which he had now girt himself. Both his peculiar training and reading had contributed to fit him for it. A man not only of genius and genuine piety, but thoroughly understanding the party he had to combat, its traditions, its literature, he descended into the arena of conflict armed at every point; while, in so luminous yet profoundly philosophical light did he set forth the great principles involved in that controversy, he made them patent in the very cottages of the land, and fixed in the understandings of the humblest of his countrymen. But what qualified

and they sunk to their graves, martyrs for those great principles for which they had abandoned their earthly all.... Here and there the hand of tyranny was stretched out; and from the church and churchyard, from the bare hill-side, the grove, and public highways, on all of which they sought to assemble and to worship God, ministers and people were driven, till they took their station within high-water mark, on the lone sea-beach; their feet upon the damp and tangled sea-weed, the roll of those breakers, whose spray the breeze drove over them, keeping time to their solemn psalmody.—*Hanna's Memoir of Dr. Chalmers.*

Mr. Miller better still for his peculiar work, was that he was a soldier from love. He saw that the "Church of Scotland was the creator of the rights and privileges of the people of Scotland; that hence, while she stood an independent and free institution the people stood an independent and free people, but that bonds to her was slavery to them." This conviction, grounded deeply in his earnest nature, it was that prompted him, when he saw perils gathering around that mother Church, to gird on his sword in her defense; that made him so devoted and loyal a follower, and, to the extent of his great faculties, a defender of her cause.

The first number of the *Witness* newspaper was issued on the 15th of January, 1840, in Edinburgh. Up to the event of his death Mr. Miller remained still the editor of that journal, having established it upon a permanent basis, and constituted it truly a power in the politics and literature of Scotland. Though called into existence as the organ of an ecclesiastical party, it was by no means devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical discussions. On the contrary, it was the delight of Mr. Miller to lay aside the weapons of war and devote himself to the arts of peace; to turn from the stormy arena of ecclesiastical controversy to the peaceful region of æsthetics. Indeed, equally at home in science, literature, or criticism, he gave himself mostly up, after the disruption, to pursuits of this character. The fact that the most of his own works, awaiting all of which was such a singularly brilliant success, appeared first in the form of contributions to his own paper, demonstrate not only the compatibility of the duties of a journalist with the tastes of a man of science, but especially that the zeal and enthusiasm with which he entered into the discussion of the topics of the day, and the *practical* wisdom and earnestness which always made him equal to the emergencies of the hour, did not prevent him from withdrawing at times from the strife of tongues, and becoming a sojourner in the city of the dead, where, with the "skeletons of nations" around him, the "representatives of the vanished ages" his sole companions, he slowly and laboriously gathered up materials, out of which his imperial imagination has set, as in a hall of mirrors, the glories of the primeval world.

In the last years of his life, awakened to a sense of the importance of diffusing a taste for science among his countrymen, throwing aside his constitutional reserve, Mr. Miller betook himself to the lecture-room, and on not a few platforms, both in his native land and across the border, did he discourse on his favorite studies. His *Testimony of the Rocks* may, indeed, be regarded as the memorial of these platform labors. Though he never acquired that fluency

which rendered his platform performances comfortable to himself, owing, perhaps, to his having taken the field so late in life, yet as a lecturer he was highly popular. Crowds flocked to hear him wherever he went. Taking into account the recondite character of the topics discussed, he seems indeed to have been the most acceptable man that appeared before the institutes and associations of Edinburgh, Glasgow, or London. Few, very few, could command audiences such as flocked to listen to the prelections of Hugh Miller.

Before alluding to the circumstances of Mr. Miller's melancholy and untimely end, we venture to echo a "note of woe" which he has sounded, both because its intrinsic beauty and singular pathos will render it precious to all who have suffered a similar bereavement, (where, alas! is the household which has not?) and not less because it illustrates in a most beautiful and touching manner how tender and true was his heart, and how genuine the nature of his domestic feelings:

"In the spring of 1839 a sad bereavement darkened my household, and, for a little time, left me little heart to pursue my wonted amusements, literary or scientific. We had been visited, ten months after our marriage, by a little girl, whose presence had added not a little to our happiness. Home had become more emphatically such from the presence of the child, that in a few months had learned so well to know its mother, and in the course of a few more to take its stand, in the nurse's arms, at an upper window that commanded the street, and to recognize and make signs to its father as he approached the house. Its few little words, too, had a fascinating interest to our ears—our own names lisped in a language of its own every time we approached, and the simple Scotch vocable, *awa'*, *awa'*, which it knew how to employ in such plaintive tones as we retired; and that used to come back upon us in recollection like an echo from the grave, when, its brief visit over, it had left us forever, and its fair face and silken hair lay in darkness amid the clods of the church-yard. In how short a time had it laid hold of our affections! Two brief years before, and we knew it not; and now it seemed as if the void which it left in our hearts the whole world could never fill. We buried it beside the church of St. Regulus, with the deep rich woods all around, save where, in front, an opening commands the distant land and the blue sea; and where the daisies, which it had learned to love, mottle, star-like, the mossy mounds; and where the birds, whose songs its ear had become skillful enough to distinguish, pour their notes over its little grave. The following simple but truthful stanzas, by its mother, seem to have been written in this place—sweetest of burying-grounds—a few weeks after its burial, when a chill and backward spring, that had scowled upon its lingering illness, broke out at once into genial summer:

"'Thou art awa', awa' from thy mother's side,
And awa', awa' from thy father's knee.
Thou art awa' from our blessing, our care and caressing,
But awa' from our hearts thou'lt never be.

* * * * * * *

"'Ah no. Earth must be lonelier
Wanting thy voice, thy hand, thy love;
Yet dost thou dawn a star of promise,
Mild beacon to a world above.'"

But excessive intellectual toil began at length to tell fearfully in its effects upon both the body and mind of Mr. Miller. With a physical system in which, though originally uncommonly robust, had been sown the seeds of disease, and an intellect which, though gigantic, had not been early used to such incessant toil, and in which doubtless lurked, in that deep hold which the supernatural had upon his mind, a predisposition to insanity, can it be surprising that the intense and unremitting exertion which that adamantine will compelled, resulted at length in his utter prostration? The special labor which was the immediate means of unhinging his intellectual powers was that of the preparation and final revision of the *Testimony of the Rocks*—that magnificent attempt to harmonize the works with the word of the Almighty, which was fitly to complete his services to his country and mankind. At this work he continued to toil on long after intellectual labor of every kind ought to have been strictly forbidden and rigidly foregone, interrupted only by those paroxysms of horror and despair amid whose deep and awful shadows he was doomed so gloomily to perish. But the work at length was finished. On the last day of his life Hugh Miller had said *it was done.* Do what they might, neither madness nor the grave could deprive him of that. As might have been expected, with redoubled fury the paroxysm returned. Ere it again subsided Hugh Miller was no more. And thus, in the last days of 1856, perished, may we not say, the greatest of the martyrs of science.

> "Unknown he came; a mystery he went:
> A mighty vessel foundered in a calm,
> Her freight half given to the world."

Far beyond, at least, any man living, Hugh Miller probably united in himself the practical, the scientific, and the man of original and philosophic thought. As a practical man, or man of action, he perceived at once the nature of the task to be accomplished or difficulty to be met, and brought to them powers that always seem to have inspired him with the confident expectation of ultimate success. A most ample field, indeed, for the display of his practical wisdom was furnished him in his sphere as a Church leader, where, if not more effective, at least vastly more sagacious often than many of his more agile and impetuous compatriots, he secured to the Church, by holding them in salutary check, the energies of many which might have otherwise been fatally misdirected and wasted. Statesmanship with him was not so much a matter of theory or science as of *business.* He adopted not the maxims of books, but consulted rather the actual state and nature of things.

As a man of *science*, Mr. Miller was singularly and pre-eminently

gifted at once with the power of "accurate observation, of logical deduction, of broad generalization, and of poetic and pictorial representation."

> "He quarried truth all rough-hewn from the earth,
> And chiseled it a perfect gem."

More than this, he was pre-eminently the exponent of science to the *people.* Of all geological works, his, undoubtedly, enjoy the widest circulation. But lastly, and above all, his scientific labors derive especial importance from the consideration that the fruits of his researches were all made to bear more or less upon the elucidation and defence of the oracles of truth.

> "Twain at a birth,
> Science with a celestial halo crown'd
> And heavenly truth: God's works his word illumed.
> These twain he viewed in heavenly concord bound."

Mr. Miller's *mind* may be classified among the few *original, creative, productive* ones. He could analyze, collate, criticise. So can thousands. But he could construct, originate, develop. His was likewise a comprehensive mind. He could contemplate a subject in all its relations, and as a part of one great whole. It was this power which enabled him so successfully to refer any given individual object to a system. This faculty it was which, aided by a powerful imagination, qualified him, as it had Cuvier, from a single fragment of bone to describe the whole animal; from some fragmentary fossil skeleton imbedded in the strata of mother earth, to realize a life-like picture at once of the plants that adorned, and the living things which peopled an earlier world. However vigorous in thought, conclusive in argument, or well furnished with the facts and figures of both ecclesiastical and profane history, undoubtedly the paramount endowment of his mind was this intellectual *grasp* of which we speak, and which, more than anything else, distinguishes all leading and truly great minds; this power of taking in the whole of a subject as a whole, or of getting at the great central idea, the fundamental underlying principle of a given subject, with reference to which all things are manifestly to be contemplated or adjusted, and around which the details of either business or study naturally and necessarily group themselves.

Touching the personal appearance of Mr. Miller, or Old Red, as he was familiarly called by his scientific friends, it has been said that once seen it was never to be forgotten. "A head of great massiveness, magnified by an abundant profusion of sub-Celtic hair, was set on a body of muscular compactness, but which in later life

felt the undermining influence of a life of unusual physical and mental toil. Generally wrapped in a bulky plaid, and with a garb ready for any work, he had the appearance of a shepherd from the Ross-shire hills, rather than an author or a man of science."

In conversation, as in every other capacity, the man of original genius and cultivated mind at once shone out, evincing a wealth of information and a philosophical acumen only less remarkable than his amiable disposition, generous spirit, and his consistent and humble piety. Modest in his demeanor, gentlemanly in his bearing, he dealt with the feelings of others with such a natural delicacy, and with the opinions of others with such a genial, manly deference, he at once made you confess his natural kindness, while he won your unbounded confidence, admiration, and esteem. Seldom, if ever, excited by any petty jealousies or fitful envyings, playful in his mirth, abiding in his friendships, warm in his domestic attachments, always ready and willing to oblige, he may be said, more than is common to the lot of mortals, to have been crowned with those lesser attributes and graces which, like the "gold on the spire, or the sunlight on the corn field," give the last touch, the perfection finishing to a noble character.

> "His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, THIS IS A MAN."

Finally, as the man fully imbued at once with the passion for civil freedom which fired the soul of Wallace, with the zeal for religious liberty which animated a John Knox, and with the practical and scientific spirit which characterizes the *present* age, we are by no means sure but there are quite sufficient grounds for the high claim instituted by his biographer in his behalf—that, more than any other Scotchman, more than Sir Walter Scott, who, notwithstanding all his geniality and breadth of character, was rather a relict of feudalism than a representative of modern times; than Robert Burns, who, though Scotia's greatest bard, was so sunk in the mire of an odious sensuality as to be cut off for ever from the faith of the country, Hugh Miller stands as SCOTLAND'S REPRESENTATIVE MAN.

Art. III.—WESLEY AS A MAN OF LITERATURE.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

Mr. Wesley as a reader, and what kinds of books he was in the habit of perusing, with a list of the several sorts, we have shown in a former article. We are now to show this distinguished man as an AUTHOR and PUBLISHER, and what works he wrote himself, and what books he published (with various alterations) from other pens. We shall classify Mr. Wesley's original and selected works, and so review them more conveniently and more briefly.

I. The first class of works will be on the subject of Music. In the worship of God in heaven are "harpers harping with their harps," and others singing "as it were a new song before the throne." So in the worship of God on earth, the instrumental and the vocal are and may be beautifully and harmoniously united. Such was the opinion of Mr. Wesley, and therefore he provided music, both for instruments and the voice, for private use and for public congregations. In the infancy of Methodism, and so early as 1742, was published for the Methodist congregations throughout the country, "A Collection of Tunes set to Music, as they are sung at the Foundery," that is, in the congregation in London. Another of Mr. Wesley's early publications was called "The Grounds of Vocal Music," a tract of twelve pages. On two occasions he published a "Sacred Harmony, or a choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, in two and three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Organ," one of the editions being a good-sized book of three hundred and fifty pages, and the other about half the size. The harpsichord, a keyed instrument with wires, in the first half of the eighteenth century was in the fashion, but has long ago fallen into disuse. Charles Wesley seems to have been highly pleased with the harpsichord in the domestic circle. In a letter to his wife, in 1755, he urges her to urge her sister (living with them) concerning music in general and the harpsichord in particular. Says he: "Beck must recover her music; must positively, or not look me in the face. It lies upon you to drag her to the harpsichord, and tie her down in the chair." The organ has for centuries been a popular instrument, and now suits the public ear as well as ever. At that time little did the founder of Methodism think that, in a century after, hundreds of Methodist congregations would praise God with the organ as well as the voice.

He was always interested in the art of music. Dr. Pepusch was a celebrated musical theorist and composer, and especially noted for his investigations into the music of the ancients. In 1748, Mr. Wesley says that he spent an hour or two with this eminent man, and learned "that the art of music is lost, and that the ancients only understood it in its perfection." He allowed that the art revived a little in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, and in the time of Purcell; but that the "true ancient art, depending on nature and mathematical principles, had gained no ground, the present masters having no fixed principles at all." In 1768 Mr. Wesley read a masterly essay on music, and was "surprised to find that the music of the ancients was as simple as that of the Methodists; that their music wholly consisted of melody;" and that what is now called harmony, or singing in parts, is quite novel. The author observes further, that "singing different words by different persons" destroys melody, and defeats the very end of music, which is to affect the passions. The opinion of this author and his own exactly corresponded. Four years before, he went to hear the Oratorio of Judith performed. The music was fine, but he objected to two things in it, and in all modern music. "One is, singing the same words ten times over; the other, singing different words by different persons at one and the same time." Four years after he passed strong condemnation on the singers of the church at Neath, in Wales:

"I began reading prayers at six, but was greatly disgusted at the manner of singing. 1. Twelve or fourteen persons kept it to themselves, and quite shut out the congregation. 2. These repeated the same words, contrary to all sense and reason, six or eight or ten times over. 3. According to the shocking custom of modern music, different persons sing different words at one and the same moment: an intolerable insult on common sense, and utterly incompatible with any devotion."

A pretty faithful picture of many a choir in many a present congregation! His opinion on harmony, as the musical professionals call it—discord, as the people of common sense, term it—never varied. Fourteen years after, and when an old man of nearly eighty, he came to Warrington to preach, and says:

"I came just in time to put a stop to a bad custom, which was creeping in here: a few men, who had fine voices, sang a psalm which no one knew, in a tune fit for an opera, wherein three, four, or five persons sung different words at the same time! What an insult upon common sense! What a burlesque upon public worship! No custom can excuse such a mixture of profaneness and absurdity."

He and the whole conference entered the strongest protest against the complex tunes and repetitions, as injurious to devotion

and religion. Thus, in the Large Minutes, is the thirty-ninth question: "How shall we guard against formality in public worship, particularly in singing?" and in the answer is the following:

> "Is not this formality creeping in already, by those complex tunes which it is scarcely possible to sing with devotion? Such is, 'Praise the Lord, ye blessed ones;' with the long quavering hallelujah annexed to the morning song tune, which I defy any man living to sing devoutly. The repeating the same words so often, (but especially while another repeats different words, the horrid abuse which runs through the modern Church music,) as it shocks all common sense, so it necessarily brings in dead formality, and has no more of religion in it than a Lancashire hornpipe. Besides, it is a flat contradiction to our Lord's command, 'Use not vain repetitions.'"

The preceding quotations will show the reasons against the "fugue tunes," mentioned in the Discipline of the American and Canadian Methodist Churches, in the section "Of the Spirit and Truth of Singing." It appears then from one of the best authorities, that ancient music was simple melody, and that there were no complex sounds in the Hebrew, the Babylonian, the Grecian, or the Roman music. The grand old ode of Moses was set to simple melody, accompanied by the timbrel of Miriam, and the response of the mothers in Israel. So powerful was the Hebrew melody that David thereby stilled the evil passions of the vexed and enraged Saul. The music and singing of the temple was of the same grand and effective kind. The Babylonish music was equally simple, whether heard in the vast plain of Dura, at the banquet of the terror-struck Belshazzar, or by the sleeping-couch of the aged and short-reigned Darius. The Grecian Orpheus, too, accompanying the Argonautic expedition, essayed the lyre to melody, and calmed the troubled beasts on the wild shores of the stormy Euxine. Nor was the renowned Terpander, father of the Grecian music, acquainted with the complications of the modern art. And, at the feast of the mighty Alexander,

> "Timotheus to his breathing flute,
> And sounding lyre,
> Could swell the soul to rage, or kindle soft desire,"

by simple melody. As the evil complained of by our founder still exists, and even in our own congregations, the digression will doubtless be excused; and his remarks and opinions may perhaps obtain the attention of the deep-thinking and the leaders of our public and devotional music.

Another musical work published was called "Sacred Melody, or a choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes." In the introduction, Mr. Wesley gives directions for congregational singing, as, "Sing all, sing lustily, sing modestly, sing in time, sing spiritually."

The last book of tunes which he published was about the year 1765, entitled "Select Hymns with Tunes annexed: designed chiefly for the Use of the People called Methodists." In the preface, he praises the Sacred Harmony (already noticed) as exceeding "beyond all degrees of comparison anything of the kind which has appeared in England before." But something else was wanted, namely, a book of tunes in common use among the people called Methodists. "I have been endeavoring for more than twenty years to procure such a book as this; but in vain." "At length," says he, "I have prevailed." So this collection embraced the tunes then in use, was the standard tune-book in his after life, and doubtless many of our present tunes are hence derived.

I do not find that Mr. Wesley ever composed tunes. His was the literary labor of selecting, compiling, and publishing. In selecting he showed the excellence of his taste; and his own taste he found corresponded with the judgment and practice of antiquity. The singing of the early Methodists was simple melody; and sung to suitable hymns or lyrical odes, and according to the five rules, (already given,) the great end of singing, and of all music, namely, to move the passions of the hearers, was usually accomplished. The unruly and painful passions were quieted, like Saul's before the harp of David; calmness took possession of the mind; and the hearts of the people were quickly or gradually moved to awe, admiration, thankfulness, love, or joy. Blessed is that congregation in which the professionals and amateurs, with the people, so unite in singing "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," as ever to make, as the effect, "melody in your heart to the Lord!" But such congregations in modern Methodism, I am afraid, are rather the exceptions than the general rule. Keeping in view the proper end of church music, we may sorrowfully yet truly infer, that the absence of singing in many a congregation would be simply an omission but no loss.

II. Another path of literature Mr. Wesley walked in was that of POETRY, the sister art of Music. We are to view him as a publisher of poetry, and as a poet.

1. As a publisher and editor of others' works. One of his publications was a selection from the Sacred Poems of Mr. Herbert, who was a pious clergyman of the seventeenth century. Another was a "Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems from the most celebrated English Authors," in three volumes, and dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon. He issued from the press several collections of psalms and hymns, and of hymns and sacred poems;

also, a number of hymns for particular festivals, or to improve important events. He took in hand an edition of Milton's Paradise Lost, using the uncommon liberty of omitting such lines as he despaired of explaining to the unlearned reader. Also, he added short notes of explanation to difficult passages which did not deprive him of hope. Besides, he put stars to show the parts most celebrated for sentiment or expression. Mr. Milton probably would have had no strong objection to the two sorts of addition to his own glorious lines; but had the great English poet been asked for permission to make omissions, doubtless he would have darkly looked and sternly denied. Nor can a proper reason be given for omitting hard passages out of Milton, more than for expunging hard texts out of the Bible. The work of omitting, so common now-a-day, is an injustice to the author as well as to the reader. Afterward he took in hand Dr. Young, and treated the Night Thoughts in the same manner. He left out such lines as contained "childish conceits, sink into prosaic flatness, rise into the turgid or false sublime, or are incurably obscure to common readers." He undertook, also, to explain the words obscure to unlearned readers, and to point out by marks the "sublimest strokes of poetry and the most pathetic strokes of nature and passion." The poet of sad and gloomy thought—and the poet delighted in by many when all God's waves and storms go over them, and who cry out with Jonah, "It is better for me to die than to live," or with Job that his "grief was heavier than the sand of the sea," or with Jeremiah, "Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me"—was, five years before, laid in the tomb, or he too might have resented the liberty taken with his fine poems so truly and forcibly describing the vanity of human life. It is worthy of remark, as showing the literary taste and constitutional temperament of Charles Wesley, that next to the Bible, the Night Thoughts was his most useful reading. His own words, found in his journal of July, 1754, are thus: "I began once more transcribing Dr. Young's Night Thoughts. No writings but the inspired are more useful to me." A fine compliment to the didactic poet, who, most probably, died without receiving it. The most important poetical work was the Hymn Book, issued in 1780, as "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists," and composed of hymns from the pens of John and Charles Wesley, with a sprinkling of hymns from other authors. It is the book still used by the English and Canadian Methodists, and with some modifications by all the Methodists in the world. It is one of the books likely never to be supplanted, but to live and be used to the end of the world.

2. As a poet or composer of hymns. What sort of a poet was

John Wesley? What follows will give the answer. I do not find that he ever wrote any poetry but religious hymns, nor very many of these. Mr. Creamer, in his ingenious and diligent search, has found thirty-two of his hymns in the Wesleyan collection, and twenty-six of them in the collection used by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Of the thirty-two, all are translations from the German, but five which are original. Among the translations are the following fine hymns, which may serve as a specimen of the rest:

"O God, thou bottomless abyss."
"Lo! God is here, let us adore."
"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness."
"Now I have found the ground wherein."
"O God, my God, my all thou art."

Translation work is the drudgery of a literary man, bringing perhaps some profit, but not a great deal of fame. Yet there are exceptions, for some poets immortalize their own names by uniting them with the names of their immortal authors. As long as the Iliad of Homer lives, so long, doubtless, will Pope's translation be remembered. As long as Ossian's Fingal is thought of, Macpherson's name will not be forgotten. As long as Virgil's Æneid is regarded as the world's second epic, so long, in the English nation, will Dryden's translation be read. However, translations can never attain the fame of the originals. Translators must always be second, and the authors first. However great may be Dryden, Macpherson, and Pope, certainly Virgil, Ossian, and Homer are much greater. Translators are a sort of literary tailors, putting new coats on distinguished authors. These five fine hymns (and other translations) from the German cannot give much assistance to Mr. Wesley's fame as a poet, which must rather rest, if anywhere, on his own original compositions. The original hymns in the Wesleyan collection are:

"Father of all, whose powerful voice."
"O Sun of righteousness, arise."
"Ye simple souls that stray."
"How happy is the pilgrim's lot."

There are, probably, a few other originals, but none seem of a higher order than these four. The hymn beginning "Father of all, whose powerful voice," is a fine paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, and seems to have been published with the sermon having that prayer for the text. A paraphrase is, in one respect, like a translation, in being devoid of invention and originality of thought. The merit of a paraphrase as a translation lies in the expression. What is grandly compressed in a few lines, as the model of all prayer to

God, is well amplified in a poem of nine verses of eight lines each. In this hymn is the often-used expression

"Glory ends what grace begun."

The divine Psalmist says, "The Lord reigneth: let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof." A fine imitation, with an invitation to the angels, is in the paraphrase:

"Jehovah reigns! Be glad, O earth!
And shout, ye morning stars, for joy!"

The rhymes are very defective, and the bad are more numerous than the good.

The hymn, "O Sun of righteousness, arise," is a poetic prayer for divine light by the "new-made creature." The metaphor of the sun, as may be seen, is not well sustained in the first three verses, although the thoughts are just and good. There is no rhyme in two lines of each verse. Correctly speaking, there is no rhyme in either of the five verses of the hymn but the first, viz., *wing* and *bring*. But what similarity, to say nothing of identity, of sound is there in the words *beam* and *inflame*, *free* and *thee*, *own* and *crown*, *three* and *thee?* The hymn is not merely deficient in the art of poetry, but also in poetic life. Like a vast number of religious hymns and odes, and didactic poems generally, the hymn is mere prose with the shape of poetry.

The frequency of bad rhyme would denote the writer's ignorance of poetry as an art, his negligence, his uncritical ear, or his great unreadiness for suitable words. Rhymes may be thought an insignificant part of English poetry; and some may assign them, as Butler, the author of Hudibras, the humble office of standing

——— "Like watchmen at the close
To keep the verse from being prose."

Yet rhyme has use and beauty, especially in the middle and lower orders of poetry. Poets should remember that bad rhyme is an imperfection in a poem, and avoid it. Too many venture on verses without knowing that rhyme is made by two exactly *identical* sounds, and not by sounds having mere *similarity*, more or less. The two kinds of rhyme are male and female. The first is the rhyme on the last syllable, after the accent. The last quotation is a perfect male rhyme, viz., *close* and *prose*. So, in the paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, the first four lines has two perfect male rhymes:

"Father of all, whose powerful *voice*
Called forth the universal *fame;*
Whose mercies over all re*joice*,
Through endless ages still the *same*."

The second is the rhyme on the two last syllables, after the accent. Such rhymes are rare in hymns. There may be two syllables or female rhymes in the hymn-book, but I cannot find any. However, a fine specimen may be taken from Dryden's celebrated Alexander's Feast. Timotheus, the renowned old Greek lyrist, with his lyre sang to the mighty conqueror:

> "Softly sweet in Lydian *measures*,
> Soon he soothed his soul to *pleasures;*
> War, he sung, is toil and *trouble;*
> Honor but an empty *bubble;*
> Never ending, still be*ginning*,
> Fighting still, and still des*troying;*
> If the world be worth thy *winning*,
> Think, O think it worth en*joying*."

Here are four perfect female rhymes, having the *same* sounds, and even the same spelling, excepting the second, viz., *trouble* and *bubble*, half of the rhyme having a *b* more than the other. The rhyming of hymns correctly is a matter of more importance than rhyming the Iliad and Odyssey. No one reads Pope's Homer year after year, month after month, and week after week. But the hymns for public worship are in perpetual use, like the chairs in a house, and the beds on which we lie. Thousands of ministers and others are every Lord's day repeating the hymns which John and Charles Wesley translated or composed a hundred years ago. Imperfect rhyme makes rough reading, hindering oft the sense, jarring on the ear of the congregation.

The next hymn to be noticed is "Ye simple souls that stray." It was published in the early days of Methodism, and when the people embracing this belief and practice were the objects of the scorn and ridicule of the nation. The hymn is an address to the mockers and persecutors, who were neglecting their own happiness, by straying "far from the paths of peace." It also shows the persecuted that however "foolish, impotent, and poor" in the estimation of wicked men, they were spiritually wise, strong, rich, and glorious in the sight of God. A remarkable idea is expressed in the last verse. The "wretched and obscure" are represented as saying

> "On all the kings of earth
> With pity we look down."

The thrones, sceptres, crowns, mighty titles, and powers of the earth exciting pity, not desire. Was there ever a stranger idea? It is one of our Founder's grandest thoughts. Had it been put in a grand shape, it would not pass so unnoticed as now. The topic of the hymn is treated more in a prosaic than a poetic manner. The

thoughts are all good, but the expression is too tame for the sublime topic, namely, the dignity of the Christian. Are the "simple souls" present? The address to them is not stirring enough, not attractive enough to catch—at least, not hold—the attention of a wicked, mocking, and turbulent part of an audience. Are they absent? or only present to the poet's or hymn-maker's imagination? Then the appeal is an apostrophe—one of the boldest and most hazardous, but, when successful, most effective figures which oratory can use—and has nothing of the figure but the form.

The best of the original hymns is usually called the Pilgrim, and begins "How happy is the pilgrim's lot." It has always been a favorite, and is still with the Methodist people. It was written when the Methodist name was as a stink in the nostrils of the English nation, and seems to describe something of the writer's own personal history. Indeed, the hymn is a descriptive poem of the happiness of the pilgrims, and is without praise and without prayer, excepting the two last lines:

> "Now, O my Saviour, Brother, Friend,
> Receive me to thy breast."

Hymns for public worship should be, certainly, addresses to the Great Object of worship, in the shape of adorations, prayers, or thanksgivings. Mere description or declaration does not seem the right poetry for congregational worship. Still, the hymn may be used as an address to the Almighty, although there is no object mentioned. The first verse is a declaration of the happiness of the Christian traveling to the skies, as "free from every anxious thought," and utters a bold and great thought of the traveler that

> "His soul disdains on earth to dwell,
> He only sojourns here."

The multitudes, high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, "dwell" here; he only "sojourns." They love earth as their home; he "disdains" it. The second verse has a striking and singular thought. Who can bear unpopularity? Who can endure public contempt? But the pilgrim is made to say that he is

> "*Blest* with the scorn of finite good."

A strange blessing! None but the good and great are indifferent to popular applause, or hold it in contempt. A fine picture of contempt of popularity may be seen in Shakspeare's "Coriolanus." I am reminded of that fine passage of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield's speech, in pronouncing a very unpopular decision:

"I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong, upon this occasion, to gain the huzzas of thousands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press. I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow."

And truly the judge was "blest with the scorn" of the English people, who burned down his fine house in London; but so little effect was produced in him, that he declined presenting an account of his loss to the treasury, preferring loss to compensation! Mr. Wesley was a man of the same stamp, and of the same kind of greatness. The third verse contains a very great idea, further descriptive of the mind of the leader of the "sect everywhere spoken against." The world is full of seekers of places, riches, and enjoyments; but the pilgrim says:

> "Their honors, wealth, and pleasures mean,
> I neither have nor want."

In the sixth verse a feeling of aversion is expressed:

> "Nothing on earth I call my own:
> A stranger to the world unknown,
> I all their goods *despise:*
> I *trample* on their whole delight,
> And seek a city out of sight,
> A city in the skies."

These four or five ideas of the hymn correspond with the admirable definition of religion which the first Christians used to give. Were they asked, What was Christianity? They would answer that Christianity was a religion which taught all its followers to *despise* the world. The hymn is a fine expression of great Christian ideas and feelings; but as for the poetry, it differs little from prose but the form. So deficient is the hymn of imagination and passion, the two great ingredients of real poetry, that each verse could be thrown into a prosaic shape, and no one would suppose it ever looked like verse. But for the bad rhymes, making some little jingle, a stranger hearing the hymn read would not suppose he was hearing poetry. Our founder was of too cool and correct a nature, with far too little impulse and imagination, for a poet. He was the best prose writer, but his brother Charles was *the* poet. Probably the suggestion was rather Charles Wesley's than John's, that the collections of hymns should have no mark to distinguish one brother's compositions from the other's. If so, the brotherly affection of Charles is seen, in covering his brother with his own wings.

III. As occupying another department of literary labor, namely, as a publisher and writer of RELIGIOUS TRACTS. In those days

religious tract societies had no existence, and religious tracts were very few. The practice of giving away such tracts among the multitudes was begun by the early Methodist preachers. One of the tracts is called "A Word to a Sabbath-Breaker," and is a short, warm, and affectionate address to a person who does not remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Another tract is, "A Word to a Swearer." Mr. Wesley considered common swearing and perjury the prevailing sins of the English nation. He asks, "In what country is there to be heard, in such abundance,

> 'The horrid oath, the direful curse,
> (That latest weapon of the wretch's war!)
> And blasphemy, sad comrade of despair!'"

"Comrade of despair! so it used to be in other countries, but in ours it is the comrade of mirth and jollity. We daily curse and swear, and blaspheme the Most High, merely by way of diversion, almost from the highest to the lowest. Nobility, gentry, tradesmen, peasants, blaspheme the worthy name by which we are called, without provocation and without remorse." (Serious Address to the People of England, in 1778.) Cotemporary writings bear evidence to the prevalence of the vice; for instance, some of the writings of Smollet. And as for perjury, the writer of the tract calls it a "flood," "which so increases among us day by day, the like whereunto is not to be found in any other part of the habitable world." (Advice to an Englishman.) By perjury he means not only false witness, but the neglect of duties sworn to be observed. A third tract is "A Word to a Drunkard," and is not only faithful in reproving, but affectionate in entreating. He was never in despair of reclaiming drunkards. "'Sinners of every sort,' said a venerable clergyman, 'have I frequently known converted to God; but an habitual drunkard have I never known converted.' But I have known five hundred, perhaps five thousand." (Sermon on the Duty of Reproving our Neighbor.) Mr. Wesley's commiseration reached to the fallen and unchaste woman, and he wrote a tract entitled "A Word to an Unhappy Woman." He urges the miserable and criminal to resolve, "I will not sell my soul and body for bread; better even starve on earth than burn in hell." As harlots received the Gospel in the days of Christ, perhaps some were brought to repentance by this tract. A fifth tract is called "A Word to a Smuggler." One of the Methodist rules is against smuggling or receiving smuggled goods — a very common and popular custom formerly on the eastern and southern coasts of England. He considered "run" goods as cheating the revenue,

and thereby cheating the country, which by increased taxes must make up the deficiency. "A smuggler, then, (and, in proportion, a seller or buyer of uncustomed goods,) is a thief of the first order, a highwayman or pickpocket of the worst sort." The tract is very useful in showing the evils of the illicit traffic, and in answering the objections of such as considered it a justifiable and not dishonorable employment. Another tract is called, "A Word to a Condemned Malefactor." Mr. Wesley used to visit some of the jails and labor with the prisoners, especially such as were condemned to death. The seventh tract is "A Word in Season; or, Advice to an Englishman." It was written in the time when Charles Stuart and Scotland were in rebellion against the house of Hanover. The English nation was alarmed. Says the writer:

"We would have war, and we have it. And what is the fruit? Our armies broken in pieces, and thousands of our men either killed on the spot, or made prisoners in one day. Nor is this all. We have now war at our own doors, our own countrymen turning their swords against their brethren. And have any hitherto been able to stand before them? Have they not already seized upon one whole kingdom?" (that is, Scotland.) "Think what is likely to follow, if an army of French also should blow the trumpet in our land!"

The advice he gives to "brethren, countrymen, Englishmen," is "making God our friend; the securing his help against our enemies." The eighth tract is "A Word to a Protestant." The aim of the writer is to convict the high pretending Protestant of having Papist principles—of being "a rank Papist in his heart," seeing he trusts in his good works, worships money, and persecutes those of other opinions and practice in religion; and salvation by works, idolatry of worship, and persecution of other sects, are distinguishing traits of Popery. The next tract was written in 1747, when on his western journey and in the city of Exeter. Says he: "While we stayed here to dry our clothes, (after riding several hours in the rain,) I took the opportunity of writing 'A Word to a Freeholder.'" The general election was coming on. When he came to St. Ives—

"I spoke severally to all those who had votes in the ensuing election. I found them all such as I desired. No one would even eat and drink at the expense of him for whom he voted. Five guineas had been given to W. C., but he returned them immediately. T. M. positively refused anything; and when he understood that his mother had received money privately, he could not rest till she gave him the three guineas, which he instantly sent back."

Here we see that the disgrace of corrupt representation existed then as now. Voters were willing to receive money, and candidates were willing to give it. The design of the tract was to purify the fountain-head, and to urge electors to vote, not for money, but

from conscience, and for the man who loves God, seeing he must be a lover of his country. The last of the tracts now preserved is "Advice to a Soldier." Mr. Wesley had a great regard for the soldiers of the nation. Often had he congregations from the regiments in different quarters. Many of the soldiers were members of his societies, and some were preachers of the gospel, as John Haime, Wm. Clement, Samson Staniforth. The soldier is faithfully and affectionately warned and advised to repent and forsake his sins.

"Or do you fancy a soldier has nothing to do with judgment? Will you say, then, (as poor Captain Uratz did when he was asked, a few minutes before his death, if he had made his peace with God,) 'I hope God will deal with me like a gentleman'? But God said unto him, 'Thou fool! I will deal with thee as with all mankind. There is no respect of persons with me: I reward every man according to his works.'"

These tracts show the desire of our founder to be useful to all classes, even the most degraded and criminal. As literary compositions, they exhibit his own energetic, plain, pointed, and concise style, as well as any of his writings. These few religious tracts may be regarded as the precursors of that species of literature now so common and so useful to the lower classes of society.

IV. We may next take notice of another kind of literary work. He took upon himself, for the sake of the poorer classes, to act as EDITOR OF OTHER MEN'S WORKS, and revised, corrected, and abridged as he saw occasion, and published in the cheapest manner. He was also a *translator* of some prose works into the English language. As abridger, corrector, and translator, he brought (as Mr. Jackson says) an "astonishing mass of information within the reach of general readers, and of comparatively poor people." The first publication he issued was a "Collection of Forms of Prayer," accompanied with an excellent preface and questions for daily self-examination. It was printed in 1733, ("the first time I ventured to print anything," says he in his Journal, May, 1765,) and designed for the use of his pupils. The prayers are very devout and methodical compositions, breathing the self-denial of the gospel as portrayed by Thomas à Kempis, and containing some very fine passages. In 1735 he published Kempis's "Christian Pattern, or a Treatise on the Imitation of Christ." He used a translation from the Latin of the year 1677, but compared it with the original and rendered the English plainer and more correct. He also added a long and useful preface. This work of the monk of the fifteenth century has never been superseded—is still alone, like the Iliad of Homer, or the Paradise Lost of Milton—and yet moves the intelligent reader

to admiration and wonder. Whoever fervently desires to be an imitator of the self-renunciation of Jesus Christ, what can he read better, next to the Holy Scriptures? In 1739 he published Dr. Barnes's Treatises on Justification and the Sinfulness of the Will. In 1740 he issued Serious Considerations of Election and Reprobation; and in 1741 another work on Predestination, Election, and Reprobation, with Norris's Reflections on the Conduct of Human Life, the Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Haliburton, the Life of Monsieur de Renty, and a short account of Mrs. Hannah Richardson. The next two years, his labors as a preacher were so great that he seems to have issued only a treatise on Christian Perfection; but in 1744 he published Mr. Law's Call to a Holy Life, Count Zinzendorf's Discourses on Redemption, a work on the Life of God in the Soul of Man, with Jon. Edwards's Work of God in New England, and his Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God. In 1745 came out another of Edwards's works on the Revival of Religion in New England, with the Case of John Nelson, and Baxter's Aphorisms of Justification. In 1746 he published the Nature and Design of Christianity, Lessons for Children, and a tract on the Death of Sam. Hitchens, a Cornish Miner. From 1747 to 1749 he issued several works of other authors, particularly eight or nine Latin religious works, a translation from the German of Franck's Fear of Man, a translation from the French of the Manners of the Ancient Christians, with Norris on Christian Prudence.

And now began Mr. Wesley's greatest work as an editor, namely, "*A Christian Library*, consisting of Extracts from, and Abridgments of, the Choicest Pieces of Practical Divinity which have been published in the English Tongue. In fifty volumes." This great work was begun in 1749 and ended in 1755. The object was "to provide a complete library for those that fear God." (Letter to Mr. Blackwell in 1748.) The authors selected from were mostly of the Church of England.

"'Is not your Christian Library an odd collection of mutilated writings of Dissenters of all sorts?' No. In the first ten volumes there is not a line from any Dissenter of any sort; and the greatest part of the remaining forty is extracted from Archbishop Leighton, Bishops Taylor, Patrick, Ken, Reynolds, Sanderson, and other ornaments of the Church of England."—*Letter to Mr. T. H.*

The Library contained such works as the Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, Foxe's Christian Martyrs, the Whole Duty of Man, Whateley's Directions to Married Persons, Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, with extracts (besides those named) from such authors as Bishop Hall, Tillotson, Bolton, Preston, Sibbs. It was a fine

idea to sift the mass of English practical divinity, and give only the fine flour to the people. But the undertaking was not very well patronized; and when finished there was a loss of above two hundred pounds. The publisher, however, consoled himself with the thought, that "perhaps the next generation might know the value of it." The next generation has come and gone; and another has come, and still the worth of the Christian Library is not appreciated, or it would be constantly republishing.

While this work was proceeding, he had not much leisure for publishing other works. Yet he issued a few, and among them (strange to say!) was "The Complete English Dictionary, explaining most of the hard words which are found in the best English writers." In this dictionary, the explanation of the word Methodist is, "One that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible." From the ending of the Christian Library to the end of his life, he still attended to the useful works of other men, and published, with such alterations as he judged best, such as he believed would be useful. The editor of his works has a list of above sixty publications issued after 1755.

One of the most important of these is the Life of Madame Guion —a remarkable Frenchwoman, who combined error with piety in an uncommon manner. The publisher says: "I know not whether we may not search many centuries to find a woman who was such a pattern of true holiness," and yet she was fruitful in mistakes of religion, because she made not the Scriptures the sole rule of her actions, but "inward impression, which she called inspiration, was her primary rule." Her biography is full of interest—republished and newly edited in the United States, some years ago—serving both as a warning and an example.

Another of the excellent works which Mr. Wesley edited and republished was Mr. Henry Brooke's "Fool of Quality; or, the History of Henry Earl of Moreland." The editor expunged a good deal of useful but unattractive matter, as breaking the story too much, and delaying the reader's consummation of gratification. The book is full of noble and pathetic thoughts and events, expressed and described in the purest and correctest style. The prime character is Henry, the "fool" of the "Quality," because his sentiments and principles are so natural and noble, and his conduct so artless and good, that some of the English nobility did not understand him, and set him down as a "natural." After several times reading the book, the writer joins his humble opinion to Mr. Wesley's, that Henry "is one of the most beautiful pictures that ever was drawn in the world." "And I know not who can survey it with tearless eyes

unless he has a heart of stone." Whoever is prone and loves to shed tears of admiration on beholding the noble and excellent in human conduct, may obtain a fine feast from this now almost unknown and neglected book.

Two medical works were also republished. One was Dr. Tissot's "Advice with respect to Health," a little work which is yet known, and which has diffused much useful information on health among the Methodists. The other was Dr. Cadogan's "Dissertation on the Gout and all Chronic Diseases." In the preface, Mr. Wesley takes objection to a principle of the book that there are no hereditary diseases, particulary no hereditary gout:

"The far greater part of our chronic diseases are, doubtless, contracted by ourselves. But not all. I am a living witness of the contrary, even with regard to the gout itself. Those who know me do not charge me with intemperance, either in meat or drink. I am not indolent. I never travel much less than five thousand miles in a year. And I bless God I have no violent passions, yet I have within these thirty years had frequently the gout (of which my father was frequently ill, and my mother died)—nine or ten times."

In thus abridging and altering the best works of the times, both prose and poetry, and issuing them in a portable and cheap form, Mr. Wesley began a practice which is now common among the book societies of different religious denominations—a practice useful enough, perhaps, to common and unlearned readers, but liable to the gravest objection of the authors and the critical.

V. We may not only view our founder as a reviser and publisher of others' works, but as a COMPILER—gathering materials on a given subject from various works, methodizing them according to his own judgment, expressing the ideas mostly in his own language, and occasionally adding an original opinion or remark to what he gathered. Nor is compilation a contemptible employment in the paths of literature; if so, most authors are liable to the contempt, seeing most books have more or less of what was in other works before. The press is continually pouring out streams of ideas; ideas new to, or cast afresh for, the present generation; not new-born ideas first from the womb of the mind of man; but newly discovered ideas, newly clothed, newly positioned. The multitude of new books is mostly like new rain, which is not new water but only new drops. In regard to the substance (and originality also) of books, how true and striking is the remark of Mr. Addison:

"Were all books reduced to their quintessence, many a bulky author would make his appearance in a penny paper; there would scarcely be such a thing in nature as a folio; the works of an age would be contained on a few shelves; not to mention millions of volumes that would be utterly annihilated."—*Spectator.*

One of the useful works which Mr. Wesley compiled was on the subject of electricity, and entitled "The Desideratum, or Electricity made plain and useful." Says he: "I have endeavored to comprise the sum of what has been published on this curious and important subject." He regarded electricity as the "general and rarely-failing remedy in nervous cases of every kind (palsies except) as well as in many others." To the sick his advice often was, "Be electrified." Another of his compilations was his "Primitive Physic, or an easy and natural Method of curing most Diseases," and furnishing receipts for the common maladies. The little unpretending work had twenty-three editions in the author's lifetime, and is still used and much esteemed. A third work was the "Compendium of Natural Philosophy," (in five volumes,) or an account of the visible creation, "to display the amazing power, wisdom, and goodness of the great Creator; to warm our hearts, and to fill our mouths with wonder, love, and praise." So useful and entertaining is this work, that the large number of newer publications have scarcely superseded it entirely. Until lately, it was one of the text-books of the candidates for the Methodist ministry in the United States and Canada; and far is it from certainty that a more suitable book has been provided.

A fourth work is "A Concise Ecclesiastical History from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the present Century," in four volumes. He was often urged to compile such a history, but objected his want of time. "Abridging," says he, "I might possibly have found time for, but I knew no history worth abridging," until he saw Dr. Mosheim's, in the Latin, and then Dr. Maclaine's translation into the English. Mr. Wesley made his own history out of his own translations from Mosheim and abridgments from Maclaine. All critical readers of Maclaine's translation know how faulty is the style for a history. The sentences are often far too long, spun out with abundance of unnecessary words, and glittering too much with metaphor and other rhetorical ornament. Mr. Wesley objected to the style, displaying so many "Ciceronian periods," which, however allowable in oratory, are highly unfit for history—Sallust, not Cicero, being the standard of the historical style. The Concise Church History seems to have had no great success, and is now a work scarcely ever to be seen.

A fifth compilation was civil history, viz., of Rome and of England. The first is called "A Short Roman History," and was short indeed. The compiler sums up the vast Roman history in about a hundred and fifty pages. The second was entitled, "A Concise History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George

II," and embraced four volumes. It was "extracted chiefly from Dr. Goldsmith, Rapin, and Smollet, only with various corrections and additions." What is not much seen in history in general, Mr. Wesley made to appear conspicuously in his, namely, a recognition of a Providence "in all civil events as well as in all the phenomena of nature." These two histories are no longer in use, and are displaced by later—certainly not by more religious works.

The most important compilation, or work of Mr. Wesley's editing, was the famous *Arminian Magazine*, consisting of Extracts and Original Treatises of Universal Redemption." This work was begun in 1778, and he was engaged in it until his death in 1791. The magazine was called Arminian from James Arminius, the great Dutch opponent of Calvinism in Holland, whose writings are an impassable bulwark for the doctrine of Christ dying for every man. There were other religious magazines which took the Calvinistic side, and the new work was designed as a counteractive. The magazine consisted of four parts: first, the controversial pages; secondly, biography of eminently religious persons; thirdly, pious letters of (mostly) living persons; and fourthly, poetry, original and selected. The work was well received, and gained immediately a solid foundation. In the second volume two other attractions were added, namely, the pictures, and some accounts of the most useful or remarkable preachers. Some of the pious readers were this year offended with the insertion of Prior's poem of "Henry and Emma." The editor replies that, though the poem is not religious, there is nothing contrary to religion in it; that it is "one of the finest poems in the English tongue, both for sentiment and language, and whoever can read it without tears must have a stupid and unfeeling heart." Still, he promises to keep out such poems in future. Also, for the sake of variety, he agrees to insert occasionally "several little pieces that are not immediately connected with my main design." In the fourth volume, he replies to the old objection, namely, want of variety. But he refuses to go further, and says he will not "fill up any publication of his with bits and scraps, to humor any one living." "If any one wishes to rather read a hundred incoherent shreds, he may suit himself in abundance of authors." However, he agrees to add three other departments, namely, sermons, obituaries, and pieces illustrative of the wisdom of God in the creation. In 1784, he was surprised that the magazine still increased in circulation. Twelve hundred subscribers were added in two years. He now agrees to make the controversial part less prominent, and to alter the title to "consisting *chiefly* of extracts and treatises on universal redemption." Afterward, the magazine gave

general satisfaction, and no more important alterations were made during the life of the first editor. And the magazine so began continues—with some changes in the departments suitable to the changing times—to the present day, a blessing to the people, but especially to the ministry. Among all the fluctuations in the religious periodicals in England, the Methodist magazine has stood firmly, and has helped greatly to preserve and increase the solidity of the Methodist body.

VI. The youth of the times engaged the attention of Mr. Wesley, who for their instruction prepared some ELEMENTARY BOOKS—a branch of literature for which, as a tutor, he was well qualified. The first book he prepared was a short English Grammar, published in 1748, being merely the substance of Etymology, omitting altogether Syntax and Prosody. Next, he printed a short French Grammar, which he began to write when at Kingswood in 1750. The next was a short Latin Grammar, but much larger than either of the others. The fourth was a short Greek Grammar, which is longer than the Latin. The fifth is a short Hebrew Grammar, which he was engaged in preparing the week after his marriage. These grammars were fit for any schools, but were designed for the Kingswood School, near Bristol—a school for the sons of Methodists and of the preachers—and no doubt were very useful when elementary books were scarce, with the assistance of a teacher, but are hardly sufficient for self-instruction. Another of the elementary books was a Compendium of Logic. A Latin treatise on logic, by Dean Aldrich, was in vogue. When in Wales, in 1750, and waiting for the ebbing of the tide, Mr. Wesley sat down in a little cottage and translated it. The author of the Compendium was well acquainted with the intricate art, and was very expert in the use of it, as all his argumentative works show; as well as his honest boasting in his reply to Dr. Erskine, who provoked the usually calm man by saying that he was "no novice in the arts of subtlety and disguise." Again: "I find little else than that shifting, at which Mr. Wesley is so singularly expert." Replies Mr. Wesley:

"For several years I was Moderator in the disputations which were held six times a week in Lincoln College, in Oxford. I could not avoid acquiring hereby some degree of expertness in arguing, and especially in discerning and pointing out well covered and plausible fallacies. I have since found abundant reason to praise God for giving me this honest art. By this when men have hedged me in by what they called demonstrations, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces; in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay, and it flew open in a moment. This is the art which I have used with Bishop Warburton, as well as in the preceding pages [that is, to Dr. Erskine.] When Dr. Erskine twisted truth and falsehood to-

gether, in many of his propositions, it was by this art I untwisted the one from the other, and showed just how far each was true. At doing this, I bless God, I am expert, as those will find who attack me without rhyme or reason."—*Remarks on a Defense of Aspasia Vindicated.*

Methodism is greatly indebted to its founder's logic. It was the aggressive sword by which the opponents of the system were overthrown and cut down; or, it was the defensive shield which warded off the massive spear, or, in flying combat, the arrows of the enemy. Mr. Wesley highly valued logic, and thought, for the vocation of a clergyman, nothing "in the whole compass of science to be desired in comparison of it." (Address to the Clergy.) He sharply reproved them for their ignorance of the art, and their stupid way of covering their ignorance, in the following self-examination:

"Am I a tolerable master of the sciences? Have I gone through the gate of them, Logic? If not, I am not likely to go much farther, when I stumble at the threshhold. Do I understand it so as to be ever the better for it? to have it always ready for use, so as to apply every rule of it, when occasion is, almost as naturally as I turn my hand? Do I understand it at all? Are not even the words and figures above my comprehension? Do not I poorly endeavor to cover my ignorance by affecting to laugh at their barbarous names? Can I even reduce an indirect mood to a direct? an hypothetical to a catagorical syllogism? Rather, have not my stupid ignorance and laziness made me very ready to believe what the little wits and pretty gentlemen affirm, that Logic is good for nothing."

The Compendium is, as it professes, a mere summary. The first book contains three short chapters on simple terms, propositions, and syllogisms. Each chapter has several short sections, and each section is divided into several paragraphs. Thus methodically are the separate parts arranged, making the compendium an illustration as well as a treatise of logic. Book second contains three chapters on the matter of syllogisms, fallacies, and method. And there is an appendix of the manner of using logic, from Bishop Sanderson. The compendium is only twenty-seven pages, and may serve a resolute student just as well, if not better, than one of the elaborate treatises; for, to learn logic, reading is not so necessary as thinking; and a short treatise of rules, with brief examples, is best for reflection and the memory.

Art. IV.—HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

1. *Hyperion;* a Romance.
2. *Kavanagh;* a Tale.
3. *Poems,* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1854.
4. *The Song of Hiawatha.* By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855.
5. *The Courtship of Miles Standish,* and other Poems. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

Some one, we think the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, has called New England "the brains of America." With her sterile soil and desolate hills, she certainly has produced more than her share of the talent of the country. Not only has she sent abroad from her populous loins the founders of already flourishing empires, but she has also retained at home, in the various professions, men of goodly stature. A distinguished statesman of the present day, perhaps we should say notorious politician, has alluded to her as "a good place to be born in, *provided* one emigrates soon enough;" ye opine it is not a *bad* place to be reared in, judging by the handsome array of talent she has generally exhibited, and the noble line of illustrious men she has already given to history. The two Adamses, notwithstanding their conceded idiosyncracies, would have been men of mark in any times and anywhere. Edwards, Dwight, and Olin, however they may have differed on minor points, were in the main worthy theologians of a blessed religion. Story, with his judicial learning, and Webster, with his vast knowledge of constitutional and international law, have each a wider and more enduring reputation than any other of our countrymen, Washington always excepted.

With such predecessors to incite, and many rising cotemporaries to urge him on, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, February 27th, 1807; he is consequently now some fifty-two years of age. At the early age of fourteen he was matriculated freshman in Bowdoin College, and was graduated with honor in 1825. His parents intending him for the bar, he was soon put to the study of law; he pursued the usual curriculum of his profession, and was even admitted to practice; but his Alma Mater, soon after, calling him to the professorship of ancient and modern languages, he took counsel with his inclinations and bade the law farewell forever. With his poetic temperament, he doubtless found the details of jurisprudence irksome and its spirit too exacting; for

the law is mostly a jealous mistress, and is wont to look with indifferent glance on all who presume to address her with divided attentions. Lords Brougham and Jeffrey, it is true, are notable exceptions, but only such exceptions as prove a rule. To prepare himself for his professorship, he went to Europe in 1826, where he remained three or four years, visiting England, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. In 1835 he was elected professor of modern languages and literature in Harvard University, when he again visited Europe, no doubt for the same purpose as before. His travels were now extended into Denmark and Sweden, where he doubtless gathered much of the Scandinavian mythology that we find scattered through his works; and were turned again into Germany, for which country he seems to have had a decided liking. Passing somewhat hastily through Switzerland and the Tyrol, he soon after returned to America, and repaired to his chair at Cambridge, where he still is, or *was* recently. Though the sale of his works has been large, and his profits certainly considerable, he yet retains his professorship; no doubt heeding the words of a brother poet,* who advises his craft to make literature a staff and not a crutch. We commend his industry to the guild of professors generally, who too often, out of their own departments, are genuine fossils of a past generation; we could name a dozen at once of our own acquaintance, who are certainly creditable linguists and fine mathematicians, but who, for all other purposes, are like men asleep or children in the dark. Mr. Longfellow, though in the first university of the country, not only fills his chair with ability, but also finds time to write volumes of poetry, much of it so sweet and melodious as to defy the hypercritic's censure.

The volumes at the head of this article comprise all, we believe, that Mr. Longfellow has published which is noteworthy. Of these, Hyperion and Kavanagh are tales in prose. The latter is a commonplace story, not worth repeating, and we only notice it here to condemn its covert sneers at religion. The former, however, is a well-written tale, with many touching scenes and admirable descriptions. It is pervaded with a kindly analysis and a genial appreciation of European art, character, and scenery, and able judges pronounce it more poetical than much of his poetry. The two volumes of his poems are made up chiefly of sweet-tongued lyrics, written originally for various periodicals; and Evangeline, his first epic, we believe, of consequence. The volume fourth on the list is his singular epic, about which the critics quarreled so much some four years ago; we shall notice it more at length hereafter. The

* Sir Walter Scott.

fifth contains the old familiar New England anecdote of John Alden's vicarious wooing, transfigured into poetry, and a number of exquisite lyrics, the most of which originally appeared as contributions to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Let us examine each of his epics separately, and afterward consider his lyrics, and then conclude with such general criticism as the subject demands.

"Evangeline" is a pathetic tale, founded on the expatriation of the French population of Acadia, now Nova Scotia, by the English government in 1764, soon after that portion of the continent passed into its possession. This peninsula was settled by emigrants, for the most part from Normandy, who retained and cherished their French customs and prejudices, and when, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, it was transferred to England, the colonists submitted to their new rulers with a grace that boded little loyalty. To rid themselves of future trouble, the English determined to confiscate their possessions, and transport the inhabitants of the province to other lands; this determination was cruelly carried out, and Evangeline and her lover, one Gabriel Lajeunesse, become eminent sufferers thereby, being separated for years, and never meeting until Gabriel lies upon his death-bed. She has only time then to whisper "Gabriel, my beloved!" and exchange glances of perpetual remembrance, when he passes away. This sad tale is told by the poet with much sweetness and pathos, but the progress of the narrative is slow and at times even heavy. This last results partly from the unfortunate meter, which we shall notice at length in speaking of "The Courtship of Miles Standish," and partly from the author's natural genius; Mr. Longfellow's luxuriant fancy is continually leading him into beautiful but lengthy and unnecessary descriptions, where the thread of the narrative is lost in the wilderness of words and pictures. We instance the opening of the second book of Part II., which has frequently been cited as one of the finest passages in the poem. We thought to give it entire, but unfortunately have not space for it; for we consider it, not only one of the best passages in Evangeline, but also a fair specimen of Mr. Longfellow's average defects and graces. No one can read it without being struck with its perspicuity and beauty; neither, however, without detecting its superfluity of metaphor and almost infinite division of thought.

"The Song of Hiawatha" is a unique poem, intended to embalm in verse the American Indian. When first published, it was received by the public generally with a damnatory smile, and a hundred amusing parodies went laughing through the papers; there were a few, however, who demurred to this treatment, and one critic in particular, we recollect, of more than ordinary acumen, who pro-

nounced it a well-written poem, which would eventually take its position by the side of the Iliad, the Æneid, and the other great epics of our race. Some four years have elapsed since then, but the judgment of the public has not materially altered. The poem itself is founded on a tradition prevalent among the North American Indians, of a personage of miraculous birth, who was sent among them to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing-grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace. He was known among different tribes by the several names of Michabou, Chiabo, Manabozo, Lanengawagon, and Hiawatha. Mr. Schoolcraft gives an account of him in his *Algic Researches*, vol. i, p. 134; and in his *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Part III, p. 314, may be found the Iroquois form of the tradition, derived from the narrations of an Onondaga chief. Into this old tradition Mr. Longfellow has woven other curious Indian legends, drawn chiefly from the various and valuable writings of Mr. Schoolcraft, to whom the world is greatly indebted for rescuing from oblivion so much of the legendary lore of the Indians. Hiawatha is, in substance, the aborigines' Redeemer, his Lord Christ, announcing to the tribes good tidings which shall be unto all Red Men. With this leading idea on which to hang his fancies, Mr. Longfellow paints manners and customs, habits, feelings, and modes of thought, which he alleges to be Indian, and truly extracts every drop of poetry in the aboriginal character. We have never thought there was much poetry in the Indian, notwithstanding the Arcadian descriptions of philanthropic panegyrists; but all there was, and *is*, we may safely say, Mr. Longfellow has condensed into his Song of Hiawatha. So far as the subject matter is a work of art, we deem it a well-executed romance, containing a great deal of the poet but very little of the Indian; apart from its outlandish phraseology, it would pass very well for a rehearsal of the deeds of a Hebrew patriarch or a Grecian demi-god. Most of the rudeness, and roughness, and barbarity of savage life is excluded, and many graces and virtues are introduced which the savage never possessed. So far as the mechanical construction of the poem is concerned, we deem its meter astonishing, and can scarcely condemn it too severely. We are surprised that a poet of any pretensions should choose a measure so provocative of looseness of thought and slovenliness of style, especially that *he* should do so who, it is understood, aspires to the American laurel; but we are far more surprised that he should attempt to conjure poetry out of such hideous patronymics as Adjidaumo, Dushkwoneshe, Kabibonokka, Mahnahbezee, Neebanawbaigs, and Showainnemeshin; or to extract it from such

inspiring animals as Yenadizze, *the dandy*, Pahpukkeena, *the grasshopper*, Kokokoho, *the owl*, and Dahinda, *the bull-frog*. Intractable as are the real materials, however, Mr. Longfellow so veneers and varnishes them with his learning and fancy, that the poem is not without a certain dreamy and autumnal beauty; there are numerous passages, indeed, of much delicacy and tenderness, which, if emancipated from their meter, and removed from their companions, would be received with respect and even admiration anywhere; but on reading the poem, as a whole, we are compelled to say, we have always been painfully impressed with the great waste of sweetness on such desert air. The truth is, the Indian is simply an Indian, a bloodthirsty savage, rude to his wife and family, cruel to his enemies, with few domestic attachments and crude religious ones, and is altogether about as destitute of the golden robe with which it has been sought to invest him, as any other combination of flesh and blood that ever walked the earth. The past history of the world, we are sure, affords no proper representative of him; the Goth and the Hun, that desolated the plains of Italy, with little respect for religion and none for art, with all their alleged barbarity, were great improvements on him. Where are his *poetic* elements? What felicities are there in his miserable life? What is there in his comfortless wigwam to correspond to our idea of home? Or what in his degraded squaw and wretched papoose to answer to our blessed ideas of wife and child? Over these dark features Mr. Longfellow very wisely hangs the vail of his silence, though well aware—no one better than he—that on these relations with us the best poetry of the language exhausts itself, without doing them a tithe of justice. We hope there will be no more glorification of our aborigines, or at least not until some better grounds are produced whereon to base it. Our historians have told their tale, and our poets sung their dirge, and posterity will doubtless receive both as the golden traditions of American mythology, about as credible as the battle of the Titans, the labors of Hercules, or the exploits of Thor. We very much fear, that the sober voice of truth will proclaim him to the future as a wild and vagabond savage, generally about as incapable of civilization as the panther and the bear—the one as sly and bloodthirsty, and the other as saturnine and revengeful, as himself—that once inhabited our forests with him. Mr. Longfellow, at least, seems to think so now, since he has had four years more to reflect upon it; for now we hear him saying, in "The Courtship of Miles Standish:"

> "Truly the only tongue that is understood by a savage
> Must be the tongue of fire that speaks from the mouth of the cannon,
> Steady, straight-forward, and strong, with irresistible logic,
> Orthodox, flashing conviction right into the hearts of the heathen."

Although we have already given undue space to the Song of Hiawatha, we make two brief quotations therefrom, which we think contain great pathos and beauty. The first occurs in his introduction, and expresses beautifully, though, after his style, somewhat verbosely, the great thought of history:

> "Every human heart is human;
> And in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings
> For the good they comprehend not,
> And the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> *Touch God's right hand in that darkness,*
> *And are lifted up and strengthened.*"

The second is taken from Book XX., which describes the famine and the pestilence, brought upon the children of the forest by a winter of unusual severity:

> "O the long and dreary winter!
> O the cold and cruel winter!
> Hardly from his buried wigwam
> Could the hunter force a passage;
> With his mittens and his snow-shoes,
> Vainly walked he through the forest,
> Sought for bird or beast and found none.
> O the famine and the fever!
> O the wasting of the famine!
> O the blasting of the fever!
> O the wailing of the children!
> O the anguish of the women!
> *All the earth was sick and famished;*
> *Hungry was the air around them,*
> *Hungry was the sky above them,*
> *And the hungry stars in heaven*
> *Like the eyes of wolves glared at them!*"

We think this passage, artistically considered, the best in the poem, and one of the best in his entire writings; it has little of the plethoric redundancy that mars so many of his pages, and presents a most vivid picture of the wretchedness and suffering among savage tribes when deprived of their ordinary recourse to the forest and the stream. The whole of Book XX., indeed, suffused as it is with anguish, and closing with the death and burial of the gentle Minnehaha, is one of touching beauty, and will well repay a careful perusal.

"The Courtship of Miles Standish," if not wholly a failure, is, at least, not so decided a success as the Boston coterie would have us believe. From the flourish of trumpets with which its publication was heralded, we fondly expected that it would add greatly to Mr. Longfellow's fame, and remove in a measure from our literature the odium of having no national poem. Now that the thunder of panegyric has

somewhat subsided, we are sorry to discover there is no probability of its doing either. The most we can charitably hope is that it will not detract from his and our former reputation. The subject of the poem is not without its poetic elements; though this, we believe, has been denied by apologetic critics. Miles Standish, the hero of the poem, who had fought in Flanders, afterward emigrates with the Puritans to America, and there becomes the famous Captain of Plymouth, commander-in-chief of an army of thirteen, himself included. Here he loses his wife, Rose Standish, "beautiful rose of love;" and though he had lived with her through many years of happy wedlock, he soon becomes enamored of Priscilla Mullins, a gentle creature, scarcely come to maidenhood, although he himself is a rough and burly veteran, well stricken in years. Of course the venerable lover is quite disinterested:

> "She is *alone* in the world; her father and mother and brother
> Died in the winter together,"

and *he* would furnish her with a comfortable home! Kind old heart! So, after the wont of widowers, he deputes a third party, John Alden the fair-haired, his stripling nephew, to conduct his courtship for him. Unfortunately, John has himself warmed toward Priscilla, and she in turn, *as* unfortunately, has warmed toward him. The upshot of the vicarious courtship is, that the nephew carries off the maiden, and the burly uncle consoles himself with the reflection,

> "I should have remembered the adage:
> 'If you would be well served, you must serve yourself;' and moreover,
> 'No man can gather cherries in Kent at the season of Christmas!'"

We commend the brace of adages to the attention of lovers generally, and of aged ones particularly. At the conclusion of the marriage ceremony John Alden, "the thoughtful," "from a stall near at hand," brings out "a snow-white steer!" covered with crimson cloth, and with a cushion for a saddle, whereon Priscilla gayly mounts and rides like a queen" (!!) to her newly acquired home. All hail, Priscilla! Happy bride, to be content with a bovine nag! With no great admiration of such equestrianism, we are nevertheless well persuaded that there are elements in the Puritan history of a real, nay, of a great poem, were they but properly handled. The single-mindedness of the pilgrim fathers; the lofty purpose that impelled them to seek a home in the new and then unknown world; their long and dangerous voyage; the sterile and inhospitable shores on which they landed; the hardships of the climate and the hostility of the savage; their weak infancy; their slow but rugged growth, and now noble manhood—all conspire to make a theme admirably

adapted to the poet's pen. It is a theme, however, involving the gravest questions of human concern, treating as it does of the founding of a great commonwealth and the establishment of a persecuted religion; and therefore it requires a corresponding gravity in its treatment; but, instead of this, there lurks about this bepraised production of Mr. Longfellow's a grotesque humor, almost as inappropriate as laughter at a funeral. We know this feature has been commended by some, but surely without reason, if the poem is to be taken as a New England poem. We think it argues a want of appreciation of the rugged character of that "band of exiles," who voluntarily expatriated themselves and came hither, prepared to sacrifice everything, their lives even, to secure to their posterity the sacred rights of man. Their act was holy! Their lives were sublime! Mr. Longfellow seems to us to skim along the surface of their times, instead of descending into their solemn depths and there scanning the anxieties, tempered with unshrinking faith in God, that gave to their age such weight and significance. Compare almost any of his flippant pages with the burning lines of Whittier, in his description of a Puritan judge of the olden time, and see how much Miles Standish would have been improved by a like vigorous treatment. We quote a single passage for the benefit of the modern judiciary:

> "Wide as heaven and hell, contrast
> That brave old jurist of the past
> And the cunning trickster and knave of courts
> Who the holy features of truth distorts,
> Ruling as right the will of the strong,
> Poverty crime, and weakness wrong;
> Wide-eared to power, to the wronged and weak
> Deaf as Egypt's gods of leek;
> Scoffing aside, at party's nod,
> Order of nature and law of God;
> For whose dabbled ermine respect were waste,
> Reverence folly, and awe misplaced,
> Justice of whom 'twere vain to seek
> As from Koordish robber or Syrian Sheik!
> O! leave the wretch to his bribes and sins,
> Let him rot in the web of lies he spins!
> To the saintly soul of the early day,
> To the Christian judge let us turn and say:
> 'Praise and thanks for an honest man!
> Glory to God for the Puritan!'"

There are many passages in the "Courtship of Miles Standish," however, which show the work of an eminent artist. We have only space for two or three. The first is his limning of Miles Standish himself, on page 8:

"Short of stature, he was, but strongly built and athletic,
Broad in the shoulders, deep-chested, with muscles and sinews of iron;
Brown as a nut was his face, but his russet beard was already
Flaked with patches of snow, as hedges sometimes in November."

We think the clearly cut portraiture of this equaled only by the tranquil beauty of the following, from page 27:

"The blue-birds and robins are building
Towns in the populous trees, with hanging gardens of verdure,
Peaceful, aerial cities of joy and affection and freedom."

We have only space for another, of the genuine Puritan spirit, taken from pages 31, 32. John Alden, coming on his amatory embassy,

"Heard, as he drew near the door, the musical voice of Priscilla
Singing the hundredth Psalm, the grand old Puritan anthem,
Music that Luther sang to the sacred words of the Psalmist,
Full of the breath of the Lord, consoling and comforting many.
Then, as he opened the door, he beheld the form of the maiden
Seated beside her wheel, and *the carded wool like a snow-drift*
Piled at her knee, her white hands feeding the ravenous spindle,
While with her foot on the treadle she guided the wheel in its motion.
Open wide on her lap, lay the well worn psalm-book of Ainsworth,
Printed in Amsterdam, the words and the music together,
Rough-hewn, angular notes, like stones in the wall of a church-yard,
Darkened and overhung by the running vine of the verses."

Having thus noticed the subject-matter of the poem, we proceed now to its meter; this we think as much too heavy and hampering as that of Hiawatha is too trifling. The ancient hexameter has never been a favorite in our language, nor do we think its thorough naturalization possible. Its "first papers" were taken out now about two centuries ago, during the reign of Elizabeth; but it is still an alien and a stranger in our Parnassus, and will probably ever remain so. The English language is too monosyllabic for a verse which requires so large a proportion of dactyls; such a verse can only be constructed with us by a sacrifice either of accent or of beauty and compactness of expression, and sometimes of both. Its original introduction seems to have resulted from the joint efforts of Gabriel Harvey, Sir Philip Sydney, and others. At the instance of Harvey, Spenser, of the "Fairy Queen," tried his hand at the new kind of verse, but seems to have formed a rather poor opinion of it. We hear little more of it anywhere until 1783, when Voss tried it in Germany, in his translations of Homer, with indifferent success. In 1798 Goethe wrote his Herman and Dorothea; and soon after Southey reintroduced the hexameter into England. Attracting some attention at first, it soon fell into disuse, and was almost universally given up as a failure, when Mr. Long-

fellow, in 1847, brought out Evangeline. He had before used it in the translation from the Swedish of The Children of the Lord's Supper, but with no remarkable success. In Evangeline he measurably succeeded, because the theme was so fine that he could not entirely fail; yet even here his success was small, compared with what he had a right to expect from the intrinsic beauty and pathos of his subject. Evangeline is a sweet, sad tale, that would melt any heart not steeled against emotion. With all its defects of style, the story is skillfully and pathetically told, and contains many passages so sweet, in spite of their metrical shackles, that they seem like spirits imprisoned or angels in chains. Mr. Longfellow has tried the hexameter again in The "Courtship of Miles Standish," to which it was even less adapted than to Evangeline, and we sincerely hope for the last time. We deem the verse utterly intractable; and, to see how great a handicap it is to his genius, compare either of these poems with his other shorter pieces; both of these are difficult to read and impossible to remember; and, fine as may be their sentiments, the perpetual recurrence of the flatulent lines soon wearies and fatigues. Clough and Kingsley have both recently tried it, but, with all their acknowledged talents, neither of them has achieved even a tolerable success. Bothie and Andromeda, though instinct with genius, have both fallen almost still-born from the press, and we hope their chagrined authors will now abandon the hexameter to the fate it so well deserves. It has been on trial before the world for the last two centuries; the best poetic minds in that time have testified to its character, either by their total neglect of it or by their want of success when using it; and we think it full time that it should now, with all other refractory meters, be condemned and banished. We think, with honest Tom Nash, that it is "a drunken staggering kinde of verse, which is all up hill and down hill, like the waye betwixt Stamford and Beechfield, and goes like a horse plunging through the myre in the deep of winter, now soust up to the saddle, and straight aloft on his tiptoes!" In its construction we deem The Courtship of Miles Standish superior to both Evangeline and Hiawatha; the characters are defined more distinctly, and the narrative proceeds with less digression; but in sweetness and pathos it is surpassed by Evangeline.

From this consideration of these three poems, we conclude that Mr. Longfellow's attempt at the epic has failed to justify the reputation which his many admirers claim for him. In at least two of the three his subject has been excellent, but his treatment unfortunate. But while the epic muse thus frowns upon our bard, the lyric is proud to own him for her son; for, whatever may be said dispar-

agingly of his protracted compositions, his shorter ones have already taken high rank in the literature of the times, and are destined to maintain it. Wherever the English language is read and spoken, Longfellow's name is known and honored, but known and honored chiefly by his lyrics, and on *these* his reputation hereafter as a poet will undoubtedly depend. To be sure, a few appreciative scholars dissect Evangeline, detect its subtle beauty, and admire it. But who reads, or has read, Hiawatha? or, rather, who does not smile at its mention? And The Courtship of Miles Standish, with all the vociferations of a friendly clique at its appearance, is already fast gravitating into a like position. But what man is there, who reads at all, that does not remember some of his exquisite lyrics? Copied and recopied by the press, we meet them in all the highways and by-ways of literature, but, wherever met, always wearing the same modest garb and singing the same sweet and holy songs. His Hymn to the Night. Psalm of Life, Arsenal at Springfield, The Old Clock on the Stairs, The Day is Done, Midnight Mass for the Dying Year, Excelsior, Resignation, and indeed a score of pieces we might mention, are almost as familiar to the reading public as household words. In college addresses, we look for a portion of his Psalm of Life, or of his Excelsior, almost as certainly as we do for the usual sprinkling of Latin. In Fourth of July orations, his apostrophe to the Ship of State is always to be expected; and in funeral discourses, a stanza or two of his Resignation is usually employed to arch the mournful periods with a bow of promise. Nor is this popularity undeserved; for, in his own sphere, Mr. Longfellow has not been surpassed by any lyric writer of the century. Byron had more general genius, Burns more imagination and sympathy, and Moore greater verbal ingenuity; but in faith and morals, how low were their several attainments! No moralist, surely no Christian, can place the writings of either in the hands of his children without grave fears of the consequences. No maiden, if pure, can read their pages without mantling with blushes. But, with slight exception, Mr. Longfellow holds out to the youth sublime faith and high endeavor, to win him up those blessed heights whither all good men have gone. We think this the more noteworthy, as there is scarcely a poet of fame but has written more or less foul lines. All honor to Mr. Longfellow for his lofty aim and noble work. All through his poems, we are struck with the serene faith and holy reverence that breathe along and hover around his liquid lines, as the all-embracing air penetrates, pervades, and surrounds the earth. He regards the sun as Jehovah's "great high-priest," blessing the world as he comes; he looks upon the earth, as God's earth; he listens to the

birds, as sweet singers of his praises; the clouds are his airy chariots, the thunder is his swelling organ, and the earthquake his tread of wrath. To such a mind, in the devout words of Horace Smith,

> "'Neath cloister'd arch each floral bell that swingeth,
> And tolls its perfume on the passing air,
> Makes Sabbath in the fields, and ever ringeth
> A call to prayer."

There is nothing either new or intense about such imagery; but in these old ideas mankind recognise their common feelings, fully and felicitously expressed, and therefore, whatever may be said by hypercritics to the contrary, they accept his works as the poems of their hearts. This susceptibility mainly to common emotions has been condemned as no evidence of genius. It is, on the contrary, the best proof of it; for poetic genius, at least, consists chiefly in the ability to grasp and express universal feelings. Here lies Shakspeare's wondrous power, and it is for this reason that the German critics have felicitously surnamed him "the myriad-minded one." The thoughts and feelings of Mr. Longfellow's poems are those that come to the surface of society everywhere; he seldom explores the depths in search of possible pearls, but sails leisurely along the sea of humanity, delighted alike with its ceaseless roll, its storm-tossed waves and phosphorescent flashes, saluting kindly such craft as chance in sight, and ever looking reverently unto God as the Pole-Star whereby to shape his voyage. His allusions at times may be a little too scholarly, but then they are always so well explained by the adjoining lines as to be patent to ordinary understandings. So far as the mechanical part of his poetry is concerned, we may safely say it is beyond exception. In these days of wholesale rhyming, when the press teems with limping feet and halting lines, and when many verse-wrights deem it a mark of originality to violate all the canons of their art, it is really refreshing to read Mr. Longfellow's melodious lines. His rhymes are almost perfect, and his rhythm is melody itself; even in his unfortunate epic, fettered though he is by hopeless meters, he has wrought his verse to such happy perfection, that if his lines do not flow, they are at least faultless links of a silver chain.

This superiority of Mr. Longfellow as a lyric writer proceeds from his exuberant fancy; his inferiority as an epic, from his deficient imagination. Now fancy can make a poet, but only imagination a great poet. By imagination we mean that higher quality of mind which grasps at once the great and the small; which looks not upon men, but upon mankind; which confines not itself merely to the earth, but boldly directs its flights throughout God's universe

at large. Now, fancy sustains about the same relation to this that moonlight does to sunshine; it beams, but never blazes. It is a nice and perhaps valuable faculty of mind; it is apt at perceiving pretty resemblances, and, when controlled by a man of Mr. Longfellow's purity, it may

> "Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

But it is by no means an uncommon faculty, and does not, like imagination, imply any extraordinary capacity. Indeed, men of inferior capacity use comparisons most freely, and use them, too, not so much as thoughts as signs of thoughts, as helps to expression. "As green as grass," "as white as snow," "as bold as a lion;" or, changing to the adjective, "it sounds like thunder," "he runs like lightning," are comparisons we daily hear without attributing any great amount of poetic talent to those who use them; nay, most comparisons indicate a lack of culture which fails to analyze a subject so as to state it clearly and succinctly at the same time. The labor properly belonging to the judgment is switched off to the fancy, and the easy process of comparison is substituted for the rugged work of analysis. We exhibit a series of Mr. Longfellow's comparisons, taken almost at random from his poems:

The shadows from the fire-light at evening are "*like* phantoms grim and tall."

> "The hooded clouds, *like* friars,
> Tell their beads in drops of rain."

> "The world threw off the darkness, *like* the weeds
> Of widowhood."

The pines and hemlocks, bearded with moss, "stand *like* harpers hoar." The bell, on Sunday morn,

> "Sprinkled with holy sounds the air, *as* the priest with his hyssop
> Sprinkles the congregation, and scatters blessings upon them."

Sometimes, over eager for simplicity, his muse stoops to the absurd; as, when speaking of Evangeline, a delicate maiden, he says:

> "Sweet was her breath as the breath of kine (!) that feed in the meadows."

We might quote very many more, but these few will amply suffice; a "*like*," or an "*as*," or a metaphor corresponding thereto, may be found in almost every line he writes. We must say they are usually apt, though sometimes studied and often superfluous; nevertheless, how vastly inferior seems the faculty that produced them to the

imagination that dictated the sublime verse of a Milton, or the philosophic dramas of a Shakspeare!

Perhaps the gravest fault of Mr. Longfellow, as a poetical writer, is his extreme wordiness; for illustration, take a stanza from one of his most popular lyrics, the Psalm of Life:

> "Art is long, and time is fleeting,
> And our hearts, though stout and brave,
> Still, like muffled drums, are beating
> Funeral marches to the grave."

We add another from pp. 104, 105 of The Courtship of Miles Standish; speaking of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, when the last obstacles to their union have been removed, he says:

> "Even as rivulets twain, from distant and separate sources,
> Seeing each other afar, as they leap from the rocks, and pursuing
> Each one its devious path, but drawing nearer and nearer,
> Rush together at last, at their trysting-place in the forest;
> So these lives that had run thus far in separate channels,
> Coming in sight of each other, then swerving and flowing asunder,
> Parted by barriers strong, but drawing nearer and nearer,
> Rushed together at last, and one was lost in the other."

Now, both of these passages are excellent of their kind, and the first, especially, is popular beyond precedent; but, even apart from the confusion of metaphor, which we are bound to deal leniently with when we consider Shakspeare's taking "up arms against a *sea* of troubles;" there is nevertheless a lengthy protraction in these lines—"a linked sweetness," it may be, yet surely "long drawn out"—which effectually excludes them from poetry of the highest order. Take another illustration from The Courtship of Miles Standish, p. 74:

> "For there are moments in life, when the heart is so full of emotion,
> That if by chance it be shaken, or into its depths like a pebble
> Drops some careless word, it overflows, and its secret,
> Spilt on the ground like water, can never be gathered together."

Compare this wordy expansion of a pretty though *petite* thought with the following from Aurora Leigh, p. 346:

> "O great mystery of love! in which absorbed,
> Even treason's self enlarges rapture, as a pebble,
> Dropt in some full wine-cup, overbrims the wine."

We make no charge of plagiarism here, though Aurora Leigh was published in London some two years before The Courtship of Miles Standish appeared in Boston; but we ask the intelligent critic to compare the elaborate protractedness of the one with the sinewy strength and condensed sweetness of the other. So again in Hia-

watha, pp. 250, 251, Mr. Longfellow embodies in verse an old and prevalent superstition, in the following elongated manner:

> "Never stoops the soaring vulture
> On his quarry in the desert,
> On the sick or wounded bison,
> But another vulture, watching
> From his high aerial look-out,
> Sees the downward plunge, and follows;
> And a third pursues the second,
> Coming from the invisible ether,
> First a speck, and then a vulture,
> Till the air is dark with pinions.
> So disasters come not singly;
> But as if they watched and waited,
> Scanning one another's motions,
> When the first descends, the others
> Follow, follow, gathering flock-wise
> Round their victim, sick and wounded,
> First a shadow, then a sorrow,
> Till the air is dark with anguish."

Whatever we may think of the philosophy of this score of lines—and many a heart aching with anguish will not reject it—their poetry is certainly good; but listen to the compact verse of night-bewitched Young on the same subject, in Night III:

> "Woes cluster; rare are solitary woes;
> They love a train and tread each other's heel."

Here Young has the same thought, but has it stripped of its verbiage, and compressed into the smallest possible space: Longfellow takes it, and pulls, and stretches, and expands it, as if trying to see how large a portion of his book he can possibly make it fill. So of the other quotations we have made above. We read them with much pleasure and greatly admire their rhythm and rhyme, but are all the while painfully impressed with the great quantity of words used to express a few pretty ideas. The slender little thoughts are crinolined and lost in an immensity of verbiage. A poet of large capacity, great-thoughted, and a workman, would have subjected many of the lengthy passages to the fires of his genius, and fused them down into one burning word or a vigorous line.

Another of Mr. Longfellow's faults, perhaps just less reprehensible than the foregoing, is his useless moralizing at the end of his poems. We say *useless*, because such a noble tone usually pervades and enspheres the body of his verses, that the moral is already "pointed" when the tale is told. For the most part he quite ignores suggestion, though that faculty is confessedly one of the most subtle and controlling powers of our nature. A Pre-Raphaelite in description, yet, when his story is fully told, he is almost as sure to

append thereto a homely moral, as Phædrus in relating his fables. Indeed, an unfriendly critic might accuse him, with much show of evidence, of taking that renowned philosopher as his model; for the conclusion of his lyrics is in most cases but a free translation of the didactic words of Phædrus: *Hæc fabula docet*, etc. His Psalm of Life is a notable instance of this final moralizing, though in a poem of its peculiar character it is not so inappropriate as it would be in others. We instance further the Two Angels, a short but strikingly beautiful poem, suggested, we presume, by the German of Krummacher, found on page 144 of the last volume in the list at the head of this article. This is a sweet poem, both in conception and execution, but it is sadly marred by the last two stanzas. If the reader would appreciate how much they mar it, let him draw his pencil across them, and then reperuse the remainder of the poem. How beautiful the conception! how delicate the thought! how reverent the tone! Take, again, Victor Galbraith, page 160 of the same volume, and My Lost Youth, page 164: the last stanza in the first, and the last two in the last, are quite superfluous, and really detract greatly from the merits of the respective pieces. There are a few, however, which, we are happy to say, are in a measure free from this defect; and as these few are of Mr. Longfellow's more recent productions, we indulge the hope that age and experience have not come to him without their profitable teachings. As an example, take Daybreak, page 194, also of the last volume. We think its simple stanzas exquisite throughout. The entire poem is jubilant with morning freshness, and is toned down so beautifully by the last two lines, that it seems "like noble music with a golden ending." So, The Fiftieth Birthday of Agassiz, page 196; Children, page 199; and The Warden of the Cinque Ports, page 131. We had hoped to quote this last entire, but have already occupied so much space that we must refer the reader to the author's volume. We regard it one of the most compact and perfect of his poems.

With such eminent morality as pervades these poems generally, we were sorry to find, on page 178 of the last volume, a tribute to the wine-cup. Throughout the most of his poems, though written on almost every conceivable topic, virtue runs distinctly, as a golden thread on which to string his pictures. But when, after this, he tunes his lyre to Catawba wine, and passes into the praise of dram-drinking, his inconsistency is so glaring as to become ludicrous, and his song, in spite of its fine finish, sounds maudlin. We naturally look for such songs in the works of Byron or Moore; for the one was a libertine, and the other a sot. But when we chanced on this in the works of Mr. Longfellow, we could only explain it by infer-

ing that he sometimes drank wine as well as praised it; and in this opinion we were subsequently confirmed by an account of a dinner given to James Russell Lowell, on his last birthday, by Holmes, Emerson, Longfellow, and others, when the wine flowed so freely as to induce public comment. We confess we have neither sympathy nor patience with such indulgence by such persons. In the poor and ignorant we may, perhaps, pardon it, or at least make some charitable allowance for it; but when men of liberal culture, upon whom rest the eyes of the world, with a full knowledge of the terrible evils of intemperance and of the tremendous force of high examples, deliberately praise the intoxicating bowl, and as deliberately empty it, we cannot do less than view them with indignation and write of them with a just scorn. There is one stanza of the poem, however, the sentiment of which we greatly admire; it would have been much to Mr. Longfellow's credit had the rest been like unto it. After speaking of foreign wines as "drugged,"

> "To rack our brains
> With the fever-pains
> That have driven the Old World frantic,"

he winds up his objurgation with the hearty curse:

> "To the sewers and sinks
> With all such drinks,
> And after them tumble the mixer;
> For a poison malign
> Is such Borgia wine,
> Or at best but a Devil's Elixir."

We deem all wine but Borgia wine; for it is "a poison malign," which in the end extinguishes the intellect and kills both body and soul. We would apply the curs(e)ory lines of Mr. Longfellow a little more generally. We would say:

> "To the sewers and sinks
> With *all wine drinks*,"

and then add: "And after them tumble" the drinker as well as "mixer." He, however, adds, in honor of Catawba:

> "Pure as a spring
> Is the wine I sing,
> And to praise it, one needs but name it."

The name is certainly very pretty; but its taste (unless changed since we last tried it) is surely detestable. How any sane person, who has drunk the gushing waters of the hillside, can call such execrable stuff as Catawba wine "pure as *a spring*," is beyond our comprehension. Yet such songs, sensuous in character and exquis-

ite in finish, so well calculated to charm the imagination and fire the passions, have been provocative of drunken orgies from the days of Anacreon to now. Vice, through them, throws around the young the silken chains of poetry and music, and makes them her helpless and hopeless victims ere they are aware of danger.

We have thus passed over our subject, with such censure and such praise as we thought it demanded. We have, no doubt, trenched upon the opinions of some, especially of that school of verse-wrights, not small, who look up to Longfellow as their great exemplar; but, from a patient examination of his writings, we have come to our conclusions deliberately, and therefore we express them fearlessly. We could not do otherwise. *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.* Criticism degenerates into panegyric when it fails to be just alike to the critic and the criticised. In conclusion, the question arises, is Mr. Longfellow entitled to the American laurel? We think not. A lofty position he is undoubtedly entitled to, and a high place he already holds; but we think Thanatopsis and The Forest Hymn will survive long after the Song of Hiawatha and The Courtship of Miles Standish have faded from the memories of men. Bryant surely heads the column, and in fine poetic instinct and wide grasp of genius is certainly far ahead of all others; but Longfellow comes next, with Halleck and Whittier following close behind. Nor do we think these illustrious four, sweet as are their songs, worthy singers of such a country as that to which they belong. We cannot subscribe to the doctrine so generally preached, that our history is too brief and void of incident to produce a poem. A magnificent continent, washed by two oceans, flashing with rivers and decorated with lakes, whose solemn forests and gorgeous prairies had been consecrated to barbarism for nearly forty centuries, is at last suddenly disclosed to the civilized world; bands of hardy emigrants, sacrificing fatherland and friends to secure for themselves and posterity "freedom to worship God," make permanent settlements upon its shores, but only by commencing a tragedy whose last act will be the extinction of a whole people; wars for the noblest principles of human freedom ensue, characterized by the loftiest courage and the purest patriotism; and then a great nation, its banners waving from every hill-side, marches steadily on from power to power, until now already its tents are pitched by every stream, and its bugles sound from ocean to ocean. And yet, we are told, we have no materials for a national poet! Say, rather, there is no poet for the national materials. A bard of subtle and lofty genius, fit to be the confidant of nature and her spokesman to mankind, would take in all the majesty and grandeur of our forests and

mountains, all the beauty of our rivers, all the magnificence of our prairies, and glory of our skies, and with these the heroism of our fathers and the energy of their sons, and then sing them forth in such sweet and noble strains as would charm the world. We conclude that nature, never lavish of great poets, has not yet given us ours. Our Dante, Shakspeare, or Milton, has yet to appear.

Art. V.—BUDDHISM.

1. *Eastern Monachism: An account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Unity, Mysterious Rites, Religious Ceremonies, and Present Circumstances of the Order of Mendicants founded by* Gotama Buddha, *(compiled from Singhalese MSS. and other Original Sources of Information,) with comparative Notices of the Usages and Institution of the Western Ascetics, and a Review of the Monastic System.* By R. Spence Hardy, Member of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S. London: 1850.
2. *A Manual of Buddhism, in its Modern Development. Translated from Singhalese MSS.* By R. Spence Hardy. London: 1853.
3. *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung.* Von Carl Friederich Koeppen. Berlin: 1857.

Next to Christianity Buddhism is the greatest moral phenomenon in the history of the world. I say, *next to* Christianity, because we naturally recoil from putting any system in comparison with that which we know to be from heaven, and endowed with an internal energy manifestly divine. But if we will subordinate the religious scruple to a philosophic survey of the facts, and if, instead of confining our attention to a sect, or a modern form of Buddhism as an institution, and take in the scope of its history—its origin, its development, its great power, its widespread and time-long reign—we shall be forced to rise above the exception, and say, that Buddhism is the greatest moral phenomenon in the history of the world. A system which dates its rise from the time of Noah, and which, in the middle of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, is still strong and vigorous; a system which, in its origin, was the primal apostacy from the patriarchal religion, and became the foundation of the idolatries of the ancient world, and which has, with inconsiderable exceptions, embraced within itself the essential history of all the idolatries of the great nations both of ancient and of modern times; which, in its development, proved so flexible as to adapt itself to the varying phases of humanity, especially in its degradation and in a moderate degree in its culture; so systematic and compact that Christianity, which swept with an easy victory over the other nations, was rolled back from its domains as from an impassable bar-

rier; so vital and enduring, and so potent, that even now, at the distance of near five thousand years from its origin, it holds in its thraldom more millions of souls than can be reckoned in all other religions together: a system so vast, so venerable, so majestic in its proportions, so immense in its power and in the extent and duration of its dominion, we surely have not characterized too strongly. Such a system must at all times command the attention of the philosopher, and, by the progress of events, it is just now coming to possess both a deeper and a more popular interest than ever before.

What we may call Modern Buddhism, and that to which many treatises on the subject are confined as if embracing the entire history of the order, dates from the era of GOTAMA BUDDHA, about six and a quarter centuries before Christ. The MANUAL OF BUDDHISM and the EASTERN MONACHISM are, from their nature, concerned directly and mainly with the institutions of that form of worship as now existing, though the learned and indefatigable author has very properly enriched his works with some historic notices of the earlier times.

It will best meet the object we have in view, and serve to bring out the real importance of the works before us, to present first a brief sketch of the origin and outspread of this universal false religion. In doing this, we do not claim that a full and reliable history of Buddhism can be made out at the present day. There is a great gap in the history of the old world—many a "lacuna deflenda" —which we would gladly have filled up. Yet we have certain facts, and certain indubitable relics of facts, and we may say certain fragments of history, scattered here and there, which, by a just arrangement and composition, give an outline of that which we seek tolerably clear and consistent. And if history—as it has been, and I think well, defined—"consists of facts and reasoned inferences," then we may trust to the divine logic to clothe our framework of facts with flesh and blood.

We go back, then, to the time when Noah came forth from the ark, and looked out on a new earth rising fresh from the world of waters. The old world had sunk into a hopeless atheism, and by the signal vengeance of the Almighty had been buried in the all-devouring gulf. Ham, whether the oldest or the youngest* of the sons of Noah, was distinguished for enterprise and for a boldness bordering on impiety. Shem, who, if Ham was the oldest, must have been

* We are inclined to think, contrary to the common opinion, that he was the oldest, and that he was grown to youth, perhaps to mature age, in the midst of the corruptions of the old world, before the special warning came to his father to prepare the ark; and the taint, therefore, which his character evidently received, not only survived the flood, but sent down its baneful influence on his posterity.

the youngest of the three brothers, was certainly born some twenty years after the call of Noah, while he was in the midst of the preparations for the impending judgment, and was daily preaching righteousness to his ungodly neighbors. The character of Shem was profoundly impressed with the religious sentiments which at that time pervaded the minds of his parents.

Of the sons of Ham was one named *Cush*, and another *Phut*, and of the sons of Shem was one named *Asshur*. These three among the grandsons of Noah stand out most conspicuous as the founders of the society of the new world; they impressed upon it their own characters and gave it destiny. A certain authority seems to have been accorded to the family of Ham, whether in right of primogeniture, or by virtue of his prowess. Cush, to whom the headship devolved, was, like his father, a man of enterprise, of lofty ambitions, and not particularly scrupulous of the right. In his old age—probably after his other children were grown to maturity—there was born to him another son, which, as is natural with the son of one's old age, became his special favorite. The families of Noah's descendants were yet united in one society. They intended to remain so. To effect that object they devised the magnificent scheme of the Tower of Babel. Over these united families the authority of Cush was predominant, and this son, trained up not merely as the favorite, but as the heir to his father's greatness, pushed his enterprises with a still bolder hand, and even rushed to an extreme of impiety that awakened in the feelings of the more prudent and religious a powerful reaction—a reaction, indeed, which resulted in nothing less than a defection from his authority and a dismemberment of his kingdom. The name of this favorite son and crown-prince was Nimrod, and his grand achievement in the founding of Babylon, and his peristent impiety in continuing to build the tower and the walls after the signal manifestation of the divine displeasure, gave him a prominence which has caused him to be regarded not only as the leader but the originator of the great enterprises by which his family became distingushed. A proper attention to the history, however, will show that Nimrod only entered into the plans of his father, and that he gained his special pre-eminence because that in his person the ambition of his line provoked an opposition which first sundered the family of Noah, and set them in hostility to each other, and that in the crisis of disruption he stood forth as the chieftain of the dominant tribe.

Proofs of the correctness of this general position, though not the most obvious, are yet abundant and of the most satisfactory kind. For if Nimrod were the head of this movement, the descendants

should be called of him. His name would naturally be commemorated by bodies of emigrants in their new abodes; his name would be carried by the backwoodsman to distant parts, and be perpetuated in the person of many a hopeful urchin whom a fond father would fain equal to their great sire; and not less would it reappear in the designation of nations and localities. Instead of Nimrod, however, Cush is the name that is thus planted through all the scattered abodes of the ancient world. The tribes of greatest action—the tribes that bear martial sway—that cultivate, on one side, the institutions of a fixed religion and government, and, on the other, that pioneer the wilderness, and, in their ruder state, skirt the borders of civilization, and by the terror of their arms cause the firmest thrones to tremble—these, everywhere, with limited exceptions, are descendants of Ham and not of Japheth, as our historians have generally represented; and in the line of Ham they are called *Cushites* and not *Nimrodites*. That the name prevailed throughout Central Asia, we need hardly take the trouble to state. It takes in that region the various orthographies of *Cush*, *Cuth*, *Cas*, and *Sacs* (σακαι). In the form *Chaldee* it is completely disguised to the English eye, but its orthography is preserved in the Hebrew *Kas-di* (כַּסְדִּי). A little removed from this center, and filling the remoter parts of Asia and the adjacent parts of Europe, they swarmed as *Scuths* or *Scyths*. Under the name of *Goths* they had, at an early day, carried the seeds of empire westward, filling all middle and northern Europe. The *Sacæ* of the old Persian empire are the *Saxons* of Europe, who, joined with the Angli—a tribe still of the *Goths* which had received, by whatever accident, this distinctive appellation—have ruled Britain from the early ages of Christianity, and their descendants are now the chief representatives of liberty and civilization in both hemispheres.

But not only in the names of tribes have we the evidence we seek. Nature has planted her eternal monuments to the same great fact. We are told that in the Sanscrit language, *ghar* or *ghiri*, and in the Persic *cau* or *coh*, signifies *a mountain*. *Cash-ghar*, therefore, and *Cau-cas*, (with the Greek termination, *Caucasus*,) are the mountains of Cas or Cush. Accordingly we find this term as the name of the principle range of mountains in Armenia and along the north of India. From the western extremity of the continent eastward to the borders of China, posterity affixed the name of their renowned ancestor to those most majestic forms of nature. Wherever the Cushite dwelt, he repeated, as nature permitted, the commemorative *Mount Cush*. Nor will it seem too far-fetched by those accustomed to take in the general scope of history, to claim that

Cuz-co, the ancient mountain city of the ruling tribe of South America, brings its designation from the same source; especially when we see, independent of this, manifest connection of the traditions of the aborigines of the western continent with the early patriarchs of the old world.

As the designation of the country, we find the name Cush prevailing in Africa, in the southwestern peninsula of Asia, in Central Asia, and covering the Indies, both within and beyond the Ganges.

Here, then, we have not only the ruling tribes of the old world bearing the name of a common ancestor, and the fairest valleys reflecting the same appellation, but Mount Cush is also the name that distinguishes that grandest feature of the globe wherever the primitive civilization has traveled. From the centre of Asia, ranging out over the eastern continent, the name of this father of the race couches in the various mountain ranges, and traversing the ocean it reposes on the heights of the Andes.

Let the civil and military supremacy therefore of the house of Cush be admitted as preliminary to the question directly involved in our subject.

The religious head or priesthood of the posterity of Noah was evidently in the family of Shem. When the displeasure of the Almighty against the magnificent scheme of Cush was manifested, the more religious part were submissive to the intimations of the divine will. The persistent boldness of Nimrod, therefore, matured their scruples into a solemn protest and secession which sundered the hitherto united families of the new earth. Under the leadership of Asshur, the son of Shem, they migrated in a body to a point higher up the river, and, unlike the Plebs of Rome who, in the great popular secession, only pitched a camp in a neighboring mountain and negotiated reconciliation, the Shemites threw off the allegiance of their former ruler and founded a new empire. The chief city which they builded is, by a prolepsis common both to sacred and profane history, called Nineveh, though the Ninus whose princely virtues raised Assyria to a pre-eminence over Babylon, and gave the metropolis a monument to his own name, and thus ranked him in fame as the founder of the empire, flourished some six and a half centuries subsequent.

Perhaps a simple statement of the order of events, if rightly put, will serve better, by its manifest consistency, to make clear to the popular apprehension this obscure spot in the earliest postdiluvian history, than elaborate argument. The investigation is intricate, and the salient points we have put on record elsewhere,* to which those interested can refer. We find these points established, if not

* Notes on Herod. Lib. I. Capp. 95, 106, 186, *et all.*

demonstratively, yet with that degree of historic probability that satisfies, we think, a reasonable skepticism:

1. The founding of Babylon was about 400 years after the flood. For two and a quarter centuries after this event the government probably continued in the family of Nimrod, and of the patriarchal character, though the history of that period has not established for itself a record.

2. At this time a new chieftain conquered the throne and gave a more systematic character to the government, whose family, under the title of the Chaldæan Dynasty, ruled 225, or, according to other authorities, 195 years.

3. To this succeeded an Arabian dynasty, for 215 years, making a total of about six and a half centuries (665 or 635) from the founding of the city, and about ten and a half from the flood.

4. This brings us to the date of the celebrated Ninus and his not less celebrated queen, Semiramis, which is also, according to the Septuagint, near to the time of Abraham.

The colony of Asshur, then, in so many years, outgrows the mother city; Babylonia sinks to the subordinate rank of a province; the Assyrian empire holds the scepter of the East for the next fifteen hundred years, and Babylon appears independent and powerful again only a little before the consolidation of the Medo-Persian power under Cyrus.*

Let it be admitted, then, as a second preliminary fact, that the Shemites separated completely from the house of Cush at the building of the tower and the city of Babylon, and remained politically distinct. Cush is now left without a priest. Yet a state without a religion, and a religion without a priest, is an impossibility; and specially when a revolution or great reform is to be undertaken, as witness the case of Lycurgus and Numa, the people must needs be persuaded of the divine sanction. Besides, it is probable that many of the firmest partisan Cushites and chiefest admirers of the great

* Those who confound Nimrod and Ninus neglect much reliable data of chronology, and those who take Asshur in Gen. x, 11, as the name of the country previously so named, instead of that of a person, equally overlook the great monumental fact that this term, like the Pharaoh of Egypt, abides, the common title of the kings of Assyria, or, better to say, perhaps, the *family name* descended from the founder of the colony. Thus the Tiglath-Pileser, called also Pul in sacred Scripture, is Tiglath-Pul-Assur—Pul also being a common title signifying *Lord*, and etymologically the same as Baal, or Bel; (with the occidental ending *Belus*;) so Shal-man-Assur, and Assur-Haddan, which with the addition of Pul becomes Assur-'Dan-Pul, and with the Greek attempt to spell it, 'Sardanapalus. A fondness for sublimating ancient personages to abstractions, and history to fable, has often perverted the document which to a just criticism will be found to embody great and reliable facts.

hunter might have grave scruples of the right and safety of their undertaking. Nimrod would therefore be pressed by a double necessity to reorganize religion and perfect the priestly forms of worship and priestly authority. How should this be accomplished? When Sanballat adopted a renegade priest, and consecrated Mount Gerizim, the Samaritans claimed a common faith, and appealed to a common standard of religion with the Jews. When Numa sought to impose a divine sanction on his reformation by pretending divine instruction from the nymph Egeria, who came to him by night as the messenger of the gods, his policy jumped with the popular superstitions. When Lycurgus brought his gifts to the Delphian temple, he only solicited the ratification of his constitution by the voice of that oracle whose authority in Greece was unquestioned. Nimrod was in a different case. All who could be controlled by the religious scruple stood in the attitude of religious protest and political revolt against his apostasy. Nothing was left him but to submit to the opprobrium of Apostate and Heaven-cursed, or by a stroke of policy to discredit the old conservatives and impose a greater awe from a new authority.

Happily for Nimrod, there was in the public mind an impatient expectancy of the promise to the first parents, which gave a ready credence to every ambitious pretender, and which he willingly made the basis of the *coup d'état* he was resolved on. To see the importance of this proposition, and the claim it has to this fundamental position, we must consider for a moment how the original promise was understood, and what was the nature of the hope it gave to the fallen race. The first pair had enjoyed the privilege of sensible communion with Jehovah, who is called, "The Voice of the LORD God"—the personified WORD. By their disobedience they were now to be debarred from this heavenly intercourse; the skies frowned the anger of their Maker upon them; the evening breeze, which before mingled its music in sweet harmony with their devotions, now whispered a present avenger. The wide world was a wilderness before them, and they were to be driven forth worse than orphaned. The garden was to be closed behind them forever. Overwhelmed with a consciousness of guilt, crushed under the sense of a loss to which no human heart has since had a parallel, with nothing before them but the most terrific apprehensions, Jehovah vouchsafes to them a parting interview.* He tempers their despair with an unexpected hope. He informs them that he will not abandon them in this woesome plight; that though he withdraws his

*Though the Angel of the covenant appeared to the patriarchs at various times, we have no notice of any further Divine communication with Adam and Eve.

presence from them, yet he will in due time return—not, indeed, in the majesty of the Godhead, which mortal man can now no longer look upon, but, vailing his glory in the habiliments of flesh, will condescend to become the "seed of the woman," and thus identifying himself with the interests and sympathies of humanity, will take on himself to retrieve the loss of this unhappy day. Very brief indeed are the words of the record of that closing scene in Paradise. Even the promise which was thenceforward the hope of the world, is only indirectly couched in the denunciations against the serpent. Yet some such detail or unfolding of the Divine plan to the guilty pair must be assumed as the essential key to the history of the world. Without it we are involved in an inextricable enigma; for, from that day till the hour when the angelic hosts shouted the Saviour born, the world looked anxiously, hopingly, believingly, for just such a fulfillment of such a promise—a veritable appearance of the *God-Man*—the incarnation of Deity to accomplish the redemption of the world. Hence Eve, when she gave birth to her first-born son, supposing it nothing less than the realization of this hope, cried out, "I have gotten a man, the very Jehovah."† And hence it is that the ancient mythologies always include the fact of an incarnation, as a fundamental fact in their system; and *that* sometimes surrounded by a detail of circumstances which represent in symbol the precise idea of the Bible prediction. Krishna, for instance, is generally reckoned, not as one of the Avatars, but as a veritable incarnation of the god Vishnu, and is represented in conflict with a serpent, sometimes *with his foot on the head of the serpent in the act to crush it, while the fang of the reptile is ready to enter his heel.* So, also, the legend of the Grecian Apollo—his feat of slaying the monstrous serpent, and thereby delivering the lands from terror, is an imperfect representation of the same idea, whether coming directly from the Indian legends, or whether they are both

† This sense of the אֶת־יְהוָה has the authority of eminent scholars and Hebraists. The rendering "*from* the LORD," of the common version, which comes only from the Septuagint, διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, has no countenance from the Hebrew in any sense which usage gives to the particle אֵת. The commentators have for the most part interpreted this particle, after Aben-Ezra, to mean, *the very essence* or *substance of a thing*—"*substantia rei*," but neither can this be defended. Others take it as simply the mark of the accusative: but it is used likewise with the nominative. The true primitive sense is doubtless, as shown by Gesenius, that of a pronoun, and perhaps the emphatic *self-same*, Latin *ipse*, and Greek αὐτος. Etymologically, it is indeed identical with the Greek αὖτ-ος, οὗτ-ος. The same root appears probably in the Latin *id*, and our *it*; and *quere*—if we should not refer the emphatic suffix *et* of the Latin with the *m* euphonic to the same origin?—*Ego-m-et, me-m-et* equivalent to *ego-ipse, me-ipsum.*

brought from the same original source. Nay, more, and what is on any other theory unaccounted for, there appears both throughout India and in the native American mythologies the more recondite idea of revelation, that this "seed of the *woman*" is also born of a virgin.* So universal indeed is this notion of an incarnation, and so striking the agreement of the leading alleged facts of the mythologies with the hopes which revelation unfolds, that we cannot fail to recognise the original promise, too hastily believed fulfilled, as the basis of the common faith. And thus the great gods of paganism were gained, not, as some theorize, by the gradual exaltation of mortals, through reverence of antiquity, to heroes, and heroes into gods—much less, as others vainly imagine, by personification of the abstract ideas of the virtues and the vices—but by the recognition, in any distinguished hero or great ancestor or man of eminent sanctity, of the looked-for manifestation of their promised God. And thus the seats of Olympus were filled, not by a repeated apotheosis of mortals, but by the repeated *apanthroposis* of Deity. The theophany was a phenomenon which startled not the early faith of the pagan world, and the incarnation was the keystone to their system.†

Another inquiry arises here, which we wish to press a word further: whence, namely, this *repeated* incarnation? was it an integral part of a system and regulated by a theory? or was it only as chance, or circumstances, or character gave preëminence to some distinguished personage, who was thereby deemed worthy of divine honor? The latter, so far as we know, has been the prevailing opinion; and that which would seem to be thereby subversive of the fundamental idea that the demands of the case should be satisfied when once the original promise of the appearance of the God-man should be fulfilled, is defended from the doctrine so widely prevalent in the East, of the transmigration of souls, carrying up thus the law of humanity to apply to divinity likewise. But whence, then, this doctrine of transmigration? We venture the hypothesis that, contrariwise, a succession of incarnations was a theoretic necessity of the ancient creed. For, if the seed of the woman was to redeem and *rule* the world, there was, to their enfeebled faith, a demand for his sensible presence.‡ When, therefore, the body in

* See, for America, particularly Schoolcraft's Aligic Res., vol. i., p. 135; and Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq., vol. vi., p. 175.

† This general position is amply illustrated by Faber, in his very learned but too ponderous and ill-digested work on the Origin of Pagan Idolatry. More happily is the germinant idea presented in his Prophetical Dissertations, Diss. I., chap. iii.

‡ The feeling which so continually stumbled the disciples of the true Messiah.

which the Divinity had dwelt should perish, he would clothe himself in a new form, and repeat thus his offices with the new generations in perpetuity. And this feature, which we see now in the Lamaism of Thibet, is precisely that which we suppose to have been the theory of the fallen patriarchal Church in its earliest development; a feature preserved distinctively in the unchanging character of the mountaineers, though elsewhere gradually degenerating, and finally for the most part lost. And from this ground the transition is easy and natural to the general doctrine of the metempsychosis—to bring down the law of divinity to apply to humanity—while the reverse is unnatural and arduous.

Whether this theory was so early developed, or whether only latent in the general expectancy to which we have referred, in either case it constitutes a basis for the new movement about to be instituted by Nimrod. He had only to set forth a bold or plausible pretense of the Divinity manifested, the promise realized, to gain a ready credence with his followers. Should he arrogate to himself that honor? or should he more craftily vail his ambition by setting foremost one less obnoxious to the violence of that party animosity which was just then rending in twain the hitherto united families of the sons of Noah? Such a character is in effect presented in the person of his uncle, PHUT, whom therefore he consecrates to this sacred office, and from *him* comes the name by which the highest god or the chief-priest of this false worship is henceforth designated, almost throughout the world.* The orthography of the name, handed down through such a lapse of ages, and spread over such a breadth of earth, and subjected to the influence of every varying form of culture and barbarism, should naturally exhibit great diversity; it may even lurk, in some localities, under such disguises as to have escaped detection. In Asia we have for it, according to Harding, (Man. Buddh., p. 353,) fifty-six forms, representing the name either of the god or the priest, and all etymologically identical with that which we have assumed to be the original. The following may be taken as specimens, to wit: Phuta, Poti, Pootah, Futh, Fo, Fo-hi, Wud, Buddha. The last form, he says, is, as near as it can be represented in English, that which prevails through Hindostan and Ceylon. It is in the extreme east and along the shores of the Pacific we have Fo and Fohi. In Egypt we have Poti; and the Poti-Pherah of Moses is the priest of Phrah. In Greece the priest-

* The interchange or coincidence of the title of the god and that of the priest is a common fact in the ancient mythologies. Hardy states, in particular, (Manual of Buddhism, p. 414,) that the god and the priest are called by the same name.

ess of Apollo, who is the representative of the Oriental Sun-god, is Putho, or Pytho. The principal sacerdotal order in Attica, and a branch of the royal family, were distinguished by the title of Butes.* In the Italic peninsula, as early as the time of Hercules, he found an order of priests called Poti and Poti-tii; and the chief gods of the early Latins were the Dii Potes.† The identity of the appellation Woden, the chief hero-god of the Gothic nations, from the shores of the Euxine to Iceland—whom we have already seen to be Cushites—with that of Buddha, is at once apparent to the etymologist. Various historic facts and details of religious ceremonies confirm equally the identity of personages. The fourth day of the week—to give one instance only of a monumental character—was with all the Gothic tribes, from the earliest times, Woden's day, just as in the East it was Buddha's day, (*Bhood-war.*)‡ Still earlier, and westward of the Goths, the Celts carried the same religion to the remotest borders of the continent and the adjacent islands. Their principal deity, to whose honor the stupendous rural temple of Stonehenge was dedicated, and known by the common appellation of Hu, had also the epithets, Budd, Buddagre, Budner, and Budwar.§ Passing over to the American continent, whether by way of Iceland to Labrador or eastward from Asia, we find the wilderness, from the frozen shores of the Arctic ocean to the Mexican gulf, resounding with the deeds of a hero-god corresponding in character, history, and name, with the Wodin and Buddha of the eastern continent. The legends of his exploits constitute the chief wigwam lore with which the simple-minded natives beguiled their weary winter-nights and monotonous summer-days. His grandmother descended from the Moon, which, in the symbolic language of the early traditions, always represents the Noachian ark. The only daughter of this Nokomis, (which in the Indian tongue signifies grandmother,) in the bloom of her maidenhood, without the concurrence of mortal agency, and in a miraculous manner, gave birth to a son, who became conscious, as he attained to manhood, that he was endowed with supernatural powers for the redemption of the world from evil. All his stupendous exploits were directed

* Apollod. 3, 15, 1. The Hellenic tradition preserves a certain parallel with the Oriental, in that it makes Erechtheus and his brother Butes share the entire sovereignty of the state, the former taking the civil, the latter the sacerdotal authority.

† The coincidence of this term with the common adjective *potes* is undoubtedly accidental, and is not, therefore, to be confounded with *majores*, which represents correctly the Greek *μεγάλοι*.

‡ Asiat. Res., vol. i., p. 162; vol. iii., p. 562.

§ Faber, Or. Pag. Idol., b. 4, c. 5, § 11; but probably confounding two personages.

to that end. His name in the Indian dialects was Bosho, Bozho, Boh, Wath, and Mana-Bozo, and Hia-Watha.* Of these compounds, the Mana is not obscure. The name spreads as widely as that of Phut, and is clearly identified with Noah. In Peru, the immediate descendants of the Sun, and the progenitors of the race, were Manco (or Manco Capac) and Mama (that is, *mother*) Oella. (Prescott's Peru, vol. i., p. 8.) Now, Ila is the name that prevails in all the Eastern traditions as the name of the wife of Noah. In the mythology of the Goths, Mannus and his three sons stand at the head of the human race. (Tac. de Ger., c. 2.) And whether there was a veritable Minos, *native of Crete*, who contrived a ship to convey the seeds of civilization over the waters to new lands, or whether only the Grecian fable here lost its clue, certain it is that the traditions confound him with the Menu of Asia, who is no other than Noah, (written also Nuh,) the prefix *m* being, perhaps, originally an article or emphatic demonstrative, or, it may be, the rudiment of the adjective *maha, great;* or we may concede, without prejudice, that it is as inexplicable now as the added *h* in Sarah and Abraham. In Mana-Bozo, the two parts probably are in genitive relation, and signify Bozo (*son* or *descendant*) of Mana. The Hia-Watha we compare with Fo-Hi, whom the Chinese annals claim as the founder of their government. The critiques on these annals, which so uniformly make Fo-Hi the same as Noah, do so for no better reason, that we can discover, than that it is the name highest in the list; but Fo is everywhere else acknowledged to be Budh, and the traditions of the formation of a *regular government* for a great empire would seem more reasonably to point to the time of Cush or Nimrod. The date also of this Fo-Hi in the annals (2952 B. C.) agrees well with that of Nimrod, but is manifestly too late for Noah. Moreover, the traditions claim three emperors antecedent to Fo-Hi, and represent him as the great founder, civil and religious—the Numa Pompilius—of the state. We are left to infer, then, that if Fo and Hi are in regimen relation, the latter must be the rudiment of the name of some ancestor, or perhaps of the title by which Noah was known to the Chinese; and in consonance with this conjecture we have Hu, the great god of the Celts, answering to the Mannus of the Goths.

In Mexico and Peru, the marked agreement in their religious sentiments, rites, and institutions, with those of Buddhistic Asia, has not failed to convince even the skeptical of their community of

* The "Song of Hiawatha" admirably presents the spirit of the legends; and the author, albeit not seeing the high connection of the mythology, has, with the instinct of the born poet, seized the true subject of the native American epic.

origin. Even Prescott, in various places,* recognizes this almost identity of institutions, though elsewhere disposed to deny any historic connection; but the grand enigma is solved only on the theory of a common idea and a common fact as the basis of the religious movement.

The name Buddha does not occur in these more southern latitudes; but there are other etymologies equally clear, binding together in a striking manner these distant regions. We have already mentioned Manco, and Mama, and Ila, and Cusco. To these we may add Papa, a *chief-priest* or *pope*, and one other which reveals also a very interesting phenomenon. We have seen that the name of the god frequently becomes the title of the priest. In Central Asia the incarnation is denominated Lama, and in Peru this name is carried over to the consecrated victim, which is specially dedicated to the honors of the chief god, and is alone permitted on great occasions to be offered in sacrifice.†

Let it be admitted, then, without further detail of proofs, which yet might be greatly multiplied, that the universal false religion had a common origin, and bore over the continents and to remote islands and corners of the globe a common central idea. And that this grand defection dates from the founding of Babel, is sufficiently clear from Bible authority, both from the early historic record and for that thenceforth the name Babylon became a synonym for *apostasy;* and so in the New Testament, apostate Rome is Babylon, for that she bears a relation to the true Christian Church similar to that of the Phutish apostasy to the patriarchal Church; the papa not claiming indeed to be a veritable incarnation, but usurping the offices of the Incarnate Jehovah, of prophet, priest, and king, not forgetting to assert emphatically that highest priestly office of *Mediator between God and man.* To this authority we may add the considerations that the Asiatic traditions, according to the most probable view we can gain of them, point to about the same period for the first of their list of Buddhas; and that this epoch agrees very nearly with the death of Noah, whose authority, while living, should have held his descendants in fraternal harmony, and whose death gave occasion for the dividing strife.‡

What we wish specially to determine here is the *era* of Buddhism;

* See particularly his Peru, vol. i., b. 1, cc. 1, 3, 5; and Mexico, vol. i., p. 58, n.

† "The flocks of llamas were appropriated exclusively to the Sun and to the Inca." (Prescott's Peru, vol. i, p. 51.) "At the feast of Raymi, the sacrifice usually offered was the llama." (Id., p. 106.)

‡ We certainly need no word of apology to the learned reader for rejecting the Usherian scheme of chronology as wholly untenable, and placing these events from 2800 to 3000 years B. C.

and though we have assumed that it brings its name from *Phut*, a grandson of Noah, that hypothesis is no ways essential to our theory; we are only concerned to know that the system had its rise as early as that date, that the ideas that characterize it may become the common inheritance of the dispersion. But that this assumption may not seem to be taken without reason, let it be remembered: 1. That there is no other name in the records of that time from which the appellation could come; 2. That the apostasy arose in that family of which Phut was a member, and in his day; and 3. That while all the other sons of Ham received a civil lot and flourish in history as the progenitors of nations, Phut is, like Levi, without inheritance. Faber supposes* that Nimrod—whom he also confounds with Ninus, a prince of another nation, and living some six hundred years later—claimed for *himself* the divine character, and assumed a name significant of the office; but the argument by which he would support this assumption is one of those refinements of speculation in etymologies which have so often exposed the science to contempt.† Pococke says: "The great patriarch 'Budh' is he of whom Moses speaks under the name of Phut,"‡ recognizing thus the identity of persons, but from a standpoint which reverses the order of the relation of the names.

Let us date Buddhism, then, from Babel; but, by the doctrine of Avatarism or repeated incarnations, subsequent ages, to whom their early history had become obscure, pushed by the common instinct to magnify their antiquity, and willing, perhaps, to sink a name so accursed as that of Nimrod, or theoretically, it may be, compelled so to construct their system as to make it reach back through all time, enlisted the entire line of the patriarchs, through Noah, up to Adam, into the catalogue of their Avatars.

We have called Buddhism the universal religion of the East, yet we have Brahmaism and Lamaism. They are, however, essentially one. The same general system prevails, preserved in its characteristic features most purely in the Lama sect, and least so in that of Brahma. In the absence of a history of the origin of this diversity, we submit a conjecture. The names Sama, (or Shama,) Rama, and Srama, and Sharma prevailed through India, and are generally taken to denote a Buddha, perhaps the primal Buddha, sometimes said particularly to be the same as Vishnu incarnate, though more

* Prophet. Dissert. I, c. iii, s. iii, sec. 2.

† He would seem, indeed, to have changed his theory subsequently; for, in a note to his Fourth Dissertation, to which he has taken the pains to affix the date —1844—twenty-seven years after the publication of his first six Dissertations, (vol. i, p. 321,) he adopts, on the authority of Harcourt, (Doctrine of the Deluge,) Phut instead of Nimrod, though without correcting his former argument.

‡ India in Greece, p. 197.

generally identified with Brahma.* With the prefix of B analogous to that of the M in Menu, it becomes Brahma.† The S and R, and the R and L, pass into each other with such facility, we are at no loss to consider these several forms, as well as Lama, to be the same name; and even S and L seem to have had a closer affinity in the Oriental languages than with us, as witness *Chasdim* and *Chaldee*. These names go back to the earliest times.‡ Now when Asshur refused to acquiesce in the assumptions of Nimrod—that, namely, of the incarnation realized in the person of Phut, he in turn found it no easy task to control the scruples of his followers. The multitude is ever eager to run after the pretended prophet, and even when restraining credence, a vague suspicion insinuates itself which often overawes the stoutest heart. Nimrod had the advantage of this superstition all on his side, and at that time so potent must have been the charm of the thought of their great hope fulfilled, and so wasting the dread of that hope deferred, that Asshur probably had no alternative but to succumb, or to stay his state by a counter-assumption, and would therefore claim for Shem, already distinguished for his great sanctity, that divine character which the Hamites claimed for Phut. The two nations, then, though differing widely in moral character, would have substantially the same religious creed. But this view, whether correct or not, does not lie sufficiently in our way at present to demand elaborate investigation. We only submit, in passing, the consideration of the fact that the common word for *sun*, which was the great symbol of divinity in this religion, coincides so nearly with that of this patriarch. The Hebrew has שֶׁמֶשׁ, *Shemesh;* the Persic, *Shemes;* and the *Phrah* of Egypt, which signifies also *sun*, is the *Brahm* of India.

In the religious history of India the great epoch is the Buddhaship of Gotama. We need not repeat here the story, so commonly told, of his miraculous birth, and his life fuller of miracles than a Romish saint's, nor of that patience of discipline, in successive transmigrations, through a countless series of ages, by which he at length attained to the degree of virtue that qualified him to receive the divine affluence. These things belong to that superstition which ever craves the marvelous before the real, and that childlike credulity which revels in the supernatural, and that unrestrained imagination which delights in all things extravagant in story and monstrous

* Asiat. Res. vol. vi, p. 463. Query—Whether Vish-nu may be *Son-of-Nuh*, (Noah,) as cf. the Russian *Vitch*.

† In the Æthiopic, the definite article is *Pi*. In the Sanscrit the article is wanting.

‡ The Rama or Raymi, as well as Lama, appears in Peru.

in form. As a mortal and a reality, Gotama has given character to modern India. He was clearly an earnest man who sought to stay the tottering temple and bring back the sanctions of their ancient faith. As a reformer and philosopher he merits to stand by the side of Confucius and Zoroaster, and in the Christian Church his compeer is Loyola. We cannot rank him with Luther, for he took no Protestant stand against the corruptions of acknowledged authorities; he hoped only to revive the failing energies of the national religion, to develop the principles of the national theology, and exemplify the virtues of the national creed. As to the time when he flourished Oriental scholars differ quite widely. Hardy places him about six and a half centuries before the Christian era; others still later, and so good an authority as Sir William Jones (Works, vol. i, p. 310) makes his birth at 1027 B. C. Koeppen says, (p. 118,) "if you allow him historic reality at all," that authorities differ not less than about two thousand years; but in that reckoning he must confound Buddhas of different ages—a confusion naturally resulting from that skepticism by which he rejects the traditions of a succession of supposed incarnations under that name, antecedent to "the present reigning Buddha."

Art. VI.—CANNIBALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Fiji and the Fijians. Vol. I. The Islands and their Inhabitants. By Thomas Williams, late Missionary in Fiji.—Vol. II. Mission History. By James Calvert, late Missionary in Fiji. Edited by George Stringer Rowe. London: Alexander Heylin, 28 Paternoster Row. 1858.

Lying between the latitudes of 15° 30′ and 20° 30′ S., and the longitudes of 177° E. and 178° W., is a group of islands numbering two hundred and twenty-five, eighty of them inhabited, known as the Fiji Islands. They contain a population of about 150,000, and extend over 40,000 square miles of the South Pacific Ocean.

The group presents almost every possible variety of outline, from the simple form of the coral isle to the rugged and often majestic grandeur of volcanic structure. In the eastern part of the archipelago the islands are small, and have a general resemblance to each other. They are composed of sand and coral *debris*, covered with a soil of vegetable mold of great depth and richness, and are placed by geologists in a class that has long been in high favor as the fairy lands of the South Seas. Toward the west the islands are large and

diversified; Vanua Levu, or Great Land, being more than one hundred miles long, with an average breadth of twenty-five miles, and Na Viti Levu, or Great Fiji, measuring ninety miles from east to west by fifty from north to south. Vanua Levu contains a population of 31,000; Na Viti Levu 50,000.

For the past one hundred years the government has probably been patriarchal, or else has consisted of many independent states, each having little intercourse with the other and very little political connection, mutual dread tending to detach the various tribes; and keeping them asunder. Wars between kings and chiefs have been constantly kept up, and a feeling of personal insecurity thus attaching itself to almost every islander.

The Fijians are generally above the middle stature, six feet four inches not being an unusual height for many of the men; they have broad chests, and strong sinewy arms, with an almost universal stoutness of limb and shortness of neck. The face is oval; the mouth large, with regular teeth of ivory whiteness; the nose well shaped, with full nostrils, yet distinct from the negro type; the eyes black, quick, and restlessly active; the complexion a cross between the black and copper-colored races.

From the character of the climate and the quality of their skin, the dress of the natives is very scant. The men wear a sash of white, brown, or figured vegetable cloth called *masi*, of wonderful softness and durability of texture. The dress of the women is a simple cincture or broad band of beautiful, variegated braid work, fastened around the waist, made from the bark of the *vau*-tree, the fiber of a wild root, and a kind of grass, abundant on the islands. A fringe from three to ten inches deep usually depends from the cincture.

Face painting is universal. Sometimes the man rejoices in an expression wholly vermilion; then with one cheek yellow and the other black; then with the forehead red and the cheeks and chin black or yellow; then with the forehead black and the nose red; then with a vertical or horizontal stripe of black or red; then with dots of blue, black, yellow, red, or white, as the whim may take him.

Their house-building and furnishing show a considerable advance on all other savage nations; the frame is of excellent timber; the walls of reeds, curiously wrought, among the rich, with work of sinnet-wood; the roof, which is very steep, is of long grass or the leaves of the sugar-cane, which attains an unwonted growth on the islands. In the center of the dwelling is a hole for the fire, and at one end is a moderately elevated platform for sleeping, covered with dry grass or ferns, and having as pillows a small framework of the hardest

wood. Mosquitoes swarm in unnumbered legions, and bite with a more than American ferocity. Every bed, therefore, has its curtains; not such as ours, but of soft *wooden* cloth. Calabashes, checkered baskets, fans, dishes of wicker and wood, earthen pans, bone knives, glazed water-pots, ladles of cocoanut-shell, and sundry other articles, furnish an idea of their kitchen utensils.

A general kindness of manner is prevalent; but the free flow of the affections between members of the same family is almost wholly prevented, by the strict observance of national aud religious customs of a most unnatural character. Brothers and sisters, fathers and sons-in-law, mothers and daughters-in-law, and brothers and sisters-in-law, are severally forbidden to speak to each other, or to eat from the same dish. Husbands seldom speak to their wives, and this, taken in connection with the fact that most of them have quite a number, leads to a state of domestic life not overstocked with joy.

To fall sick is a calamity that words can scarcely describe. If among friends, the patient is nursed for a time, but on becoming in the least degree troublesome, is put out of the way by being thrown into a cave or else buried alive. On the death of men of rank, their wives are strangled, and sometimes their mothers, the victims being called "grass." They are then washed and oiled, and used for bedding to their husbands' graves. The murder of the aged of both sexes is universal, bald heads and grey hairs being objects of contempt. The extent of infanticide on some of the islands is appalling. Abominable as it is, it is reduced to a system, and professors of the art are found in almost every village. When, however, any difficulty is experienced in obtaining the services of a professed murderess, the mother does not hesitate to kill her own babe.

The treachery which exists among all classes has led to universal distrust. The club is carried by every one, and at no time or place does a man feel safe, being the victim, wherever he moves, of a horrible fear. There is no walking out alone after dusk, nor any composure or enjoyment in visiting a new place. The sudden fall of leaves, the slamming of a door by the wind, the wail of a strange child at a feast, are all signs, to them, of the falling of the club or the whizz of darts and javelins.

But the subject of most painful and revolting interest connected with the Fijians is their cannibalism. This is one of their institutions; it is interwoven in the elements of society; it forms one of their pursuits, and is regarded by the mass as a refinement. On building a temple, launching a canoe, or taking down the mast of one which has brought some chief on a visit, and even sometimes on tax-day, one or more human bodies must be baked and eaten. For-

merly, on the finishing of a more than ordinary-sized canoe, several men were killed and used as rollers, then cooked and eaten. It was common also, before the arrival of missionaries, to murder men in order to wash the decks of new canoes with warm blood.

Every village has its "black list;" but when the list fails, the first common man is taken. Preference, however, is given to the flesh of women and girls, and a man who is dainty as to the flesh of war captives makes no scruple of clubbing his wife and devouring her. Mr. Jaggar, one of the missionaries residing on the island of Rewa, narrates that the king of the island became angry with one of his young female servants, and commanded that one of her arms should be cut off. The left was amputated, and she ordered to eat it or die by the club. Proceeding in the act, after it was baked, she became very sick, when the wretch relaxed somewhat, and she was permitted to live.

The first volume of the work named at the head of this article is devoted to the geography, origin and polity, industrial produce, religion, and manners and customs of the islanders; the second volume to the missionary work and triumphs among them. On pages 209, 210, of the first volume, Mr. Williams says:

"A woman taken from a town besieged by the chief Ra Undreundre, and where one of his friends had been killed, was placed in a large wooden dish and cut up alive, that none of the blood might be lost. In 1850 Chief Tuikila-kila inflicted a severe blow on his old enemies the Natewans, when nearly one hundred of them were slain, among whom was found the body of Ratu Rakesa, the king's own cousin. The chiefs of the victorious side endeavored to obtain permission to bury him, since he held the high rank of Rakesa, and because there were plenty of other bodies. 'Bring him here,' said Tuikilakila, 'that I may see him.' He looked on the corpse with unfeigned delight. 'This,' said he, 'is a most fitting offering to Na Tavasara (the war-god). Present it to him: let it then be cooked and reserved for my own consumption. None shall share with me. Had I fallen into his hands he would have eaten me: now that he has fallen into my hands I will eat him.' And he fulfilled his word. The body was baked slightly at first, then rebaked several times, and at last consumed."

A few years since, Loti, a chief at Na Ruwai, killed his only wife and ate her. She went to the field with him to plant taro, and when the work was done she collected wood with which to heat the oven that was to bake her own body. Everything being ready, he dismembered her alive, cooked the parts as he needed them, and calling in some friends, the whole body within half an hour's time was consumed. The woman was his equal, one with whom he lived comfortably, and the only reason that he ever assigned for the act was that he wanted "some woman meat to eat."

Shipwrecked persons, by the laws of the islands, are universally

clubbed and eaten. Where a large canoe-full is washed ashore in a storm, and there is a surfeit of subjects, only the heart, the thigh, and the arm above the elbow, which are considered delicacies, are eaten.

In baking a human body, no other article, except the wild boar, is allowed to be placed in the oven at the same time, and in eating it, sacred forks are uniformly used.

Numbers of men can be found on the islands who, in the course of their lives, have alone eaten twenty, thirty, and fifty human bodies. Rev. R. B. Lyth narrates the case of Ra Undreundre, of Rakiraki, who, in the space of some sixteen or eighteen years, devoured, with very little assistance, *nine hundred bodies*. He was called by his friends and subjects the "Prince of man-eaters."

It has been claimed for the Fijians that their religion excluded idol-worship. In the main this is true; yet the priests of all grades describe the gods as delighting in human flesh. In extreme cases the blood of pigs and turtles has been acceptable in sacrifice, but "the most valued and choice is the blood of men and women."

In the Friendly Islands the dreadful state of Fiji was long known and mourned over; and in the great revival that occurred in Tonga in 1834, when thousands not only turned from their idolatry, but showed true signs of their conversion, and when the king and queen sought together and found the forgiveness of their sins through Jesus Christ, the Wesleyan missionaries laboring there determined on sending one or more of their number to labor among the Fijians. It was not, however, till October 8, 1835, that any could leave. On that day Rev. William Cross, who had been eight years in the Friendly Islands, and Rev. David Cargill, who had been there two, left with their families for Lakemba, the most eastward of the Fijian group.

King George, of Tonga, who had from the first manifested a sincere interest in the undertaking, sent an influential person with a present to Tui Nayau, king of Lakemba, and a message urging that the missionaries should be well received. Early in the morning of October 12th the schooner came in sight of Lakemba; but the captain lay off and refused to cast anchor. At last a boat was launched, and the two missionaries, with three or four sailors to row, started for the shore. Deafening shouts along the beach announced the approach of the boat, and drew together a vast crowd of wild-looking Tongans and Fijians, armed and blackened according to custom, to receive the strangers. Numerous Tongans were in the crowd, and many of the Fijians could talk Tonguese. At once, therefore, the missionaries began a conversation, and were

well received; the king even admitted them to his own house, and offered to build them a residence.

The schooner, whose name was "The Blackbird," now cast anchor and the families were landed. They took up their abode for the night in a large canoe-shed; but, between the bitings of the mosquitoes and the gruntings of almost numberless hungry pigs, they slept scarcely any.

With the morning came countless numbers of the savages, and their questions and curiosity almost wore out the missionaries and their wives. The white-faced children were special objects of wonderment, and many were the kisses and embraces that the brawny islanders gave them.

October 14, the natives, with previously prepared posts, spars, reeds, etc., began house-building for Messrs. Cargill and Cross, and in three days two comfortable dwellings were ready. October 18 was the Sabbath. Religious service was announced for the morning and afternoon, and the missionaries preached twice in the open air, each hour to about one hundred and fifty persons, among whom was Tui Nayau, the king.

The missionaries found the Fijian language, in many respects, similar to the Tongan, with which they were already familiar, and to its acquisition they devoted every spare moment. By the aid of the interpreter whom King George had sent along, they were soon able to forward a revised version of the first part of Saint Matthew's Gospel to the press at Tonga, where twenty-four pages, 12mo., were printed and dispatched to Lakemba. Small as this portion was, it proved very popular and attractive, especially the Lord's Sermon on the Mount. A grammar and dictionary were commenced, and other portions of the New Testament translated as fast as circumstances would allow.

Preaching was kept up every Sabbath, and prayer and other meetings held for the benefit of the Tongans through the week. These Tongans, since coming among the Fijians, had become notoriously wicked. They led easy, well-fed, licentious lives, and were ready at a moment's notice for a dance or a fight. After a few months' preaching many of them became truly penitent, confessed their sins, and mourned bitterly over the iniquity they had committed. Some of the most famous and stout-hearted were first among the converted, and when the chiefs and other men of position heard them relate what the Gospel had done for them it had a telling effect.

Some of the converts were, as many are in civilized countries, half-hearted; but the majority were thorough and sincere. Great as was the distance between the desperate and lawless course which

they had hitherto pursued, and the high standard of morality which the New Testament teaches, yet Christianity elevated them to that standard. It did more than reform them—it gave them a new style of ideas, a new class of motives. Heartily and zealously they engaged in every good work, spending their means and appropriating their time to the spread of Scriptural holiness over the island.

It is impossible to give any general narrative of the wars, the escapes, the clubbings, the burnings, the dangers and deaths through which the early converts were called to pass: let it suffice that wherever the new religion was preached the old religion gave way, and the islanders were compelled to acknowledge that Christianity was a good and true thing. There was something so wonderful in the spirit which the converts exhibited, that the hearts of their persecutors were filled with amazement. An old priest was sailing with some friends, in the vicinity of Lakemba, when a sudden storm struck them and shipwreck ensued. A party of Christians in sight of the disaster ran down to the shore to lend assistance. The canoe drifted in, when the mats and clothes of the old man and his friends, being secured, were wrung out, dried, and returned to them. The act was so contrary to Fijian laws and customs, that the priest was half insane with astonishment, and, running among some heathen islanders, exclaimed, "Our gods are no gods: the Christian religion is a good religion, and we ought all of us to be Christians."

On the part of the missionaries there was no tampering or time-serving. Promised great reward at one time if they would but lend their presence against a neighboring island, they promptly declined. Threatened twice with starvation and death if they would not work on the Sabbath, or grant permission to the Christian islanders so to do, they quietly said to the ruling powers, "Starve us or kill us, as you like; our God, whom we serve, we will not dishonor by breaking his day." The sequel showed them to be gainers by the stand taken. Quite as decided were the converts under similar promises and threats. Nothing could move them.

The question of polygamy was frequently an embarrassing one: but there was no concession in consequence, no turning to the right or left, out of respect to "the civil law." Chief Wetasau was next in power to the king. For months he had given the missionaries great annoyance, and more than once told them that he intended "to root out the new religion." At last his heart was touched through the preaching of the Gospel, and he publicly announced his determination to *lotu*—to embrace Christianity. The day came for his renunciation of heathenism, and, true to his purpose, he did *lotu*. He subsequently asked for baptism; but, though he prayed regu-

larly, observed the Sabbath carefully, contributed to the purposes of the mission, and exhorted men everywhere to give up the old religion and embrace the new, the missionaries would not comply with his wish till he gave up his ten wives. For two years and a half he adhered to his course, and thought Mr. Calvert severe for not admitting him into the society. At the end of that period he yielded to his convictions of duty, and was legally married to one wife. Those who were discarded were soon afterward married to other husbands, "and led far happier lives than before." The greatness of Wetasau's trial, in giving up his wives, may be partly understood from the fact that a Fijian's wealth is measured by the number he has, and by their ability to work for him and gather property. Had the missionaries pursued any other course in regard to polygamy, their influence would have been jeopardized, and Christianity would have become a laughing-stock among all the intelligent natives.

South by east, one hundred and fifty miles from Lakemba, is a small group of islands tributary to the king of Lakemba, the chief one of which is Ono. A most remarkable work began here in 1836. A terrible epidemic disease broke out in Ono late in the previous year, and, notwithstanding the richest and costliest offerings were made to the gods, the thinning of the population went steadily on. In alarm, one of the chief men of the island, Wau, visited Lakemba, and besought the intervention of the missionaries. But neither missionary nor teacher could at that time be spared. Wau, however, attended some of the class and prayer meetings, and satisfied himself that there was but one true God, and that he alone was to be worshiped.

Arriving home, a meeting was called, and it was determined to set apart every seventh day as a Sabbath. The great trouble was, Who will pray for us? They had hitherto employed the mediation of priests in all their services, and not one knew the first sentence of invocation or prayer to God. Wau, in their extremity, called upon a venerable priest in the neighborhood and stated the case. The priest at first declined. Wau importuned, and the priest at last yielded, frankly, however, saying, "I do not understand your new religion, nor do I care for it." When all were seated the priest began thus:

"Lord, Jehovah! here are thy people; they worship thee. I turn my back on thee for the present, *and am on another tack*, worshiping another God. But do thou bless these thy people: keep them from harm, and do them good."

And so began the first worship to the Almighty in the far-off island of Ono. A few months afterward a converted Tongan young

man, who had taken the name of Josiah, touched at the island, and, hearing of the wants of the natives, offered his services as teacher, which were gladly accepted both by the old priest and the people. The band of worshipers grew from day to day, and soon a substantial chapel was built. Other teachers followed, and in January, 1840, Mr. Calvert visited Ono. He performed many marriages, baptized two hundred and thirty-three persons, and found multitudes who gave clear evidence that they had already been baptized with the Holy Ghost, and were leading blameless lives. In 1842 Rev. Thomas Williams visited the island, and found only three heathen on it. Those who were admitted into Church fellowship were not persons who had simply renounced heathenism, but, in addition, were such as exhibited an intelligent appreciation of what the Gospel of Christ required of them. They were meek, patient, temperate, chaste in manner and conduct, benevolent, willing to endure persecution and martyrdom even.

Mr. Hazlewood was at Ono in 1845, and found the converts steadfast and zealous. He gives us a specimen of a love-feast:

"I gave out that old hymn, familiar to every Christian heart,

'Am I a soldier of the Cross,'

and it was sung with great power. After a brief narration of experience on my part, some twenty of the natives followed, each occupying about two minutes.

"Nathan Thataki, a local preacher, said: 'When I first heard the Gospel preached I repented and was very much ashamed. I became acquainted with my sins one Sunday morning. I looked to everything on earth, but found no Saviour. I then looked to Jesus, and in him I found salvation.'

"Meshach Senimbua, a teacher, said: 'One great thing I know is my sins; another, is the love of God. It is a new thing for me to love men; but I do love all, sinners as well as converts, and I pray for sinners to be saved.'

"Leva Soko, a female class-leader, a most exemplary and holy woman, said: 'My child died, but I loved God the more. My body has been much afflicted, but my hope is in Jesus: he comforts me; I know that death will bring me to heaven.'

"William Raivakatu, a local preacher, said: 'When I am in Ono I receive much of the Holy Spirit, and when I sail to other lands it is the same. Sometimes I have been in death; but my mind did not shake; I had joy in Christ.'

"Sylvanus, a class leader, said: 'My joys increase with each coming of the sun. When alone on the ocean shore I sometimes sing,

'Forever here my rest shall be,'

and get very happy. My mind is like Paul's; I leave the things that are behind and reach forth to those that are before. I press toward the mark for the prize of my high calling, which is of God in Christ Jesus. I do not wish to live for earthly riches, but for God only.'"

It must be remembered that the men and women who thus spoke

were, only a few months previous, cannibals, to understand fully the great change which had taken place in them.

Among the remarkable characters brought to light in these volumes are Verani and Thakombau, the latter King of Mbau, the center of all political power in Fiji, and the former his chief counselor and ally. Both were men of blood. Verani excelled in desperate daring, brutal ferocity, and diabolical cruelty. To murder innocent childhood, outrage defenseless women, and devour the quivering flesh of his friends, was the delight of his heart. Both repeatedly swore to destroy Christianity; yet, bad as they were, Verani treated Mr. and Mrs. Cross with something of respect.

The missionaries and the converts offered daily prayer for the conversion of Thakombau and Verani, and what was the surprise of the missionary one day in having a call from Verani, to talk about the new religion. "I am not so good a man as I might be, nor perhaps as I ought, but I cannot *lotu*," were his words in leaving. A short time after the interview he led an expedition against a neighboring town, and killed over one hundred of the inhabitants, most of whom were baked and devoured. He also subsequently betrayed into the hands of Thakombau some fifty of his own friends, who were brutally clubbed and roasted. He was expostulated with by the missionary on account of such terrible wickedness, but the monster showed the slightest sorrow merely, remarking, with a laugh, "May be you are too anxious for me to *lotu*."

Mr. Cross and the converts continued their intercessions, but death fell on the devoted missionary before he saw any change in Verani's character. Rev. John Hunt, one of the noblest Wesleyan ministers the world has ever seen, was the successor of Mr. Cross. He availed himself of every opportunity to converse with the chief, and at the close of a long interview the cry was extorted from Verani: "The old religion is not as good as the new, and I must *lotu* or die." Earnest prayer was offered for him, and from that time forward all could see a great change.

Thakombau, hearing of Verani's abandonment of heathenism, sent word that he should suffer for it. "I am willing to suffer anything for Jesus," was the reply returned. "I will starve you and your family, and kill and eat your best friends, if you do not come back," were words sent by another messenger. "I fear Almighty God, and must do his will whatever follows," was the answer to this message.

When every threat had failed, the people thought Thakombau would visit bitter vengeance on Verani. Great was their astonishment, however, when to a vast crowd he exclaimed: "Did I not tell

you that we could not turn Verani. He is a man of *one heart.* When he was with us he was fully one with us; now he is a Christian, he is decided, and not to be moved." A lesson this, teaching that the kingliness of consistency is acknowledged among savage as well as among civilized nations. Verani's grief and penitence were proportionate to the enormity of his sins. They amounted to agony, even, as memory brought before him the long, black catalogue of his crimes. His high-souled pride was gone, and in his lowliness "this poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles." He went out before his fellows a changed man. Every one whom he met he exhorted to "lay hold on Jesus Christ." Earnest and active in nature, he could not be idle. His great war canoe he ordered to be launched, but not to go on its old mission of bloodshed and crime. A dark day was, it in time past, for some town or island when the great sail of that canoe went up to the wild shouts of the painted warriors who thronged the deck; but it was otherwise now. Verani, with his energy of soul, directed by the new power of love to God and man, was setting sail to carry the missionary to some distant island, and wherever that war canoe of the dreaded chieftain touched, it brought the fullness of the Gospel of peace. Very shortly after his conversion his sincerity was severely put to the test. A principal chief of the Mbau fishermen, who had been spending some time with him, and whose sister he had married as a head wife, returned home, but scarcely had he reached there before he and his aged father were brutally and treacherously murdered. Such an act was an aggravated and deadly insult to Verani; but the arm once so quick to strike in bloody revenge now was unmoved. In answer to repeated inquiries, "Will you not visit vengeance?" he replied, "I cannot; I am a Christian; the work of death and revenge with me is now over."

At his baptism Verani took the name of Elijah, and worthily did he wear it. In public and private his piety was singularly exemplary. In praying aloud he possessed great fluency and power. A specimen of his petitions, taken down by Mr. Williams, is furnished in volume second. Here are a few lines:

"O God, our Father, whose abode is in heaven! we worship thee. We offer not ourselves, or our own righteousness, to gain thy notice; we present Jesus; for his sake have mercy on us. When our minds think of Fiji, they are greatly pained; for the men and women of Fiji are thy people, and these thy people are strangled, and clubbed, and destroyed. O have compassion on Fiji! Our ministers see much evil by living with us; they suffer, and are weak in their bodies, and there is nothing with us that we can give them to strengthen them. Spare them that they may preach the true word to the people. And O, Holy Spirit, give light and repentance to the dark-hearted, and set us in motion, that we may not be so useless as we have been; but that

we may now, and for the time to come, live to extend thy kingdom, that it may reach all Fiji, for the sake of Jesus Christ, the accepted offering for us."

In an attempt to conciliate a mountain tribe who had long waged war against Thakombau, Verani became the victim of treachery and murder. But "he died well," almost his last breath being a prayer for the forgiveness of his murderers. His death greatly affected Thakombau, and in review of the many warnings he had received from the lips of his departed friend, as well as from the missionaries and King George of Tonga, he felt that he ought to be a Christian. The announcement was made that the Great Chief was about to *lotu*, the *rongorongoi valu*, or death-drum, was beaten, and the people in vast crowds gathered into and around the great Strangers' House for the worship of the true God. It was the 30th day of April, 1854. Mr. Calvert, who had long watched and toiled for this event, was so deeply moved that he could scarcely command voice or strength to conduct the services. At the close Thakombau announced that though not in the possession of a new heart he should earnestly pray for it; that he should strictly observe the Sabbath, and would institute at once divine worship in his own family. Many others followed his example, and before 1854 closed, chapels had been built, and houses opened for religious service in every direction. By the help of native teachers, and such as could read and pray in public, most of the places were supplied with one service on the Sabbath. By February, 1855, the number of regular worshipers in the Mbau Circuit, comprehending some twenty islands, was 8,870.

In August, 1857, the Mbau Circuit made this report: "In Viti Levu, or Great Fiji, 1,000 idolaters have forsaken heathenism, and are under Christian instruction. Native schoolmasters have been placed in eight towns, and 94 persons have been received into full membership. At Ngau, 267 have been admitted into full communion; at Ubatiki, 40; at Koro, 59; at Nairai, 200; at Moturiki, 36. In the whole circuit, after filling up vacancies by death, removals, and expulsions, there is a net increase of 750 members, with 722 on trial; 12 chapels have been built during the year; 43 native teachers have been entirely supported by the contributions of the congregations; 600 marriages have been solemnized; 96 schools have been commenced, and the attendants on public worship are everywhere greatly increased."

It is impossible, in an article like this, to give in detail, or otherwise even, any account of the original, the marvelous, the exciting scenes that the missionaries and their wives went through. The latter were heroines such as the world has seldom or never seen. Patient, uncomplaining, persevering, self-immolating, they knew no

pleasure but the prosperity of God's cause; and when, worn down with fatigue and disease, death came to beckon them away, their hearts went up in prayer to God to save Fiji, and her poor, sin-cursed people.

A certain class of moral philosophers, keeping company with sundry secular journals, have referred to the work of the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji in terms of mock condolence and contempt: "considerable good has been done;" "in some of the windward islands the flesh-eaters have diminished somewhat;" and such like are their words. Very many of the Fijians, we are frank to admit, are still heathen; the infirm, here and there, are still buried alive; widows are still strangled, and the treacheries and cruelties of war still pollute and scourge many parts of the group.

But, through the labors of the missionaries, we have these relieving aspects:

1. Cannibalism has totally disappeared from one half of the eighty inhabited islands.

2. Infanticide, in quite as many islands, has almost entirely ceased, as also has the practice of widow-strangling.

3. Murder is solemnly punished by law, and forms of justice are established throughout fifty of the group.

4. The Old and New Testaments have been translated into Fijian, and thousands of copies of them, besides tens of thousands of catechisms and other books, have been put into circulation, and are read and followed in their teachings by multitudes.

5. Every seventh day is observed as the Sabbath, and prayer is maintained in families where formerly the parent and the child were the strangler and the strangled.

The number of missionaries has always been disproportionate to the multitudes who were anxious to hear the Gospel; the cry was ever heard from distant islands, "Come over and help us," yet, with a few exceptions, it was impossible to respond. But eight missionaries, for this year of grace, 1859, are at work in all Fiji, and never, at one time, was the number greater; yet there is an accredited Church membership, at this writing, of over 10,000, and of stated hearers of God's word, some 60,000. Where poverty once was, competence now reigns; where idleness was, industry and thrift are now seen. On the islands where Christianity has been embraced, in place of robbery, there is honesty; of treachery, a heart-warm friendship; of strife and bloodshed, quietude and peace; of licentiousness, virtue; of intemperance, sobriety; of hate, good will; of all the groveling passions that deface humanity, those lofty ones that spring from universal love to God and man. Is not the change

a mighty one? Does it not show the oneness of the Fijian with man? Does not the Gospel, in its power thus to renew such low-sunken and desperate sinners, prove that its fountain-head is in heaven? And, finally, is there not hope, nay, is there not an absolute certainty, that, were the whole group of islands furnished with missionaries, speedily the acclaim would ascend throughout this paradise of the Southern seas, "Halleluiah! the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!"

Art. VII.—THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

7. If the fact that "the rich man" "was buried" represents a thoroughness and permanence of that condition into which the Jews, whom he is supposed to represent, entered when they "died," then does not this imply that the silence relative to a burial of "Lazarus" indicates a partial and transient transformation into Christians of the Gentiles and the Jews whom he is supposed to represent? But the fact that many of the Jews who do not accept Christianity are no more wicked than are many Gentiles, is sufficient evidence that they are no more "buried" or "fixed" in their condition of wickedness than are those Gentiles. Besides this, if the fact that "the rich man" "died" represents the termination of the Jewish dispensation, then the fact that he was subsequently "buried" ought to be interpreted as representing a second or an increased termination to that dispensation! But can a dispensation be really more than terminated? If, according to inferior and insufficient evidence, it is asserted that "the rich man" "was buried" "in hell," that assertion would involve at least either the absurdity of the supposition that he became not miserable when he "died," or that of the supposition that he became a second time, or more miserable when he "was buried."

8. If the fact that "the rich man" "lifted up his eyes" "in hell" represents that the Jews feel that, for rejecting Christianity, they are condemned by the Infinite Governor, then how happens it that this supposition does not accord with historical facts? If they felt such a condemnation, would they not accept Christ as the promised and true Messiah? If they perceived that their condition in respect to Christianity is a condemned one, would they cling to it with such tenacity? Are they more conscious of a divine rejection than are many Gentiles? Besides this, that the word "hell" does not express

simply a condition is obvious, not only from the fact that, if it did, the words "being in torments," which occur almost next to it, would present an inexplicable tautology, but especially from the fact that the part of what it expresses, into which "the rich man" went, he expressly calls a "*place* of torment." To say that that "place" is not a "place" would then partake of the absurdity involved in the assertion that that "torment" is unconsciousness or happiness. The fact that the word rendered in this passage "hell" represents a world of spirits, in which happiness is experienced by one and "torments" by another, renders it not inappropriate to say into which of those two conditions he who has arrived into that world has entered.

9. If the fact that "the rich man" "seeth Abraham afar off" represents that the Jews realize that they are no longer "Abraham's" representatives, then whose representatives do they feel themselves to be? Do not historical facts show that they regard themselves to be "Abraham's" representatives? Does not this interpretation of the words, "seeth Abraham afar off," regard the word "Abraham" as used literally and the other words as used figuratively? Is it not absurd then in the advocate for this interpretation to condemn the true interpretation because by it all the words of this passage may not be considered as used literally?

10. If the fact that "the rich man" "seeth" "Lazarus in" the "bosom" of "Abraham" represents that the Jews realize that the Gentiles have through Christianity become the recipients of God's oracles and blessings, then why do they regard the Author of Christianity, Christ, as an impostor? If they realized that God and "Abraham," whose friends they profess to be, are in Christianity, would they reject it and continue to expect the Messiah, whom it proclaims as having long ago appeared in the world? As they do not realize that their dispensation has been superseded by the Christian, so they do not realize that the Gentiles are in a closer or more correct relation to God than themselves.

11. If the fact that "the rich man" "cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me," represents that the Jews rely on the Mosaic institution or their dispensation, then how does this accord with the fact that "the rich man" "said" to "Abraham," "Send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue?" Do the Jews rely on the Mosaic institution, or their dispensation, and at the same time desire the Gentiles to be sent to them? Do not historical facts show that, so far from earnestly requesting the Gentiles to be sent to them, they regret that they ever approached them and destroyed their capital city, and com-

pletely subjugated them? Do the Jews confide in their dispensation as exclusively divine, and at the same time see "Abraham afar off" from it? How can they regard their dispensation as of such transcendent excellence, and at the same time so confide in Christianity as to desire its blessings, or to desire that the Gentiles should convey favors from it to them?

12. If the fact that "the rich man" "said," "I am tormented in this flame," represents that the Jews admit that they are condemned by Divine Providence, and are miserable from its infliction of evils upon them, then is not this an interpretation of the word "tormented" as literal, and of the word "flame" as figurative? Will, then, the advocate for this interpretation longer condemn the true interpretation because it may not consider all the words of this passage as used literally? Will he also longer ridicule, as derogatory to the Infinite Governor, the idea that men will be "tormented" after death, while he contends that they are "tormented" before it?

13. If the words, "remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented," refer to the Jews and the Gentiles, and are, with only a few exceptions, to be interpreted as literal, then does not the advocate for this interpretation several times here interpret literal with figurative expressions, and thus in so many instances adopt a mode of interpretation which he condemns? But is it a historical fact that since the introduction of Christianity into the world none but the Jews have been "tormented," and all the Gentiles have been "comforted?" Since that introduction, have not many of the Jews been no more "tormented" than many were before it, and have not many of the Gentiles been, since the same time, no more "comforted" than many were before it?

14. If the words, "between us and you there is a great gulf fixed," represent that "Abraham" and the Gentiles are in one condition and the Jews in another, then, as the Greek word from which the "you" of these words is rendered is in the plural number, who does it comprise besides "the rich man?" Will it be pretended that "the rich man," whose oneness has, previously to the occurrence of that Greek word, been denoted by thirty-one Greek words, is in that word represented as alone more than one? For the support of such a pretension, no part of a proof can be adduced. As the interpretation of the words, "between us and you there is a great gulf fixed," which is here condemned, regards such of those words as "between" and "great" as used literally, and "gulf" as used figuratively, should the true interpretation be condemned be-

cause it may not consider all the words of the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" as used literally?

15. If the fact that "Abraham" "said," "so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot; neither can they pass to us, that *would come* from thence," represents that the Gentiles "cannot" become what the Jews are, nor the Jews what the Gentiles are, then how does this interpretation accord with historical facts? Can no Jews become Christians? Were not Christ's apostles Jews? How then can the Jews be represented to be in the present life in only that condition from which they "cannot" escape? It should never be forgotten that the reason why "the rich man" and those who are associated with him "cannot" "pass to" "Abraham" and "Lazarus," nor the latter class to the former one, is not because an improper mode of approach is adopted, but because no approach is possible. After an arrival is made into either of the two places "between" which the "great gulf" is "fixed," a past experience of a "lifetime" and the impassableness of that "gulf," and not a then present want of a correct knowledge or desire or willingness to make exertions on the part of those who arrive there, prevents those who are on its opposite sides from passing to each other, though "Abraham" more than intimated to "the rich man" that, if before his arrival into his "fixed" condition he had not "in" his "lifetime" neglected his future interests, he might now have been associated with him and "Lazarus." But to the Jews there are no impassable barriers "so that they" "cannot" become Christians. By a performance of the prescribed directions, they can obtain such a condition. Will it be said that they are obliged to reject Christ because many of their nation rejected him? It might as well be said that they are obliged to accept him because some of their nation—as his apostles, and, according to Acts vi, 7, even "a great company of the priests"—accepted him. It should also never be forgotten that "the rich man" did not ask to be restored to his former condition, but for a slight relief from the "torments" of that into which he had entered. If then the Jews desire their former condition, their case in this respect also is not analogous to his. Another reason why he cannot represent them, nor any other class of persons, is the fact that others are, in three instances besides that which is designated in the last of the preceding paragraphs, associated with him; "you," of the words "from hence to you," and "pass," of the words "they pass to us," as well as "that," of the words "that would come," being rendered from Greek words that are in the plural number. The question who are associated with the Jews in their adherence to the Jewish religion, or in their dis-

persion among the Gentiles, can never be properly answered, except with the fact that none are in either of these ways associated with them. Besides this, as those who were associated with "the rich man" could no more than he "pass to" "Abraham" and "Lazarus," will it be pretended that associates of the Jews "cannot" become Gentiles? What can associates of the Jews be but Gentiles? Will it then be pretended that associates of the Jews "cannot" become Christians? If anything prevents such a transformation, must it not be a reliance on Judaism or on Gentilism? But a reliance on Judaism would prove them to be Jews, while a reliance on Gentilism would prove them to be Gentiles! How then can anything but the true interpretation of this passage account for the fact that "Abraham," instead of saying, "neither" canst *thou* "pass to us that" would "come from thence," "said," "neither can THEY pass to us that would "come from thence?" How, also, can anything but that interpretation account for the fact that "Abraham," instead of saying, *we* "which would pass from hence to you cannot," "said," "THEY which would pass from hence to you cannot?" Does he not, by this, more than intimate that others besides himself are associated with "Lazarus?" If then "Lazarus" represents a class of persons, who are the others that are associated with him? But Jews, Gentiles, and any others that may, if possible, be supposed to exist, have, since the commencement of Christianity, been no more separated beyond a possibility of religious or other association with each or one another than they were before that commencement, though "Lazarus" and "the rich man" were, after they had "died," separated beyond a possibility of passing to each other. As also such words as "hence," "cannot," "can," and "thence," are considered as at least more literal than some others in this passage, will it be longer contended that all its words are figurative?

16. If "Lazarus" represents the Gentiles, then when "the rich man" "said, I pray thee, therefore, father, that thou wouldest send him to my father's house," did he desire all the Gentiles to be sent "to" his "father's house?" Does then the word "him" represent only a part of Lazarus?" If "the rich man" represents the Jews, what does his "father's house" represent? Will it be said that "Abraham" is the "father" of the Jewish nation, and that the Jews are his "house?" But his "house" is no more that to which "the rich man's" words, "my father's house," refer, than a being who is addressed is another one who is not addressed; the words, "I pray *thee*, therefore, *father*, that *thou* wouldest send him to *my father's* house," obviously referring to two different degrees of paternal relation. That "the rich man" and his "father's house" do not each

represent the Jews, is obvious even from the fact that after he learned that "Lazarus" "cannot" have access to him even to "cool" his "tongue," he "therefore" changed the subject of his prayer from himself to his "father's house." How can "the rich man" represent all the adherents of the Jewish Church, or even the Jewish priests, if there is besides him a "father's house" which is separated from him? If that "house" constitutes a part of the Jewish Church, has not that part as much "died," and has it not been as much "buried," and has it not also as much entered a "fixed" condition as another part of that Church? How then happens it that the "place" in which "the rich man" is "tormented" is different and separated from that of his "father's house?" If "the rich man" and his "father's house" each represent the Jews, then as he is absent from that "house," the Jews are absent from themselves! As then that "house" does not represent the Jews, it could no more have needed the sending of the Gentiles "to" it, than they needed the sending of themselves "to" themselves!

17. If "the rich man's" "five brethren" represent the ten lost tribes of Israel, then either "the rich man" does not represent all the Jews who reject Christianity, or those ten tribes do not reject it. If the ten tribes do not reject Christianity, then they no more need the Gentiles to be sent to them, than the Gentiles need to be sent to themselves, "lest they also come into" the "place" in which "the rich man" is "tormented!" But if the ten tribes do reject Christianity, then they have as much "died," and have been as much "buried," and have also as much entered a "fixed" condition as other Jews, and accordingly they are so far from being in any danger "lest they also come into" the "place" in which "the rich man" is "tormented," that they are already there! Why, from those on the side of the "great gulf" which is opposite to that on which he is, did he select "Lazarus" as the one whom he wished to be sent to the "five brethren?" As that selection necessarily implies that when it was made the "five brethren" yet had such a vivid impression of the peculiar circumstances of Lazarus," that if he had then appeared to them, "the rich man" supposed that they would have recognized him as one risen "from the dead," are not that selection and that which it necessarily implies inexplicable to him who regards them as not teaching any facts of a future life? If, in order to avoid the absurdity of the supposition that besides the "Jews and Gentiles" that, even in Romans iii, 9, comprise all human beings, there were others whom "the rich man" denominated his "five brethren," it is said that he had no "five brethren," what consistency or propriety is there in such an assertion? Might not any other

words of this passage be with as much consistency or propriety rejected? As five of the thirteen verses of which this passage consists are almost, if not quite, exclusively appropriated to statements relative to the "five brethren," an interpretation of them as simply an ornament, would result in a rejection of almost one half of the whole passage! He whose conscience will allow him such a license with five verses of it, will perhaps not realize before death any mental distress for rejecting the other eight! The difference between five and thirteen can in such a matter doubtless present no impediment to such a license with Christ's statements. But does not such a principle of rejection tend to a real, though not necessarily an avowed rejection of the whole Bible? As the supposition that "the rich man" had no "five brethren" inevitably leads to a rejection of at least five of the thirteen verses of this passage, since those five verses are entirely founded on the fact that he had "five brethren," so it is absurd to suppose that there is no difference between the mode of the assertion that "the kingdom of heaven" "shall" "be likened unto ten virgins," and that of the assertion, which is without an intimation of a comparison, that "a certain rich man" "said," "I have five brethren." But even if those two modes were alike, it could not be proved that no "ten virgins" did or could manifest their respective wisdom and foolishness as Christ has related. Does, however, as much depend on the number of the "virgins" as on that of the "brethren," while in the description of the "virgins" a comparison is clearly intimated by the word "likened," and while no such intimation of a comparison is made relatively to the "brethren," or to anything else, of the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus?" In each of Christ's two statements of which the one commences with the words, "What man of you, having a hundred sheep, if he lose one of them," and the other, with the words, "Either what woman, having ten pieces of silver, if she lose one piece," a supposition is clearly expressed by the word "if," while no such supposition is expressed in relation to the "five brethren." The statement relative to the "hundred sheep," either from its phraseology or from some other intimation by its author, Christ, is also expressly called a "parable" by the historian, Luke, and as with it Christ connects, by the conjunction "either," his statement relative to the "ten pieces of silver," he gives perhaps sufficient evidence that the latter statement as well as the former is a "parable," and his assertion which he adds to each of these two statements, and which he connects with each of them, that there "likewise" is "joy" "over one sinner that repenteth," is still an additional evidence that they are used for illustrations. But such evidence that the words "five brethren" are

merely supposed to be true, is inexpressibly far from appearing. He, then, who regards the "five brethren" to be of no importance, or to be simply analogous to the "ten virgins," and to the "hundred sheep," and also to the "ten pieces of silver," most egregiously errs. It should accordingly be never forgotten that it is an unalterable fact, that besides Jews and Gentiles there can be neither any number of "brethren," nor even any individual, that is not in the condition of the former or in that of the latter, though "the rich man" did "have five brethren" whose condition greatly differed from his as well as from that of "Lazarus."

18. If of the reply of "Abraham" to "the rich man," "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them," the words "Moses and the prophets" were known and used as the proper names of the religious writings of the illustrious leader and legislator of the Jews and of certain other inspired teachers, then why are the words, "a certain beggar named Lazarus," regarded as representing not an individual but a nation or class of persons that was never so named? Does he who regards the words "Moses and the prophets" as representing, by the figure of speech termed metonymy, the religious writings of the inspired teachers thus mentioned, and the proper name "Lazarus" as representing, by neither the same nor any usual figure of speech, a nation or class of persons, adopt a more uniform and consistent mode of interpretation, than he who interprets the words, "Moses and the prophets," as that interpreter, and who considers the word "Lazarus" as the proper name of the individual who, according to Christ's express declaration, was so "*named?*" That the words "Moses and the prophets" were known and used as the proper names of the religious writings of the illustrious leader and legislator of the Jews, and of certain other inspired teachers, is obvious from Luke xxiv, 27, "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." As then those writings were real and not imaginary, is it absurd that the man who was "named Lazarus" was also real and not imaginary? If those real writings are regarded as representing their real authors, why are "the rich man's" "torments" after death regarded as not real and yet as representing real things of the present life? If "the rich man's" death represents the cessation or abolition of the Jewish dispensation, how happens it that even after he had "died" "Abraham" said, "let" the "five brethren" "hear" "Moses and the prophets?" How happens it that he was so profoundly silent in respect to Christ and his apostles? Did not these, at the cessation or abolition of the Jewish dispensation, become the principal, and "Moses and the prophets" the subordinate religious

instructors? Are the "five brethren" yet to perform the ceremonies which prefigured Christ and his dispensation? If not, then why must they "hear," not subordinately nor chiefly, but exclusively, "Moses and the prophets?" As then after "the rich man" had "died," they were not required to "hear" any one besides "Moses and the prophets," so this incontrovertibly proves that his death does not represent the cessation or abolition of the Jewish dispensation, and that he lived and "died" when that dispensation was yet invested with full divine authority. How then can "Lazarus," who "died" still sooner, represent Christians, who are of course not the predecessors but the successors of Christ? If "the rich man" represents the adherents of the Jewish Church, then they as well as he no longer "have," as the "five brethren," "Moses and the prophets!" But the astonishing anomaly that those adherents have not the writings on which their Church was founded, can never be a historical fact so long as the Jews continue as now to "have Moses and the prophets." If "the rich man's" death represents the cessation or abolition of the Jewish dispensation, how happens it that he is "dead," and his "five brethren," being yet at his "father's house," after he had left it, are not "dead?" How also happens it that they are in one place and he in another, so that he is not, as they are, and as he once evidently was, able to "hear" "Moses and the prophets?" As then he, after he "died," was where he could no longer gain access to those writings, while his "five brethren" yet did "have" them and were yet to "hear them," and as those writings are in the present life, does it not incontrovertibly follow that the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented" is in a future life?

19. If the fact that "the rich man" "said, Nay, father Abraham: but if one went unto them from the dead they will repent," represents that "one" "from" those that have departed from the present life of which they were once subjects, is desired to rise, then is not this another instance in which words of the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" are considered as used literally even by that interpretation which opposes the true one? Is it then not absurd to say that all the words of this passage are figurative? Cannot also the use of literal with figurative words at least as consistently teach facts of a future life as of the present? Will it be said that those "from" whom "Lazarus" was desired to rise are called "the dead," because on them simply the Mosaic dispensation had no claims? Why, then, had that dispensation claims on the "five brethren" who were yet to "hear" "Moses and the prophets?" Did it cease to be in force and authority to some and not to others of the present life? Was not that dispensation abrogated to all when

its substitute was effected by Christ? Does it then not incontrovertibly follow that "the dead" had departed from the present life while the "five brethren" were yet in it? It is obvious that the "five brethren" "unto" whom "Lazarus" was desired to be sent, were not in the place in which he was, else in leaving it he would have been so far from going "*unto* them," that he would have gone *from* "them." If then that place was not a place but simply a death to sin, then they were not "dead" to sin. It is no less obvious that they were not in the place in which "the rich man" was, since the very reason why he desired "Lazarus to be sent "unto them," was, "lest they also come into this place of torment," and not because they were already there. If then that place was not a place but simply a death in sin, then they were not "dead" in sin. As then the supposition that the death of "Lazarus" was a death *to* sin, and that of "the rich man" a death *in* sin, inevitably involves the palpable absurdity that the "five brethren" were neither "dead" *to* sin nor "dead" *in* sin, and as to at least moral beings no state is possible in which there is not either a death *to* sin or a death *in* sin, so that supposition leads to the absurd conclusion that the "five brethren" being in neither of the only two possible moral states, were in no state at all! That supposition must therefore be false, and accordingly it is in no small degree obvious that the deaths which "Lazarus" and "the rich man" "died," were departures from the present life. Is it not stated that, after they "died" the former was "comforted" and the latter "tormented?" Is then that comfort or that "torment" not as really existing in a future life as it is obvious that "Lazarus" and "the rich man" departed from the present? Will it be contended that such deaths as they are said to have "died" exist, but that such conditions as those into which they are said to have after those deaths respectively entered do not exist? When "the rich man" "said, Nay, father Abraham, but if one went unto them from the dead they will repent," was he not by this as by preceding language requesting "*Lazarus*" to be sent "unto" the "five brethren?" Is not the assigning of a reason why the bestowment of the object of a request is regarded valuable, tantamount to a repeating of the request, and consequently a proof that the request is not changed? As it was intimated to "the rich man" that if his "five brethren" did not "hear" "Moses and the prophets," even "Lazarus" could not avail them, is it not absurd to suppose that "the rich man" then contended that less than "Lazarus," or only a part of him would avail them? The words, then, of "the rich man," "but if *one* went unto them from the dead," so refer to "Lazarus" as to imply that

he is "ONE." Is not this another incontrovertible evidence that "Lazarus," who is more than intimated to be only "*one*" of "the dead," and not *all* of them, does not represent a class of persons? Obvious, then, as it is that when "the rich man" requested him to be sent "unto" the "five brethren," he did not request either many, or even some, but only "*one*" to be sent "unto them," will it still be said that both the word "one" and the word "Lazarus" represent the Gentiles? Is it supposed that the words of "the rich man" imply, "but if" the Gentiles "went unto them from the dead?" Who are "the dead" "from" whom, on such a supposition, he requested the Gentiles to be sent? If they also are the Gentiles then he might as well have said, "But if" the Gentiles "went unto them from the" Gentiles! But it is by no means a historical fact that the Jews, whom he is supposed to represent, desire the Gentiles, or even any part of them, to be sent "unto" unknown nations or persons whom the "five brethren" may if possible be supposed to represent! That "the dead," whose number would have been rendered only "*one*" less, and who would have remained "dead," even if "Lazarus" had risen "from" them, are those who had departed from the present life, is also obvious, even from the fact that from no other "dead" could he have communicated such unexpected and striking facts as "the rich man's" new situation brought to his painful experience, and such as he evidently wanted to be communicated to his "five brethren," "lest they also come into" the "place" in which he is "tormented."

20. If the fact that "Abraham" "said unto" "the rich man," "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead," represents that the "five brethren" were exposed to a condition of the present life which that of "the rich man" in the "place of torment" in which he is "tormented," is supposed to represent, then how happens it that they are represented as being exposed to *his* condition, and not to that which his is supposed to represent? That his condition in that "place" is in a future life is obvious even from the fact that the only reason which can be assigned why they were not already in that "place" with him, when they as he had neglected to "repent," is that they had not yet departed from the present life. Another evidence that his condition, which they deserved, but to which they were as yet only exposed, is in a future life, is the fact that to acquaint them with it would have required "one" to rise "from the dead," who have been proved to be those who had already at the time of that their exposure departed from the present life. His condition that he experienced in the present life they must have

more or less experienced when he was yet with them at the "father's house." As of them it was said, "They have Moses and the prophets," is it not more than intimated that they were Jews? But since the commencement of the Christian dispensation the Jews have, as is even in Luke ix, 35, more than intimated, been required to "hear" Christ the "beloved Son." In the condition of these latter Jews, which that of "the rich man's" "being in torments" is supposed to represent, the "five brethren" who were required to "hear" "Moses and the prophets" not only were not, but they could be no more exposed to it than the Jewish dispensation could be six times superseded by the Christian! The absurdity of the supposition that the "five brethren" were exposed to a condition of the present life which that of "the rich man's" "being in torments" is supposed to represent, of course cannot by any means be obviated by the absurd supposition that his death represents more of the Jewish dispensation than that of any of his "five brethren" of whom of course he was a brother. Besides this, that "the rich man" cannot represent the Jews, is obvious even from the fact that to them, at least, Christ and the "Lazarus" who was the brother of Mary and Martha of Bethany, "rose from the dead," while to him those of "the dead" that were not already with him "*cannot*" "pass." As the words of "Abraham," "though one rose from the dead," refer to "Lazarus" whom "the rich man" desired to be sent "unto" his "five brethren," they confirm as correct what "the rich man" virtually said, that "Lazarus" is "one," and not many, or even some. It should not be forgotten, that to go from the place in which were "Abraham" and "Lazarus" to that in which was "the rich man," and from the latter place to the former would be to "pass" in those directions, and that that passing is not called a rising "from the dead," while to go from the place in which were "Abraham" and "Lazarus" to that in which were the "five brethren," is to rise "from the dead" to those who had not, as "Lazarus" and "the rich man," "died," and who were yet to "hear" "Moses and the prophets." Another evidence that to rise "from the dead" of whom "Lazarus" was "one," is not to undergo a change from righteousness or happiness to unrighteousness or unhappiness, is obvious from the fact that "the rich man" would not "pray" for this too common an event, as if it were so uncommon and divine that it would by its presence induce his "five brethren" to "repent."

III. Additional evidences that this passage teaches a consciousness of punishment after death, presented.

1. The proper name "Lazarus," as used in this passage, is not an inconsiderable evidence that the statements of this passage im-

ply such particular facts as are wholly incompatible with the supposition that, though this passage speaks of a future life as well as of the present, it teaches facts of only the present. Whether the word "Lazarus," like other proper names mentioned in the Bible, has etymologically a meaning or not, the fact remains that the "Lazarus" whose case is in this passage stated, could be no more prevented, by the etymological character of his name, from having a real existence, than that "Lazarus" whom Christ "raised from the dead." Besides this, as Christ specifically says of the "certain beggar" whose case is in this passage contrasted with that of "the rich man," that he was "NAMED Lazarus," does it not strikingly and incontrovertibly follow that this "Lazarus" was a real person, and not one supposed to have existed? As then it cannot be proved that Christ ever said of any man who never had a real existence that he was "*named*" a specified proper name, and as it cannot be proved that such an assertion would not conflict with the emphatically unerring character of Christ's teaching, so the fact that "Lazarus" is a real person, implies that not only his condition in a future life, but also that of "the rich man," which is contrasted with it, are also real, even if they are expressed with words as figurative as some employed in the Bible to express conditions of the Infinite Governor.

2. Certain conditions that are in this passage stated, are such that they must be considered as existing in a future life. Who is in the present life so "comforted" as to be beyond the possibility of being "tormented?" Who is in the present life so "tormented" as to be not only beyond the possibility of obtaining any "mercy," or even the slightest relief, but also beyond the possibility of obtaining an ability either to "hear" "Moses and the prophets" or to "repent?" What two classes of human beings that are in the present life are in such conditions that they "cannot" "pass to" each other even if they "WOULD?" But as "the rich man's" "five brethren" were neither in the condition of "Lazarus," and those who are with him in "Abraham's bosom," nor in that of "the rich man," and those who are with him in a certain "place of torment," it follows that this passage states the conditions of at least three classes. What three classes, then, of human beings that are in the present life are such that, while two of them are in opposite and irreversible conditions, the third is in a condition which, though inexpressibly different from that of either of the other two, yet will end in that one of "torments" which the one of those other two classes is experiencing, if an escape from it is not effected by a voluntary and permanent discontinuance of a neglect to "hear" "Moses and

the prophets," and to "repent?" Will it be said that, according to Rev. xx, 14, "death and hell" will be "cast into" a certain "lake of fire," and that when that event will occur "hell" will be annihilated and "the rich man" delivered from the "torments" which he is experiencing? As "death" cannot be annihilated while any one continues to be "dead," so as "death and hell" will simultaneously undergo that which is regarded an annihilation, it follows that that supposed annihilation cannot occur at least before the general resurrection of "the dead." As then, according to Rev. xx, 15, it is prophetically said that besides "death and hell," "whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire," it follows that even after that resurrection, when that which is regarded an annihilation of "hell," occurs, all punishment will at least then not yet have ended. If the fact that "hell" will be "cast" or transported from one part of space to another implies an annihilation of "hell," then, for the effecting of an annihilation by the Omnipotent Governor, transportation is so far from being unnecessary and absurd that it is not only indispensable but it also even necessarily implies such a destruction as consists in an annihilation! But even if it could be proved that there will occur such a destruction of the "hell" in which "the rich man" experiences "torments," as implies its annihilation, that would not prove either that "the lake" "into" which on that supposition it will be "cast," will be annihilated, or that "Abraham" erred when he more than intimated that those "torments" are irremediable, and that the two classes that are on the two different sides of that which he calls "a great gulf" "cannot" "pass to" each other. Will it be said that at the general resurrection of "the dead," and at the general judgment of the human race, those two classes will change their locations? Whatever changes of location may occur at that resurrection or at that judgment, it cannot be proved that any such change of location will occur as that of a passing from either of the two sides of the "great gulf" to the "you" or the "us" mentioned by "Abraham." But even if it could be proved that there will occur a passing from even both of the sides of the "great gulf" to those that are meant by that "you" and that "us," that would not prove that that passing would afford any "mercy" or relief to "the rich man's" "torments." As when earnest prayer is made to "Abraham" for "mercy" and relief from the "torments" experienced by "the rich man." "Abraham" makes no mention of a time, or way of escape, or deliverance from those "torments," does it not follow that no time or way of escape or deliverance from them is possible? As in answer to that prayer not even any course of conduct was prescribed for the secur-

ing of "mercy" and relief from those "torments," it follows not that "the rich man" was unwilling to pursue the right conduct, but that the time for the pursuing of such conduct had to him irrecoverably passed. As "Abraham" more than intimates that with "the rich man's" "lifetime" had to him passed all opportunities of obtaining "mercy" and an escape or deliverance from the "torments" to which not even the slightest relief could even be promised, does it not follow that he will never be "comforted" or even relieved? Another evidence that "the rich man's" condition after death is beyond remedy, is the fact that "Abraham" more than intimates that while to the "five brethren" remained opportunities to "repent," the time for such opportunities had to "the rich man" irrecoverably passed, and accordingly even his at least apparently penitential words, "have mercy on me," "I pray thee, therefore," are so unavailing that they obtained not even the slightest favor. Does it not follow that the time for man's repentance is limited, and that when that time has been passed all efforts at repentance are utterly unavailing? Can it then be with impunity or with propriety added to the unerring answer of "Abraham," that after a time, or by pursuing a new course of conduct, "the rich man" will obtain the "mercy" and relief which he was so earnestly seeking? As then "Abraham" represents him to be beyond "mercy" and even the slightest relief, does it not follow that he will be everlastingly "tormented?" He who on earnestly praying for "mercy" and relief is answered by an unerring teacher that to him not even the slightest "mercy" or relief can be given, needs not be told that after a time, or by adopting a better procedure than at least earnest prayer, he will obtain "mercy" and relief. He will not believe nor even hope that what has been emphatically and unerringly represented to be beyond remedy, will ever at any time or by any means be ameliorated. He knows that the "Father Abraham" who addressed him with the appellation "Son," would not accidentally nor purposely have concealed from him the present or future possibility of obtaining "mercy" or relief, if any such possibility either existed or would exist. A refusal to him of every desired, and even the slightest favor or consolation, must have convinced him of what he seems never previously to have believed, that human probation extends not beyond death, and that the "torments" after death are as obviously hopeless and everlasting as it is obvious that "Abraham" would otherwise not, in answer to an earnest prayer for "mercy" and relief from them, have more than intimated that they are beyond even the slightest relief. As then no "torments" that are in the present life are beyond relief, since death furnishes a relief to all the

"torments" of this life which will not by any other means be relieved, it follows that the "torments" experienced by "the rich man" actually exist in a future life. Will it be said that his "torments" will not be everlasting because the doctrine of everlasting "torments" is not as early and as frequently taught in the Bible as it is supposed that a doctrine of such importance should be? Is then every important doctrine that is not early and frequently taught in the Bible false, and does every important divine declaration need corroboration? He who rejects the doctrine of everlasting "torments," because it is not taught in the way which he may prescribe, doubtless disregards the fact that that way might be so irresistible as to conflict with his present moral agency. But to know that a doctrine is once clearly taught in the Bible, is that knowledge which frequently conducts to the discovery of the fact that that doctrine is also taught in instances which, but for that clear teaching, might be regarded as teaching other doctrines. Will it be said that certain passages of the Bible teach doctrines that are opposed to the doctrine of everlasting "torments" which the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" teaches? In proportion as it is proved that this passage teaches this doctrine it is also proved that all passages of the Bible that are regarded as teaching doctrines that are opposed to this are not correctly understood. It is, of course, absurd to attempt to oppose or to explain this passage with one, the teaching of which, in respect to conditions in a future life, is less incontrovertible, and less copious, and less specific.

3. That an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting, is in this passage stated, is at least as obvious as it is that the "torments" which Christ says that "the rich man" experienced after he "died," are more than intimated by "Abraham" to be beyond "mercy" and relief. Even if it could be proved that this passage is a parable, or that Christ stated that endurance for representing another thing, it would even then no more follow that no such endurance exists than it would follow that facts cannot be represented by facts. Accordingly, it will now be proved that Christ, in stating that endurance, necessarily sanctions as correct the belief that such an endurance actually exists. It is of course obvious that Jotham, in order to represent certain facts that he specifies, could, according to Judges ix, 8–15, represent "trees" as talking, without sanctioning that talking as true; and it is, of course, also obvious that even Christ, in order to represent the character of certain "prophets" that he specifies, could, according to Matt. vii, 15, say of them, "inwardly they are ravening wolves," without sanctioning it as true that those "prophets"

were literally "wolves." But an inexpressibly great distinction subsists between such statements and that which Christ has made in respect to an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting. It has from time immemorial been a belief, not only very extensively prevalent, but prevalent with even many who have by no means been the most ignorant and uninfluential, that such an endurance actually exists. But that "trees" can talk, or that men can literally be "wolves," has so seldom if ever been a belief with even the most ignorant and uninfluential, that it cannot be proved to have received any sanction as correct from Jotham or Christ. It is therefore exceedingly absurd to regard that which, by ocular demonstration, is universally known to be a physical impossibility, as analogous to that which is so far from being known to be an impossibility, that the belief that it actually exists is not only very extensively prevalent, but prevalent with even many who have by no means been the most ignorant and uninfluential. A clear and positive statement of that which is the object of a belief of a very extensive prevalence and influence, is not a little different from a statement of that which is inexpressibly far from being the object of such a belief. This is obvious even from the fact that Christ's clear and positive statement, in this passage, of an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting, has been considered evidence that that endurance actually exists; but his declaration of certain "prophets," "inwardly they are ravening wolves," has not been considered evidence that those "prophets" were literally "wolves." As, then, such an endurance is the object of a very extensively prevalent and influential belief, it follows that Christ in clearly and positively stating that endurance or that object, without giving even the slightest intimation that it is not a fact, sanctions as correct that belief of it. Will it be said that he did not condemn every one of even those errors which some of his hearers committed in receiving such a meaning from words of his as he did not design to convey? A silence or even a supposed slight reference on his part as to the object of a belief, is inexpressibly different from his clear and positive statement of the object of a belief which he does not in that statement condemn, and which, by its very extensive prevalence and influence, is supposed to be so far from meriting any countenancing statement or use of it as to deserve only an opposition the most strenuous, if not the most virulent. If Christ, with his statement of an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting, has, in this passage, connected words that he uses figuratively, that is no

more strange than his use of words in that way when he said of certain "prophets," "inwardly they are ravening wolves;" and the former is even as much less strange than the latter, as a future life can be less easily than the present expressed with words not used figuratively. But the statement of that endurance, which he has, in this passage given, is no more figurative than at least some other statements of it that have been given by others who believe that such an endurance actually exists, and who even represent human souls in a world of spirits as being in connection with those bodies which they know to be "buried" in the earth. Will it be said that if he sanctioned as correct the belief of such an endurance, then he must have also sanctioned all the errors which others may have connected with such an endurance, even if he did not state those errors? Did he then sanction all the errors which others may have connected with the "false prophets" of whom he said, "inwardly they are ravening wolves?" When he called the Infinite Creator "a Spirit," did he sanction all the errors which others may have connected with that Creator? If because Christ, in the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus," speaks of a future life with some words used figuratively, he utters a parable and teaches nothing of that life, then every individual who speaks of a future life with words used figuratively also utters a parable, and teaches not even his own belief of that life, and every reference to the Infinite Creator that has in it words used figuratively is a parable, and teaches nothing of him! Christ's sanction then, in this passage, of the belief that an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting actually exists, can never be invalidated, since it cannot be proved that he ever, of the object of any erroneous belief of such prevalence and influence as those of the belief of such an endurance, made so clear and positive a statement without condemning it, as he has made of the object of this belief without condemning it.

4. As it is at least as obvious that in this passage there is stated an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting, as it is that the "torments" which Christ says that "the rich man" experienced after he "died," are more than intimated by "Abraham" to be beyond "mercy" and relief, so even if it could be proved that this passage is a parable, or that Christ stated that endurance for representing another thing, it would even then follow that such an endurance is not unjust, not unscriptural, and not inconsistent with any divine attribute. While "trees" could as easily be made to talk as the beast of burden on which Balaam at a certain time rode was (according to Num. xxii, 28–30) made to speak, will it be said that that endurance is so

unjust, unscriptural, and inconsistent with divine attributes, that it cannot exist? Is it, then, not absurd to attempt, with a statement of that which is not unjust, not unscriptural, and not inconsistent with any divine attribute, to oppose or to explain a statement of that which is regarded as so unjust, unscriptural, and inconsistent with divine attributes, that it is supposed that it could no sooner exist than justice, the Bible, and the Infinite Creator can be annihilated? Can it be proved that Christ ever, without condemning, stated anything that is so unjust, unscriptural, and inconsistent with divine attributes, as an endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting is said to be? As it cannot be erroneous to do what he did, so they deserve at least no censure who, as he, in giving a statement of such an endurance, do not in the slightest degree condemn it. As only the Infinite Governor controls the state in which are those that have departed from the present life, does it not follow that Christ, in representing that endurance as being in that state, represents that Governor as inflicting it? When Christ represents "Abraham" as saying to "the rich man," "remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented," does he represent "Abraham" as vindicating a human government, and not a divine one? As, then, it is obvious that Christ would not for any purpose represent the Infinite Governor as inflicting that which is unjust, unscriptural, or inconsistent with any divine attribute, it follows that the endurance after death of such "torments" as are hopeless and as will be everlasting, which he by the passage of "the rich man" and "Lazarus" represents that Governor as inflicting, is not unjust, not unscriptural, and not inconsistent with any divine attribute.

Art. VIII.—THE MORAL CONDITION OF INFANTS.

SECTION I.

In the prefatory remarks to the "Order and Form of Baptism, inserted in the Brandenberg and Nuremberg Liturgy of 1553," it is premised that, "in all ecclesiastical usages we must diligently mark what God has commanded and instituted, and what men have added thereto, in order that we may hold the divine as the essential part, and diligently practice it, and on the other hand judge the human additions, whether or not they are things indifferent, and if indiffer-

ent, whether they are also useful or not, in order that what is contrary to God's word, or otherwise unprofitable, may be done away."

The principles here laid down are the only safe guide to the Church of God. If she would be sound in doctrine her theology must be more Biblical than dogmatic, more exegetical than traditional. If she would be evangelical in piety her faith must rest more on conviction than prescriptive authority, and if she would preserve the ordinances in their primitive efficiency she must beware of all human additions.

From the days of Abraham children have been treated as eligible to the covenant relation, which is the fundamental idea of the Church relation, and have been subjects of the visible seal of that covenant. But in Christian times their relation to the Church has not always been well defined, and hence their rights have not been well guarded. This results from the want of thorough Biblical Christianity. A prolific source of confusion has been found in the misapprehension of the moral condition of children. There is a moral fitness which underlies and pervades all the works of God. The whole structure of the covenant, or Church relation, is based on a moral fitness therefor, found in the character of all legitimate Church members. Dimness of perception, and a faltering faith as to the moral state of infants, will go far to defeat the ends of the Gospel with respect to them. The neglect of parents in presenting their offspring to God; the deficiency of Church training and moral discipline in their education; the paucity of instances of early piety like that of Samuel; the want of faith in parents in pleading the covenant promise, "I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee;" all naturally spring from the original doubt which rests on the subject of the real moral state of children.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has professed, in advance of all other Churches, to believe in the final salvation of all children dying in immature childhood, and that all are alike included in the redemptive plan and purpose. Our advanced position in theology obliges us, in consistency of character, to take a corresponding liturgical advance. We must adapt our Church provisions and treatment to our faith. But this, hitherto, we have not done. The progress of the age in religious light and zeal has brought the subject of the claims of children before the Churches, and we are called upon by an unexampled concurrence of providential events to stand out before the world and take the responsibility of the full and well-defined Scriptural and Arminian position as a Church. We need wisdom and piety and courage to do this. It is an important moment for the

Church of God, and our prayer is that the Methodist Episcopal Church may know her duty and fulfill it. It is no time for petty disputes; it is a time for great thoughts, comprehensive views, and decided action.

The object of the present treatise is to set forth the moral state of children on grounds of Scriptural evidence and authority. This is justly considered the first requisite to a settled order of Church faith and practice. Before we ask, "What is our duty, as a Church, to children?" it is legitimate to ask, "What is the moral state of children?" This must be determined, not by canvassing human opinions, and tracing backward the sinuous path of Church tradition, but by an appeal to the word of God. Our argument is purely exegetical. If Holy Scripture throws down a rock for the Church to stand upon, she may thereon rest her faith and practice securely; but if not, the position of the Church will never become steady by the support and proppings of human opinions. In this direction we shall push our inquiry, in the present essay, to an extent sufficient to determine the question, not attempting to exhaust the resources of the Scriptural argument.

Two forces have been brought to bear upon our common nature; the one is *sin*, the other is *grace*. In the case of infants, where as yet there is no personal transgression, the force of sin must be hereditary, innate, natural. This is commonly denoted by the term *depravity*, and is referable, primarily, to the sin of Adam as its cause. This depravity, according to Scripture, is not a mere negation of good, but a positive force; not merely sensational, but affecting the mind as well as the body; not the effect of bad example and education, but natural; not partial and casual in its influence, but universal and constant. The heart of man, apart from grace, and left to its own instincts, always goes wrong. Its tendency is away from God. The testimony of God is, that "*every formation of the devices* or *purposes*, יֵצֶר מַחְשְׁבֹת, of his heart is only evil every day." Gen. vi, 5. And a holy apostle has said of the "carnal mind," that is, of the human mind as apart from grace, and in its natural state, that it "*ουχ ὑποτασσεται, does not subject itself* to the law of God, *ουδε γαρ δυναται, for indeed it is not able* [to subject itself."] Rom. viii, 7. "So, then, they that are in the flesh, *ου δυνανται, have no power* to please God," ver. 8. They are "by nature children of wrath." Such is the condition of our nature apart from grace. But is it left here? Does grace reach it with efficacious relief prior to any act of the creature, and as a direct gift of the atonement? We claim that it does, and bring the question directly to the Scriptural test.

SECTION II.

We come, then, to inquire into the effects of Christ's redemption upon our race. The question is, How does the atonement affect the infant portion of our race, or the condition of our human nature? Does the Bible reckon children simply as in a state of nature, or rather actually in a state of grace? Are they spoken of and treated in Scripture as under the power of Adam's transgression, or of Christ's redemption? Are they classed with aliens, or with citizens? Are they counted to the Church, or to the world? as the heirs of life, or the children of wrath? as condemned, or righteous? as dead in sin, or as quickened and alive in Christ? as morally eligible to covenant relation to God, or as morally unfit for such privilege?

These are grave questions, and we take the ground that children are reckoned to Christ and his Church; that as soon as their distinct entity or individuality is established, as soon as they become human, possessed of a rational soul and endued with the faculties (undeveloped) of a moral being, as soon as the *ego* of percipient existence is formed, so that the capacity for moral happiness or misery becomes a property or a possibility of being, so soon the human soul comes within the all-comprehensive and gracious provisions of atonement. The date of redemptive power and grace to each individual of our race is coincident with the date of existence. If David could say in truth, "I was brought forth in iniquity, in sin did my mother conceive me," (Ps. li, 5,) with equal truth, and in a sense no less spiritual and pertinent, could he say: "Thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from the womb of my mother." (Ps. xxii, 9, 10.)

The efficacy of this grace is sufficient to secure instant acquittal from all condemnation which fell upon our race through the first transgression, present acceptance with God, meetness for the kingdom of heaven, the implantation of the principle of spiritual life, and provision for all prospective demands of probation. We now pass to examine the Bible grounds for this view of the gracious state of infants.

I. Our first proof is contained in the argument of Paul, (Rom. v, 12–21.)

The main design of this passage lies upon the face of it, and is, says Prof. Stuart,

"To impress on our minds the certainty of salvation through redeeming blood, and to exalt our views respecting the greatness of the blessings which Christ has procured for us, by a comparison of them with the evil consequences which ensued upon the fall of our first ancestor, and by showing that the blessings extend not only to the removal of these evils, but even far beyond this."

As, therefore, the design of the apostle is to discuss the very question at issue, his argument, whatever it is, must be not only relevant to our purpose, but decisive.

It must be premised that the entire argument of Paul is based on the comparison above alluded to. He institutes a parallel between Adam and Christ, as the two representative heads of the human race; Adam as the lineal ancestor, Christ as the Author of spiritual life and hope. The various points of contrast between the two will be sufficiently noticed in the process of our remarks; but the one grand and fundamental point of resemblance upon which all the relevancy and force of the apostle's argument depends is this—*they were both representatives of the entire race, so that their acts, of transgression on the one hand and righteousness on the other, extended in their effects to all the individuals of the race.* Destroy this federal relation of the two, as is done by the Pelagian hypothesis, and the passage in question becomes totally unexplainable.

One other thought we must premise. Whatever effects flowed from Adam's sin, or from Christ's righteousness, to the human family, flowed to infants, as such, in the first instance. They flowed to our *humanity*, our *common nature*, our *race*, and they reached human nature at the moment it became *human*. No other application of the argument of Paul is admissible. That the terms τον κοσμον, παντας ανθροπους, οι πολλοι, (*the world, all men, the many*, etc.,) in this connection, denote *the race*, need hardly be asserted. They are all terms which stand in contrast with ἑνος ανθρωπου, the ONE MAN, the progenitor, Adam, and can mean nothing less than his total posterity. So, also, on the other hand, by the very conditions of the argument, when these terms stand opposed to the ἑνος ἀνθρωπου Ιησου Χριστου, *one Man Jesus Christ*, they can denote nothing less than the total race of man. We pass, then, directly to notice the apostle's argument.

1. The apostle employs the terms *life* and *death* to set forth the effects of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness upon the human race. Ver. 12: "By one man sin entered into the world, and *death* by sin." Ver. 15: "Through the offense of one, [Adam,] the many [the race] *have died*." Ver. 17: "By one man's offence *death* reigned by one." Ver. 21: "Sin hath reigned unto *death*." That θανατος, *death*, here denotes moral or spiritual death, as well as the death of the body, is proved from the argument of Paul. To it he opposes, as a direct antithesis, that ζωη, *life*, which is through the "gift of righteousness," (ver. 17,) a spiritual life; and that ζωην αιωνιον, *eternal life*, which the "reign of grace through righteousness" secures, (ver. 21.) Winer says that "to the words, '*as by one*

man sin entered into the world, and death by sin,' we should have expected the apodosis, '*even so by the one, Christ, grace hath entered into the world, and by the grace the life.*'" In the same way are death and *eternal life* contrasted. (Chap. vi, 23.) Now, this *death spiritual* of our race, the effect of Adam's sin, is counteracted, and an opposite state produced by Jesus Christ. The argument is very specific and in point. In verse 15 it is this: namely, that if *οἱ πολλοι, the many, the race,* had died through the sin of Adam, "MUCH MORE the grace of God and the gift by grace hath abounded unto *τους πολλους, the many.*" The point of the argument here is the total number affected. *The many,* the race, died; *the many,* the race, have received the grace of God and the gift by grace, which restores to life. Nay, "much more" hath this grace "abounded" to them: there is not one exempt case. The *grace* is not only coextensive with the *death,* and counteracts it, but it superabounds and overflows. In verse 17, the point of the argument turns, not upon the number affected, but upon the *certain dominion* of life over the antecedent *certain dominion* of death; and here, as everywhere, the triumph of grace over original transgression is made conspicuous by the intensive form of contrast, *πολλω μαλλον, much more*—"MUCH MORE they which receive abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness SHALL REIGN IN LIFE by one, Jesus Christ." Whatever, therefore, is the effect of Adam's sin upon our race, denoted by the term "*death,*" we find its sovereign antidote and opposite in the effect of the grace of Christ, denoted by the terms "*life,*" and the "*receiving abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness.*" If the "*grace,*" the "*gift of righteousness,*" and "*life,*" do not annul the death sentence and restore to life, and even go beyond it, the argument means nothing: it is merely a deceptive hyperbole.

2. In verses 16, 18, the apostle represents the effect of Adam's sin by the term "*condemnation:*" "The judgment was by one [offense] to *condemnation;*" "By the offense of one, judgment came upon all men to *condemnation.*" Here also he speaks of the race; our common humanity fell under condemnation. This was the divine judgment, or sentence. Now, coextensive with this sentence of condemnation, was the "free gift" of Christ "unto justification." And this *δικαιωμα, justification,* is not a mere legal exemption from punishment, not a bare legal acquittal, but a state of personal *righteousness,* as the word imports, and as it is elsewhere rendered. The same word is applied to the "righteousness of the saints." Rev. xix, 8. In verse 18 the antithesis is carried out more fully, and the *moral* idea of justification clearly brought to view. It is a *δικαιωσιν ζωης,*

justification of life—"Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to *condemnation*, even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto *justification of life*." Whatever that "condemnation" was, as to its legal or moral effect upon our race, it was effectually removed by the efficacious righteousness of Christ, and a "justification to life" was bestowed in its stead. And we repeat it, as this "justification of life" was a "free gift" to our humanity, to the race as such, and not to any class or age as such, it must take effect in infancy; that is, it must take effect with each individual as soon as he becomes a partaker of the "condemnation" of humanity. The justification covers all the condemned, and reverses the "judgment" which stands against us, at the first moment when it would otherwise take effect. This is the conclusion to which the logic and exegesis of the passage brings us.

3. In verse 19 the apostle employs still another term to set forth the condition of Adam's posterity in consequence of his disobedience: They are "*sinners*." "By one man's disobedience the many were *made sinners*"— *ἁμαρτωλοι κατεσταθησαν, were constituted sinners*, or *depraved*. In what sense the sin of Adam produced this result, or by what law of connection with his posterity it was effected, it is not relevant to our present argument here to discuss. It is the asserted FACT that we are now concerned with. It must be remembered that Paul is here speaking of "*the many*," the race, as being made sinners by the disobedience of Adam. It was not the actual transgression of "the many" which constituted them "sinners," but the disobedience of *του ἑνος ανθρωπου*, THE ONE MAN. The sinful condition of the race is here set down as the result of "one man's disobedience." In verse 12 the apostle had stated that by this same "*ἑνος ανθρωπου*, ONE MAN, sin entered into the world," and the death penalty, which is in consequence of that first sin, had not been limited to the "ONE MAN," but had passed upon "ALL MEN." The word *παντες, all*, here, says Winer, means "*all who belong to the genus of man*," and the apostle adds, that "death passed upon all, *for that all have sinned*." Death could not pass upon beings who were in no sense sinners, but it has passed upon the "*genus of man*," the *race*, the *humanity*, therefore the race, the humanity, is sinful. It reaches earliest infancy, therefore earliest infancy is reckoned in sin through Adam.

The grammatical difficulty in the clause, "for that all have sinned," is in the words *ἐφ ᾧ*, translated "*for that*." But without entering the discussion here, we only say that the argument of Paul requires us to understand the words conjunctively, as Luther, Neander, Müller, Stuart, Olshausen, and others do, and read it—"BECAUSE *all have sinned*." And this, by the very terms of the argument,

applies to infants. But to whatever extent, or in whatever sense infants are constituted sinners by Adam's offense, to the same extent, and in a sense equally real and effectual, are they justified or made righteous by Christ. "For as by one man's disobedience THE MANY WERE CONSTITUTED SINNERS, so by the obedience of one shall THE MANY BE CONSTITUTED RIGHTEOUS."

The antitheses in the foregoing argument of Paul are in every sense complete. The injury done to our nature by the first transgression finds a sovereign and efficacious remedy through the second Adam. The terms employed are all of marked and well defined significance in Scripture usage, and the point of the argument cannot be evaded. If any man affirm that infants are in a state of sin, condemnation, or death, by nature, we admit it on the warrant of Scripture; but by the same authority we further affirm they are in a state of justification, righteousness, and life, by grace. "The grace of God and the gift by grace hath abounded unto the many"—the total number who are injured by the sin of Adam. This grace is unconditional, absolute, and efficacious. It comes to them, not by faith, not through any human agency, not by the piety of parents, nor the use of outward ordinances, but directly and sovereignly from "the one man, Jesus Christ." It is the fruit of atonement, the triumph of redeeming love over the malignity of the first transgression, and it infallibly lifts our humanity to heaven, unless forfeited in maturer life by the voluntary rejection of its benefits. Such is Paul's doctrine. The argument is complete, it cannot be added to or annulled.

II. Again, we cite Matt. xviii, 1–14, as proof of the gracious state of infants. The entire force and legitimacy of our argument here depend upon the assumption that *children proper—children prior to the age of accountability*, (except in verse 6, to be noticed hereafter,) *are the subject of our Lord's discourse throughout.* This is the position we take: from verses 3 to 14 our Lord discourses upon children proper; at verse 15 the discourse takes a turn upon the duties and relations of adult Christians toward each other. This suits the occasion. That occasion was marked and memorable. The apostles had mistaken the character of Christ's kingdom; had equally mistaken the character of its true members, and the duties of its chief ministers; and had indulged in worldly emulations and disputes. To correct all these errors our Lord enters somewhat at large into discourse upon the nature of his kingdom, the conditions of membership, the character and duties of members, and the humility, self-denial, and unworldliness of its true ministers. He begins, as we said, with infant members, and continues to verse 14; he then turns the discourse upon the mutual duties of adult members.

1. First of all, then, mark the circumstances in which our Lord introduces the discourse. He "called a little child and set him in the midst of them," verse 2. Mark says, (chap. ix, 36,) Jesus "*took this child in his arms*, and said unto them," etc. This circumstance determines the very tender age of the child. We may suppose that the Saviour held the child in his arms during the entire discourse.

2. As our Lord commenced the discourse by making a little child the basis of comparison and principal subject of remark, we must suppose that when, afterward, in the same connection, he uses the term "*child*," or "*little one*," he means such a "child," or "little one," as the one which he first presented to view, and which he is still holding in his arms, that same specimen child, unless the nature of the case, or some specially qualifying terms, shall show to the contrary. The point lies here: the words "little child," and "little ones," must be understood either in a literal sense, as denoting children proper, or else in a figurative sense, as denoting adult Christian disciples, who resemble children in moral disposition. Now, as our Lord began with the literal application of these terms, we must suppose he continues the same throughout the subject, unless it becomes necessary to assume the figurative meaning, in order to make good sense. If no such necessity arise, it is in violation of one of the fundamental laws of interpretation to depart from the literal and seek for a figurative meaning. We take the ground that no such necessity exists.

For, first, there is nothing affirmed of these "little ones" which may not be affirmed of children proper. Throughout the entire discourse our Lord simply says of them that they are to be "received in his name," and this duty Luke (ix, 48) applies directly and literally to children—"Whoso shall receive *this child* in my name," etc.; also that these "little ones" are "not to be despised;" that "their angels do always behold the face of God in heaven;" that "the Son of Man came to seek and to save" them; and that it is "not the will of God that one of them should perish." Whence, then, arises the necessity for assuming that our Lord intended adult disciples by the appellation "little ones?" The assumption is not made necessary or relevant by the nature of the case, or the predicates of the subject.

But, secondly, the use of the demonstrative ὁυτος and τοιουτος, *this* and *such*, is decisive here. Having taken the child in his arms, he says: "Except ye be converted and become ὡς τα παιδια, *as* THESE *little children*," etc., (the article here having the force of the pronoun.) And again: "Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself, ὡς το παιδιον τουτο, *as* THIS *little child*;" again, "Whoso shall receive

one παιδιον τοιουτον, SUCH *little child*;" again: "Take heed that ye despise not one of μικρων τουτων, THESE *little ones*;" and finally: "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of μικρων τουτων, THESE *little ones*, should perish." These are all the instances (except ver. 6) wherein allusion is made to the "little ones." Mark here the force of the pronouns *this*, *these*, *such*. That παιδιον τουτο, *this little child*, in verse 4, refers to the identical child which Christ held in his arms, no one doubts. But in the very next verse, and in closest connection with this, our Lord says: "Whoso shall receive one παιδιον τοιουτον, SUCH LITTLE CHILD in my name," etc. The demonstrative τοιουτος *such, of such kind*, indicates a *kind* or *sort* which had already been defined. It relates to some antecedent noun representing the *kind*, *sort*, or *species* which the pronoun *such* here distinguishes. But what is that noun, and what that species? It is the παιδιον, *little child*, mentioned verse 4, and which the Saviour had called to him and then held in his arms. To assume any other antecedent is to travel out of the text and resort to hypothesis against the laws of grammatical connection. Precisely the same may be said in regard to every subsequent occurrence of τουτων, *these*. Throughout the connection no other antecedent noun explaining and representing the *class*, *kind*, or *species* to which it alludes appears, except the original παιδιον, *little child*, introduced by our Lord at the beginning of his discourse.

Thirdly, the scope and pertinency of our Lord's discourse more fitly determine the appellation "little ones," to children in age than to adult Christians. He introduces a little child as a representative of the subjects of his kingdom, and commences to warn them against *offending*, *rejecting*, (not "receiving,") *despising*, and *neglecting* the "little ones." Now, we could not suppose that the twelve apostles were in danger of thus treating genuine adult disciples; this would suppose in them a worse moral and doctrinal condition than the evangelical history, or our Lord's admonition, authorizes; but they might have need of these cautious and admonitory instructions in regard to little children. It might not have impressed them that "of such was the kingdom of heaven" to be composed, and their apostolic duty to children might never have once seriously entered their thoughts. But especially in verse 14, unless children in age are intended, the argument becomes insignificant and pointless. For our Lord to say solemnly, as the summing up of a most thrilling discourse, that "it is not the will of God that one *genuine adult disciple* should perish," would be trifling. But if he means the infant members of our race here, the declaration is in point, and a glorious republication of a doctrine dear to the heart of every

Hebrew. It was also in point to admonish them that the new kingdom he was about to set up embraced the substance and prototype of the Old Testament Church touching children.

3. In verse 6, which we have suggested was a slight exception to the uniform use of *μικρων, little ones*, in this discourse, our Lord still speaks of children proper, children, we may suppose, of the age of five to ten years, children old enough to form some notions of right and wrong; old enough to "believe in Christ." And when we consider that faith is one of the very earliest growths of the child's mind, and that some knowledge of right and wrong, and of religious relation and duty, (to the instructed child,) appears quite as early as the above ages, and that these first germs of infantile piety, while they are easily crushed and blighted, are of unspeakable worth to the life and character in later years; and when also we consider that hundreds of witnesses may be summoned from the living, and from the records of the pious dead, whose faith in Christ dates back to the tender age of five or six to ten years, who, as Justin Martyr says of many in his day, "were discipled to Christ in their childhood;" when all these things are considered, I say, we offer no force to the sense of words nor the occasion and scope of our Lord's discourse, nor to known facts in nature and in history, by understanding the Saviour as speaking in the 6th verse of little children who first begin to learn the lessons of faith and the answer to prayer. Indeed, what else can he mean, when, with a "little child" in his arms, and children as the subject of his discourse, he says to the disciples, "Whoso shall offend *ἑνα των μικρων τουτων των πιστευοντων εις ἐμε*, ONE OF THESE LITTLE BELIEVERS IN ME, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea." Mark and Luke both relate this incident in our Lord's history, and both keep an exclusive reference to children throughout. Matthew, in this case, as is his custom, brings together more largely than the other evangelists the several parts of our Lord's discourse, but never once breaks the unity of the subject, or takes his eye off from the "little children."

4. Finally, in verse 14, our Lord concludes his discourse in respect to little children, and by a very natural law of suggestion turns to a kindred subject—the mutual relation and duties of adult members of his kingdom. This change of topic is marked by every natural indication of language. First, the adversative particle *δε, moreover*, stands in its proper place, denoting a *transition* as well as continuation of thought—"*Moreover*, I say unto you," etc. Secondly, we meet no more with the recurrence of *παιδιον, little child*, or *μικρων, little ones*—these are dropped from the discourse.

But, thirdly, we meet the appropriate title which is everywhere given to adult disciples, and to such only, the title *αδελφος*, *brother*—"Moreover, if thy BROTHER shall trespass against thee," etc. And finally, the whole tenor of duties, cautions, encouragements, offenses, Church powers, and other statements of our Lord, show clearly that he is speaking to adults as such, just as he had been previously speaking of children as such.

If, then, in Matt. xviii, 1–14, our Lord speaks throughout of little children, of whose age and capacity the one he held in his arms was a representative, (except in verse 6,) our next inquiry is, *What did he affirm of them? What did he say of them, from which we may gather information of their moral state?*

1. The fact that our Lord not only makes them the ground of comparison in setting forth the character of a true member of his kingdom, but presents them as models of the genuine spirit and qualities of discipleship, implies that children themselves are legitimate members of the kingdom of God. It is true that genuine disciples are elsewhere compared to "sheep," to the "branches" of a vine, to "salt," to "light," and to other objects. In every such comparison there is a quality of resemblance, though nothing that can imply moral quality or character. The nature of the case sufficiently determines, in any instance, whether a moral or only a natural principle is involved as either the proximate or primary ground of similitude.

We have not space to dilate this argument, but we prefer to think with Neander, that "Christ could not have used those and similar expressions in commendation of what existed in children as an undeveloped bud, if he had not recognized in them a divine impress, a glimmering knowledge of God."

2. But the gracious moral state of infants, their oneness with Christ, is necessarily implied in verse 5: "*Whosoever, therefore, shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me.*" Luke is still more explicit; he says: "Whosoever shall receive *τουτο το παιδιον*, THIS LITTLE CHILD IN MY NAME, receiveth me." (Luke ix, 48.) Mark says: "*ἐν των τοιουτων παιδιων, one of such children.*" Here, then, to receive a child in Christ's name is an act of such religious import, and so pleasing to Christ, that it is accepted by Christ as if he himself were received. The act is rewarded as if done to Christ. The point here to be noticed is the identification of children, under the Gospel or redemptive economy, with Christ. If they were not "*in Christ*," if they were not *Christ's*, it would be impossible to receive them "*in his name*," according to the well known, and marked, and highly significant

import of that phrase. We cannot, in propriety of language, be said to receive a person in the name of another, unless he is the friend or representative of him in whose name we receive him. If children had been regarded by Christ as in the light of aliens to his kingdom, subjects of wrath, such as they are by nature and apart from grace, he could never have used such language as this. But all is plain when we consider them as redeemed beings, and by grace united to, and living in, the heart of Christ.

3. In verse 10 we are cautioned against *despising*, that is, lightly esteeming, neglecting, these little ones. This caution is enforced by two arguments: 1st, "In heaven their angels [the angels of children] do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." 2d, "The Son of man is come to save that which is lost." The "lost" here refers to the "little ones" in the preceding verse, as its grammatical and logical antecedent. The sequel, verse 14, as well as the closest connection of the discourse, proves this. We are not concerned here with the question whether the words *αγγελοι αυτων*, *their angels*, mean the *gurdian angels* of children, or the *departed souls* of children, although the former is our opinion, and seems to be required by the argument of our Lord; for the apostles could not doubt that when the souls of children entered heaven they would behold the face of God; but they might doubt whether here, in their earthly state, God had such special care of them as to put them under charge of the highest order of angels. The doctrine of Scripture is that angels are "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to those who shall be heirs of salvation." (Heb. i, 14.) But in either construction of this remarkable verse the doctrine is the same as it regards the moral state of infants. Here is a divine care, a distinguished honor, a liberal grace extended to children; therefore let not men despise them. It was a *religious despising* that our Lord was speaking against—a thinking lightly of their spiritual wants, their spiritual claims, their spiritual relations and destiny. "The Son of man came to save that which was lost;" therefore think not lightly of their spiritual state and welfare. They are placed under the guardianship of the highest angels; therefore let not apostles and ministers despise or neglect them.

4. In verse 14 our Lord says: "Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish." The bearing of this passage on the duty of attending to the moral culture of children is obvious; but the point just here to be noticed is, that this passage in its connection directly affirms it to be the will of God to save children. They are in a state of salvation. It is the will of God to save them, and they have not yet

opposed that will. If the will of God, the redeeming love of Christ, had not yet, and was not intended to, put them in a state of favor with God; if all that God in Christ had done for them had not yet had the efficacy to redeem them from under the curse of the law, and place them in the favor of God; if still they were left in their native state of depravity, under its power, and had not been brought under the power of grace; if this were the case, we cannot see the propriety of the language used by Christ, nor can we see the relevancy of his cautioning and instructing the apostles to give the most special heed to the religious condition and wants of children, while God himself and the "Son of man," who came to save the lost, had not given them the first quickening principle of life, nor brought them under the reign of the kingdom of grace. Such a supposition contradicts the whole analogy of Bible doctrine respecting prevenient grace, no less than the argument of Christ in question.

III. To all the foregoing we may add the ever-memorable and blessed declaration of our Lord, recorded in Matt. xix. 14: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: FOR OF SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN." Here, also, the strong, demonstrative τοιουτων, SUCH, finds its antecedent in τα παιδια, THE LITTLE CHILDREN, and the declaration is too literal, too direct and unequivocal to admit of doubt as to its meaning, and too precious to become the subject of frivolous criticism. Children belong to the kingdom of God as legitimate heirs and subjects, and if so, according to the universal law of that kingdom, it is because they are made fit for it. And both the fitness and the consequent membership are the free gift and fruit of redeeming love. We can add nothing to the argument.

SECTION III.

What, then, is the doctrine of Scripture respecting the moral state of infants under the redemptive economy? We answer: 1. They are *justified* from the condemnation which fell upon our common humanity by the sin of Adam. 2. They are made *partakers of "the grace of God and the gift by grace*, which hath abounded unto the many." 3. They are made "*righteous*" through the obedience of Christ. 4. They are made inheritors of the "*life*" which is the fruit and end of justification; for the free gift came upon all to *justification of life*." (The antithesis must be kept in mind; Rom. v, 18, "*justification of life*," stands opposed to "*condemnation;*" and in verse 21, the reigning of sin, "*εν τω θανατω, in*, or *to the death*," stands opposed to the reigning of grace *through righteousness*, "*εις ζωην αιωνιον, unto life eternal.*")

5. Children are members of the "kingdom of heaven." 6. They are to be "received" in Christ's name. 7. "It is not the will of God that one of them should perish." 8. The Church is warned "*not to despise them*," as to their religious condition and claims, for they are the special objects of Divine love and care. Children, then, are reckoned unto Christ, not unto Adam; they are accounted redeemed and saved, not as left in their lost estate by nature. Grace, in their condition, triumphs over depravity and sin.

Still the question recurs, "Are infants in a *regenerate* state?" This question, which we fear has come to be more technical than intelligible, more curious than edifying, we cannot avoid here. But the answer can by no means be given by a simple yea or nay, because regeneration itself is a term which, in historic theology, has come to receive various significations. The answer, then, depends upon the definition given to this word. In the Church of England theology, where this subject is most thoroughly discussed, the sense in which children are regenerated has been abundantly difficult to settle and make plain. The lowest sense that has been resorted to by divines of that Church, is the introducing of children by baptism into a new state as to covenant duties, privileges, and blessings. Thus Bishop Hopkins, of the 17th century, calls this kind of regeneration "external and ecclesiastical." Others hold to a spiritual regeneration at baptism; and others, that in baptism the promise of regeneration is only sealed, ratified, and made sure, to be actually conferred in infancy if the child die, to be reserved and bestowed only upon repentance and faith, if the child live. As to the moral state of infants prior to baptism that Church has no dogma, but allows a liberty of opinion. One view is thus represented by Dr. Some, of Cambridge University, 1582. He says: "All that die before baptism are not damned, because *we are Christians before we are baptized*. . . . The Church doth only mark those with this seal [of baptism] whom they either know, or at least do take, *before the administration of baptism*, to be God's lambs or sheep. . . . Baptism is not the *cause*, but the *seal* of our conjunction with Almighty God." Archbishop Usher, in 1653, allows that to "elect infants," baptized, dying in infancy, "the Holy Ghost doth as truly, and really, and actually apply the merits and blood of Christ *in the justifying and sanctifying virtue unto the soul*, as the minister doth the water unto the body." Yet, as to those who live, he says: "It is hard to affirm (as some do) that every elect infant doth ordinarily, before or in baptism, receive initial regeneration, and the seed of faith and grace."

Luther taught, in his Service for Infant Baptism, 1524, a spiritual regeneration "by water and the Holy Ghost," and this is the con-

struction which Dr. Waterland earnestly contends for, as the doctrine of the Liturgy and Homilies of the Church of England. But really, on this subject, historical theology is no guide. We must go direct to Revelation; there all is clear; but the stream of Church history has become turbid with the minglings of human invention. That children are in a state of grace, in favor with God, through the atonement, is incontestibly taught in Scripture. That the fruit of the atonement as conveyed to them is not a mere negative justification, not a mere acquittal from liability to punishment, but a positive and moral good, a principle of spiritual life, is equally clear. This is not the fruit of baptism, nor conjoined with baptism by any order of God, as the Church of England authors have erroneously assumed, but it is of the direct grace of God in Christ. It is prior to baptism, and the moral ground of fitness on which the baptism of children rests. And this grace, emanating directly from Christ to the infant, is not conditioned upon its dying in infancy—this is a mere invention of theologians—but comes to all without distinction who are involved in the consequences of the sin of Adam.

A fruitful source of misunderstanding on this point lies in the confused ideas respecting spiritual regeneration itself. Regeneration is *life*—the *life of God* in human nature. It is a *quickening* of our nature by the Holy Spirit, whereby we are brought into favor and sympathy with God, and made susceptible of the fruits, the exercises, and enjoyments of holy obedience. Now this *life* is the direct impartation of the Holy Spirit, as the gift of Christ. In adults it is conditioned on repentance and faith, and is effected through the instrumentality of the "word of God." "Of his own will BEGAT he us, WITH THE WORD OF TRUTH." (James i, 18.) "BORN AGAIN," says Peter, "BY THE WORD OF GOD." (1 Pet. i, 23.) Here is a circumstantiality of the new birth which belongs to adults. With them, also, it is preceded by "the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh." (Eph. iv, 22; Col. ii, 11, and iii, 9; 1 Pet. ii, 9.) But does all this prove that in infants there cannot and does not exist a principle of divine life, a seminal regeneration, graciously imparted or begotten, of the same quality or nature, and from the same efficient source of life as that in adults? differing, indeed, in extent and force, and in the circumstances and conditions of bestowment, but not in essence, quality, or efficacy. The "justification of *life*," which has come to them, implies this. The word ζωη, *life*, in this connection, we repeat it, is too marked in its usage to be understood in a merely legal sense. It denotes a moral effect produced in our nature, a quickening of the same. Thus says John: "In him was *life*, and this *life* was the *light of men*. That was the true light *which*

enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." (John i, 4, 9.) This "light" is called "το φως της ζωης, *the light of the life.*" (John viii, 12.) In chap. i, 9, the participial form of the verb (ερχομενον) properly suggests the date of this impartation of the "light of life"—it enlighteneth every man "COMING *into the world*," or more properly, "WHEN HE COMETH into the world." The idea of *time* is fairly marked. They are the subjects of this "enlightenment," "*when* [as soon as] *they come into the world.*" It is not a mere intellectual teaching that is meant. The word φωτιζω, "*to illuminate*," is of very marked significance in the New Testament. It is tantamount to *regeneration* or the *new life.* Mark the sense of the word in Heb. vi, 4: "Those who were once *enlightened;*" and in chap. x, 32: "Call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were *illuminated*, ye endured a great fight of affliction." So the early Christians were called "the illuminated." See also the figurative use of the noun φως, *light*, in such passages as Acts xxvi, 18: "To turn them from darkness to *light;*" Rom. ii, 19: "A *light* of them which are in darkness;" Eph. v, 8: "Walk as children of *light;*" 1 Thess. v, 5: "Ye are all the children of *light*," etc. This "light of life," this "illumination," which places the soul above its natural state, and in contrast with simple nature, dates at the origin of natural life.

With this view accord the sentiments of the old Protestant divines. "Infants," says Bishop Beveridge, "have the seeds of repentance and faith in them, which may afterward grow up to perfection."

Bishop Davenant, 1639, says:

"The justification, regeneration, and adoption of little children baptized, confers on them a state of salvation ACCORDING TO THE CONDITION OF LITTLE CHILDREN."

And again:

"From these things any one may see that infants, by baptism, are indeed placed in a state of salvation, *but only relatively to that age and condition of little children.*"

Mr. Goode says:

"Though the early divines of the Protestant Churches did not generally adopt precisely his [Luther's] view, and express themselves as if they considered an infant capable of the acts of faith, (which Luther seems to have held,) they did speak of an infant as capable of the SEED or PRINCIPLE, or INCIPIENT STAGE of faith."

He further states

"That, as in the natural birth there was life previously, so in the spiritual new birth, *life—a living principle of faith*—must have been implanted, to make the birth by baptism effectual to the production of a being spiritually alive."

The only error of the old divines on this point was in connecting

this element of spiritual life with baptism, whereas it is the direct gift of Christ by his Spirit without reference to baptism.

We are fully aware of the difficulty of reasoning, or of using analogies in a subject which, like this, loses itself in inscrutable mysteries of psychology, and hence we venture only to the extent of what we deem the beaten path of exegesis. We offer no dogma beyond these simple truths: 1. That children are in a state of salvation through the atonement; 2. That the effect of redeeming love to them is direct, and not dependent upon any outward ordinance; 3. That it is not merely legal and negative, but, being expressed in such words as *justification*, *justification of life*, *righteousness*, *illumination*, *membership in the kingdom of heaven*, there must also be a moral effect wrought upon them. The extent, manner, and nature of this moral effect we are not called upon to assert, are not able to explain, cannot explain it even in adults; but we hold that it has the efficacy to restore children to the favor and kingdom of God. They belong to the spiritual family of God. We see no absurdity in holding that the incipient stage of spiritual life exists in them, that they are *begotten* of the Spirit unto a life of holiness. The word denoting the *new birth*, (γενναω, John, iii, 3,) denotes, in its literal sense, every stage and degree of life, from its first evolvment, the first quickening of existence, to the literal birth; and why not in spiritual life? An acorn has in it the life of the oak, but not in the same expansion and force. Yet it is the principle of real vegetable life, and it is of the species of oak-life, otherwise it could never become an oak. "The kingdom of heaven is as a grain of mustard seed, which is, indeed, the smallest of seeds, but when it is grown it becomes the greatest of herbs." The natural child has the natural life of a man, but that life as yet performs not the functions, has not the force of adult age. So it has reason and conscience, but not in exercise. The *manifestations* of these belong to another period; their *existence* is the endowment of human being. Why may not children be subjects of grace, and of the principle of spiritual life, while yet in an unconscious or nondeveloped age? If children who die can be regenerated, children who live can be equally so. The words of Christ are direct and unequivocal. "Except τις, *any one* be born again HE CANNOT SEE THE KINGDOM OF GOD." "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not, to come to me: FOR OF SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN."

We have traversed only a part of the general argument. The question of their gracious state, as the direct gift of Christ through the Spirit, being settled, the way is open to consider their ecclesiastical relations as defined in Scripture, and the duty of the Church to them.

Art. IX.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Protestant Churches.—The meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury has been more exciting than usual. The Bishop of Oxford introduced his recommendations for an increase of the missionary episcopate. The project was warmly entertained by the Lower House. It was agreed to appoint a joint committee of both houses to prepare drafts of such occasional services as might seem needful, and to report those drafts to Convocation. The Lower House petitioned the House of Lords to procure the amendment of the new marriage law, and expressing the opinion "that when changes in the law are proposed which would affect the articles or canons of the Church, or the duties required of the clergy, it is desirable that the advice of the clergy in convocation should be sought before the enactment of such changes." The same House also petitioned Parliament against all change in the collection of church rates. The *Times*, in an article on the meeting, draws attention to the fact of the Lower House of Convocation, whose proceedings it condemns, being in no manner representative of the Church, since not only is the whole arch-diocese of York excluded, and all lay representation wanting, but the delegates are elected by a comparatively small section of the whole clergy—the legally recognized parish incumbents. At the recent annual meeting of the Wesleyan Conference, it was reported that during the year 161 erections or enlargements have been completed, 115 chapels, 25 organs, and 21 schools, at a cost of £73,449, and that, altogether, £172,788 have been expended on connectional property. Also the Primitive Methodist Connection, whose fortieth Annual Conference met on June 1st in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the Methodist New Connection, whose Annual Conference met in Manchester on June 13, are, according to the official reports, in a flourishing condition. In the former the increase of members was found to be 7,647, that of chapels 72; in the latter there had been an increase of 1,845 members, with a great number of candidates, and the Special Committee on Missions recommended the establishment at once of a mission to China. Two of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland discussed at their annual meetings the question of lay preaching. In the General Assembly of the Established Church it was resolved to admit lay preachers to speak in churches on special occasions, the minister presiding in the pulpit. The petition of the parishioners of Kildalton against the settlement of a pastor, presented by the patron, was granted, and the parish declared vacant. A long discussion also took place upon the subject of the alleged innovations in public worship by Dr. Lee: that is, the using of a printed form of prayer drawn up by himself, and the practice adopted by the congregation of standing at the singing, and of kneeling at prayer. A motion was carried, by a majority of 140 to 110, forbidding the use, by the minister, either of any manuscript or printed document in prayer, but leaving the question of the attitude to be adopted by the people unresolved on. In the General Assembly of the Free Church, of which Principal Cunningham was moderator, the most interesting event was the public reception by the Assembly of Mr. Brownlow North as an evangelist to be cordially welcomed to all the pulpits of the Church. The General Funds of the Church (I. Sustentation Fund; II. Building Fund; III. Congregational Fund; IV. Missions and Education; V. Miscellaneous) are all in a flourishing condition, the aggregate amount collected for the year being £343,000. The report on Foreign Missions, however, regretted that still 247 congregations are without an association for supporting the missions. At the annual meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod, commenced in Edinburgh May 9, an overture from the Aberdeen Presbytery, recommending a more vigorous and systematic superintendence of the whole Church, was discussed. The proposal was, that leading ministers of the Church should visit, two by two, the several congregations, to see how their brethren were, to refresh and stimulate them as Christians, to endeavor to strengthen them in the faith, and report to the next meeting of the Synod what appears to them to be the present state of the Church, and particularly its difficulties and wants. Although it was objected to this plan that it would ultimately lead to a form of government totally different from the one

they as a Church professed to hold, the motion was agreed to and a committee appointed accordingly. At the annual meeting of the CONGREGATIONAL UNION of England and Wales, (May 10,) and of the BAPTIST UNION, (April 22,) resolutions were adopted to take measures in order to prevent, if possible, a renewal of the patent right of printing the Bible in England, enjoyed by the queen's printers, which right expires in the early part of next year. THE MISSIONS TO INDIA seem to have entered upon a new stage of their history, if we may judge by the amount of special contributions announced on their behalf. They were the subject of chief interest at the various religious anniversaries. In Edinburgh and Glasgow large and influential meetings have been held on the subject of Bible Education in India, and these are expected to be followed by many others in different parts of the country. Sir John Lawrence, the eager promoter of Bible education in India, was presented on June 24 with a memorial, signed by a number of archbishops, bishops, members of both houses of Parliament, etc., (in all by 7,000 persons,) congratulating him upon the success of his government in the Punjab. A remarkable RELIGIOUS REVIVAL has commenced in the north of Ireland, and already spread over several of the largest counties of Ulster. The movement has spread through all classes of society, and all evangelical churches, and also a number of Roman Catholics and Unitarians, have been affected by it. It is the general opinion of the Churches that nothing at all approaching to it, in absorbing interest, has ever before been witnessed in the country.

The Roman Catholic Church.—A point of some religious interest in the last elections was the support given by CARDINAL WISEMAN AND THE CATHOLIC PARTY, both in England and Ireland, to the administration of Lord Derby. The motives are not clearly indicated. Gratitude for the extension of the Catholic chaplaincies in the army, and the consequent hope of future favors, have been mentioned by some of the defenders of the movement. Another reason is that the Catholics of England, as of every other country, feel more sympathy with the principles of the conservative than with those of the progressive parties.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—The CONFERENCE OF GERMAN CHURCH GOVERNMENTS met at Eisenach on June 30, and was attended by representatives of twenty-two states, a lesser number than was represented at the last Conference in 1857. It was unanimously resolved to recommend to the government that in the formula of Common Prayer used on Sundays, not only a supplication for the particular state, but also for the entire German fatherland, be inserted. The protection of the secresy of confession on the part of the state, the preparation of the statistics of the German Churches, and provisions for the spiritual wants of the Germans residing in, or emigrating to foreign countries, were other points discussed and recommended. THE CHURCH DIET, and the Congress for Home Missions connected with it, will not meet this year. The resignation of Mr. Von Bethman Hollweg, the president, on accepting office in the Prussian government, gave the vice-president, Professor Stahl, additional influence; and it was feared that the demand of the latter, that the Diet should review the recent act on civil marriages in Prussia and other disputed questions, would give rise to more than common disturbances. The general supposition is, that the Diet in its present form will meet no more; for the estrangement between the Lutheran and the evangelical parties is continually increasing. Both display a great activity; the number of their conferences and associations, as well as the number of attendants at almost each one of their meetings, is constantly growing. Where they still are associated—as, for example, in the Pastoral Conferences of Berlin—the Lutherans are usually in the ascendancy. At the late meeting of the CENTRAL ECCLESIASTICAL ASSOCIATION of the Prussian province of Saxony at Gnadau, which belongs now among the most influential Lutheran meetings of Germany, even Tholuck, who until now has been considered one of the pillars of the Evangelical party, felt called on to declare that he had of late years altered his views, and learned the necessity of adhering closer to the Lutheran Church. He deprecated the fundamental principle of the Evangelical Alliance, that the different branches of the Christian Church have equal rights; and though he has not yet arrived at that point which protests against admitting Lutherans and Reformed to the same communion table, he is evidently hastening toward it. Among the other ECCLESIASTICAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE LUTHERAN PARTY, the Lutheran Pastoral Conference held at Hanover, and the meeting of

Lutheran associations of Prussia at Wittenberg, were prominent. The former discussed the conditions on which a Lutheran Church can be recognized by others as orthodox; the latter elected a deputation to thank Professor Hengstenberg for his bold opposition to the religious liberty of Dissidents, and to the introduction of civil marriage, and Prof. Stahl for his last work on the Lutheran Church and the Union. The party has recently lost two influential members, Dr. Sander, director of the theological seminary at Wittenberg, and Dr. Sartorius, superintendent-general at Koenigsberg. The former was considered one of the most earnest preachers in all Germany, and often compared to the prophets of Israel in olden times; the latter was foremost among the theological writers of the party. The interest in FOREIGN MISSIONS is increasing in every part of Germany. All the eight missionary societies of Germany (1, Moravians; 2, Basel Society; 3, Rhenish Missions; 4, Berlin Society; 5, Gossner's Society; 6, North German Missionary Society; 7, Leipsic Lutheran Society; 8, Hermannsburg Missionary Society) are growing. The income of the Leipsic Society is now ten times as great as it was twenty years ago; this year it amounted to 52,000 thalers, and the missionary seminary at Leipsic contained twelve pupils, among whom were five Swedes. In the Duchy of Holstein it is proposed to celebrate in future a solemn missionary festival in every congregation, and to take up on that occasion a collection. THE FREE CONGREGATIONS and German Catholics, who rejoice at the greater toleration granted to them in Prussia, held on June 16th a council in Gotha. The number of these congregations amounts at present to about 100, as more than 200 have succumbed to the repressive measures adopted against them in almost all the German states since 1850. The council was presided over by Uhlich, adopted a new constitution, and elected a presiding committee, consisting of five members, among whom are Uhlich, of Magdeburg, and Balzer, of Nordhausen.

There is hope that some of the grievances of the PROTESTANT CHURCH OF AUSTRIA will be at length redressed. Important decrees are said to have been signed by the emperor while in Italy. During the present year a beginning has also been made with the establishment of free religious associations, the first general assembly of the first religious association of Austria having been held in March at Pesth.

The Roman Catholic Church.— The most important event in the history of the Catholic Church during the last months is the CONCLUSION OF A CONCORDAT WITH BADEN. It has not yet been officially published, but it is generally understood that most of the demands of the Archbishop of Freiburg and of the Pope have been granted, and that, in particular, the Catholic Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, a board of state officers charged with guarding the rights of the state in questions of mixed (ecclesiastical and political) nature, will be abolished. All those Catholics who had been excommunicated during the late conflict for siding with the State against the Church, have been restored to the former position in the Church, nothing having been required of them to this end but a petition to the Pope for a release from the censures of the Church. THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF PRUSSIA are, on the whole, well pleased with the present ministry, especially because it has advanced a number of leading men in the Catholic party to influential posts. On the other hand, they have, however, taken great offense at the prohibition issued against the preaching of the Jesuits at Thorn, upon the request of the town-councils, which feared disturbances from the appearance of the Jesuits in their midst.

SWITZERLAND.

The Protestant Churches.— The Second EVANGELICAL CONFERENCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES of Switzerland was held in June at Zurich. The question put by the first Conference (see M. Q. Rev., 1858, p. 636) to the cantonal Church governments, whether in future Good Friday was to be observed as a holy day, has been answered by all, except that of Glarus, in the affirmative. Among the questions discussed at this second Conference was the form of worship for troops in the field, with a liturgy and pastoral instruction for military chaplains. The Consistory of Zurich was charged to prepare a liturgy on the basis of that of Berne, and the Consistory of Geneva to prepare a translation for French Switzerland. A committee of three was also appointed to collect materials for a small volume of hymns for the use of soldiers. Finally, the Conference resolved upon a version of the Scriptures for common use in German Switzerland, on the basis of that of Luther. In the Canton de Vaud, RELIGIOUS LIBERTY has been asserted for the first time, after a struggle of thirty-five

years, by the legislature of the canton. The decree of June 7, 1849, "interdicting all religious meetings not acknowledged by the constitution of the state or authorized by law," (that is to say, interdicting all meetings of dissenters,) has been simply repealed. The only conditions to be henceforth observed are, an indication of the place of meeting, with free access for the police as well as the public. At the same time when, and in the same town (Lausanne) where this important decree was passed, THE FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH of the Canton of Vaud held its fourteenth annual synod, (from May 17 to May 20,) which was attended by representatives of the free Churches in three other Swiss cantons, (Berne, Geneva, and Neufchatel,) of those in France, Scotland, and Sardinia. The proceedings showed that this Church, and with it the principle of the independence of the Church upon the state, are making progress in Switzerland. THE RATIONALISTIC PARTY of the Reformed State Churches has established a central organ, which, under the title *Zeitstimmen der Reformirten Kirche der Schweiz*, is published once every fortnight by Rev. H. Lang, a minister of the canton of S. Gallen.

The Roman Catholic Church.—A LONG-EXPECTED RESOLUTION, concerning the Catholic Church of Switzerland, has at length been passed by one branch of the Federal Assembly, the national council, on July 15. With seventy-six votes against sixteen, the jurisdiction of the Lombardian bishops of Milan and Como, in the cantons of Tessin and Grisons, was abolished, and the principle established that in future every foreign Episcopal jurisdiction in Switzerland will be unlawful. The resolution was opposed by the Catholic party and a few Protestant Conservatives, on the ground that the Federal Assembly had not authority in this question, it being of an ecclesiastical nature.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Protestant Churches.—It is reported from SWEDEN that extensive religious movements are still going on among the people; that, in particular, in the island of Gothland, in the Baltic, a revival has extended with great power from one end of the island to the other, and the distribution of tracts is carried on with great zeal. According to a letter of the Swedish Branch of the Evangelical Association, the main impulse for these movements comes from two missionary societies, the one called the *Fatherland's Society*, and the other the *Missionary Society of Stockholm*. The former belongs to the Lutheran Church, has at its command very ample material resources, and has extended its operations over the whole country; while the latter adheres to the principles of the Evangelical Alliance, and admits evangelical Christians of all denominations as members. But also the spirit of persecution still continues in the State Church, and has demanded many new victims. IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF NORWAY a conflict has arisen between the clergy and the government on the question of the remarrying of divorced persons. The clergy state that they find only one reason in the Scriptures, adultery, that will dissolve the otherwise indissoluble tie of marriage, though they are willing to defer so far to the weighty authority of Luther as to admit also malicious desertion as a valid ground of separation. They pray that the state law may be conformed to these views of the Lutheran Church. The king has appointed a committee, presided over by the Bishop of Christiania, to investigate this matter as well as several other important points concerning the State Church. The participation of Scandinavia in the FOREIGN MISSIONS of Protestantism is likely to be promoted by the establishment of a foreign missionary seminary, which has been recently opened at Bergen, Norway, and has at present room for twelve pupils. THE FREE APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAN CHURCH, founded in 1856 by Pastor Lammers, continues to make progress in all parts of Norway. Secessions from the State Church to it are reported every month, while hardly one instance is mentioned in which a member of the Free Church has returned to the State Church. Lammers has also established a paper called *Meddelelser*.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The Roman Catholics of Scandinavia must have great confidence in the periodical press, for they have already established a SECOND CATHOLIC PAPER. The first was established several years ago at Copenhagen under the name, *Scandinavian Church Gazette*. It is published weekly, and has for several years given to its reader a Catholic book as premium: in 1857, Cardinal Wiseman's Fabiola; in 1858, Francis de Sales's Philothea. The title of the new paper, which is to be published once a month at Bergen, in Norway, is *Catholic Intelligencer*, (*Katholsk Intelligensblad.*)

FRANCE.

The Protestant Churches.—The number of the MAY ANNIVERSARIES of Protestant France has doubled within the last few years, and amounted this year to twenty-two. M. Guizot presided at the meeting of the Protestant Bible Society, and took advantage of the occasion to give utterance to many excellent principles upon religious liberty. The Tract Society has this year departed from its usual course, and has published not only tracts, but books, under the name of "*La Bibliothèque des Familles.*" It intends to publish some valuable works, for which France will be indebted to England, as it is an English society which has furnished the means for this undertaking. A particular interest is taken in France in the Missionary Society, which during the last year has been still increased by the recent calamities and disasters which the tribes evangelized by the French Protestant missionaries in the south of Africa have experienced. To the usual May meetings this year, one was added of uncommon importance, the TERCENTENARY OF THE FRENCH REFORMATION; or, more particularly, of the days (May 26, 27, 28, 1559) when delegates of the few Protestant Churches existing in France met for the first time in a Synod, and constituted that Church of heroes and martyrs which for nearly two hundred and thirty years was a Church under the cross, and which gave to France men like Calvin, Beza, Coligny, Claude, Basnage, and Jurieu. The congregations have seen in this celebration the means of reviving glorious memories. Great crowds assembled in the churches, and even in the open air when the churches were too small. Thus at Nismes the *fête* was celebrated in a vast plain, where formerly the assemblies were held in the waste country. There were present 25,000 auditors.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The receipts of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH, the great Roman Catholic missionary society, which has its center in France, have been larger for 1858 than for any preceding year, exceeding those of 1857 by 2,500,000 francs and amounting in all to 6,684,567 francs. This extraordinary increase is especially ascribed to the circular of the Pope on occasion of the jubilee, which made a contribution to the funds of the society one of the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the jubilee. The contributions of France have risen from 2,582,514 fr. (in 1857) to 4,063,000 fr. Of the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, 204,950 copies are at present printed, namely, 127,700 copies in French, and 77,250 copies in English, German, Flemish, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Polish. A comparison of the above figures with the corresponding statistics of Protestant countries and societies would show, that among all the Roman Catholic countries, only France rivals the missionary zeal of the Protestant Churches, though even she remains far behind England and America; and that all the other Roman Catholic countries of the world together contribute no more than one half of what France contributes, although the Catholic population of France (34,000,000) is no more than about one-fifth of the Catholic population of the world, which is estimated at 170,000,000. The war between France and Austria created for a time a marked ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH. The bishops, in compliance with the request of the government, have prescribed prayers for the emperor and the victory of the French arms, and have chanted Te Deum for every successive victory; but they have at the same time not concealed their almost unanimous opposition to the war. Nearly every single episcopal circular regarded it necessary, to calm the apprehensions entertained concerning the fate of the Papal power. The name of Austria was not mentioned in any, no sympathy expressed with the national cause of Italy, and no mention whatever made of the allies of France, while during the Crimean war most of the bishops implored the Divine aid for the success of the "allied" arms. A number of leading Catholic papers, among them the *Univers*, received an "official" warning, on account of articles considered hostile to the policy of the government. But few members of the clergy expressed an open sympathy with the object of the war; and among the Catholic celebrities of France, Father Lacordaire, who wrote a bold and enthusiastic letter in favor of the liberation of Italy, stood almost alone.

ITALY.

The Protestant Churches.—Bright prospects for the PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM have been again opened by the recent war. The success of the political revolution has been everywhere followed by the proclamation of full religious liberty for every Italian. The leading men in Lombardy, in Tuscany, and the other states of Central Italy, have not only

shown themselves opposed to the Church of Rome, but also in many instances favorable to the positive tenets of Protestant Christianity. Great efforts have been made by various Protestant bodies to improve this opportunity. Foreign agencies have been busy for the dissemination of the Scriptures. The Waldensian Church, as was to be expected, has been foremost in this work. By direction of the Synod, the Rev. Mr. Malan, late moderator, has been sent to Florence, to recommence there the work from which he was rudely driven in 1851. He has preached in the Swiss Church of Florence to large audiences in Italian. THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD met at La Tour on May 17, and brought its deliberation to a conclusion on May 21. It learned with gratification that since last meeting much progress had been made in the establishment of Sabbath schools, so that now there was scarcely a parish without one. It was also reported that the reunions for prayer had increased considerably during the same period. The Ladies' Institute has so increased in the number of pupils, that it has become absolutely necessary to procure a larger building. Rev. Mr. Pendleton, the British chaplain at Montevideo, appeared before the Synod, to give some details concerning a colony of Waldenses who went out there about three years ago, whom by his influence he not only saved from massacre, but secured in the right of full religious toleration. He asked the Synod to send out a pastor and a schoolmaster to the colony, promising, if they agreed to do so, that he would raise £3,000 as an endowment. The Synod gladly agreed.

The Roman Catholic Church.—The war for the liberation of Northern Italy from the Austrian rule has almost assumed the character of a religious war of a large portion of Italy against THE PAPAL POWER. Where the Liberal party has been successful, the Jesuits have been compelled to flee. In the Legation a large majority of the people have declared a desire to be separated from the Papal states. At Milan a large crowd of people has burned the Pope in effigy. At Turin the leading Catholic daily of Italy, the *Armonia*, has been suppressed. The Sardinian government has therefore been again denounced by the Pope as the enemy of the Catholic Church. The more surprising it is that so large a number of the lower clergy, especially in Lombardy, have declared their sympathy with the national cause and the overthrow of the Austrian rule.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—THE SECTS OF RUSSIA seem to be the most thriving among all the branches of the Greek Church. The best informed writers unanimously maintain that they are spreading more rapidly than ever before. They now have bishops, the first of whom was ordained by the Greek bishops of Austria, and can therefore take the form of a Church as well as the State Church. The deliberations of a commission established at St. Petersburgh to combat their progress have had no result, and the government has resolved to make concessions to them. A recent decree, while again prohibiting the bishops and priests ordained by foreigners from entering Russia, demands that the bishops and priests of the Rascolnics (Separatists) be ordained by the bishops of the State Church. This, however, has given great offense to the latter, who have protested against the intentions of the government. The Holy Synod of St. Petersburgh is said to have been the scene of passionate discussions, and the confessor of the emperor, Bajanoff, who wished to attempt a mediation in favor of the government, to have been threatened with excommunication by the Metropolite of St. Petersburgh. Another sign of a progressive movement is mentioned from THE STATE CHURCH. The Russian clergy begin to attach more importance to preaching. The movement is said to have been inaugurated by the chief clergyman of the cathedral of Peter and Paul at Petersburgh, Polyssadoff, who, on his return from an eleven years' sojourn in foreign countries, commenced to preach regularly. It is expected to be the more rapid as recently another great obstacle to the development of pulpit eloquence has been removed, the Metropolite of Petersburgh having abolished in his diocese the censorship of sermons, which required all clergymen to submit their sermons, before they were preached, to the examination of the protopopes, (deans,) who, in turn, had to present their sermons, for the same purpose, to the bishops.

The government has for some time made endeavors to establish COMMUNITIES OF GREEK SISTERS OF MERCY. Recently the Grand-Duchess Helen has requested the superior of the Catholic Sisters of Mercy at Berlin, Prussia, to admit a number of Russian novices belonging to the Greek Church, in order to educate them for their destination. The superior is said to have complied with this wish.

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Theological and Literary Journal, July, 1859.—1. Dr. Harris's Theory of the Conversion of the World: 2. Notes on Scripture—Matthew xx—xxii: 3. Regeneration—Its Author, its Instrument, and its Fruits and Evidences: 4. Exposition of Acts vi and vii: 5. The Facts of Geology consistent with the Revealed History of Creation: 6. Dr. Sprague's Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit: 7. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chapters xliv and xlv.

II. The American Quarterly Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register, July, 1859.—1. The Present State and Hopes of Christianity: 2. Hickok's Rational Cosmology: 3. Carey's Translation of the Book of Job: 4. President Hopkins's Discourse and the Church: 5. The New Tune Book: 6. The Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D.: 7. Dr. Stevens's First Chapter.

III. The Southern Presbyterian Review, July, 1859.—1. First Pastoral Letter of the Synod of the Carolinas: 2. The Lecture System—Its Influence upon Young Men: 3. The Distinctions in the Godhead Personal, and not Nominal: 4. The Principles of a Liberal Education: 5. The Hypostatical Union: 6. The Religious Instruction of our Colored Population.

IV. Brownson's Quarterly Review, July, 1859.—1. The Church and the Revolution: 2. Public and Parochial Schools: 3. Complete Works of Gerald Griffin: 4. Lamennais and Gregory XVI.: 5. Napoleonic Ideas.

V. The Christian Review, July, 1859.—1. Language as a Means of Classifying Man: 2. The Old Testament in the Discourses of Jesus: 3. Bryant's Poems: 4. Internal Evidences that the Bible is the Word of God: 5. Nineveh—the Historians and the Monuments: 6. Ancient India.

VI. The Southern Baptist Review, April—June, 1859.—1. Glorification: 2. Text Rescued from Universalism: 3. Notes on the Revelation: 4. The Spirits in Prison: 5. The Church Universal: 6. Review of "John the Baptist," *alias* "Von Rhoden:" 7. Rights of Laymen.

VII. Universalist Quarterly and General Review, July, 1859.—1. Latimer and the English Reformation: 2. Bacon and Christianity: 3. The Utility of Mental Philosophy: 4. Novels.

VIII. The Mercersburg Review, July, 1859.—1. The Wonderful Nature of Man: 2. The Apostolic Commission: 3. Alexander on Mark: 4. The Power behind the Throne: 5. What is Poetry: 6. On Extempore Preaching: 7. Anglo-German Hymns: 8. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham: 9. Eulogy on Rev. Dr. Rauch.

IX. Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, July, 1859.—1. Bishop Capers: 2. Robertson's Sermons: 3. Calvinism and Arminianism: 4. Susanna Wesley: 5. Origin, Progress, and Influence of Poetry: 6. Woman in America, her Sphere, Duties, and Education.

X. The New Englander, August, 1859.—1. Discourse Commemorative of Professor Denison Olmsted, LL.D.: 2. The Limits of Religious Thought: 3. Mr. Daniel Lord and the American Tract Society: 4. The Forces of the Pulpit and their Relation to its Power: 5. Thorndale; or, The Conflict of Opinions: 6. The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue: 7. Italy and the War: 8. Hon. Aaron N. Skinner: 9. Dr. Tyler and his Theology: 10. The Atlantic Monthly, and the Professor at the Breakfast Table.

XI. The Congregational Quarterly, July, 1859.—1. Cotton Mather: 2. Congregational Churches and Ministers in Windham County, Ct.: 3. A Lesson from the Past—The Puritan Sabbath, its Origin and Influence: 4. John Wickliffe—A Sketch of his Life and Opinions: 5. American Ecclesiastical Denominations: 6. Sketch of the Broadway Church, Norwich, Ct., with particular Reference to Ventilation.

XII. The North American Review, July, 1859.—1. The Life and Poems of Michael Angelo: 2. Judicial Ordeals: 3. British Strictures on Republican Institutions: 4. Life of Lord Cornwallis: 5. Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease: 6. Contemporary French Literature: 7. Chief Justice Parsons: 8. Fowler's English Grammar.

XIII. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, July, 1859.—1. Theology of Dr. Taylor: 2. The Romance of the Rose: 3. Law: 4. The General Assembly of 1859: 5. Travels in Distant Lands.

XIV. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, July, 1859.—1. Connection between our Lord's Doctrines, Miracles, and Prophecies: 2. Revised English Version of the Book of Job: 3. The Early Church History of Scotland: 4. The Franks, and their Metropolitan—No. 2: 5. Biblical Revision: 6. Assyrian History: 7. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John—Rev. x, xi.

II.—*English Reviews.*

I. The Westminster Review, July, 1859.—1. What Knowledge is of most Worth: 2. Jowett and the Broad Church: 3. The Influence of Local Causes on National Character: 4. The Life of a Conjuror: 5. The Government of India, its Liabilities and Resources: 6. Recollections of Alexander von Sternberg: 7. The Roman Question: 8. Austrian Interventions.

II. The Christian Remembrancer, July, 1859.—1. Works of the Camden Society: 2. Froude's History of England: 3. A Decade of Italian Women: 4. The Paradise of Mediæval Writers: 5. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: 6. Liberty and Toleration: 7. Church Almanacs: 8. Ancient and Modern Researches about the Nile.

III. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1859.—1. The Authorship of the Epistle of Jude: 2. Aaron Burr: 3. Praying and Preaching: 4. Sawyer's New Testament: 5. Demission of the Ministry: 6. The American Theological Review: 7. The Confessional in the Church of England: 8. Presbyterianism in the United States: 9. The Book of Job.

IV. The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, July, 1859.—1. Our Naval Position and Policy: 2. L'Acropole d'Athènes: 3. Memoirs of the Court of George IV., 1820–1830: 4. The Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold: 5. Ichnology of Annandale, or Illustrations of Footprints impressed on the New Red-Sandstone of Corncockle Muir: 6. Vie de Marie Antoinette: 7. Remains of a very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe: 8. History of the Life of Arthur Duke of Wellington: 9. Adam Bede: 10. Four Idyls of the King: 11. Speech of the Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli, delivered in the House of Commons 1st April, 1859.

V. The Quarterly Review, July, 1859.—1. Life of Erasmus: 2. Annals and Anecdotes of Life Assurance: 3. Popular Music of the Olden Times: 4. Burgon's Life of Tytler: 5. The Progress of Geology: 6. The Islands of the Pacific: 7. Berkshire: 8. The Invasion of England.

VI. The North British Review, August, 1859.—1. Guizot's Memoirs. Vol. ii: 2. Painters patronized by Charles I.: 3. Syriac Church History—John of Ephesus: 4. Wanderings of an Artist: 5. Glaciers: 6. Patrick Frazer Tytler: 7. Idyls of the King: 8. New England Provincial History: 9. Botany and Scottish Botanists: 10. Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia: 11. Napoleonism and Italy.

III.—*French and German Reviews.*

I. Revue Chretienne, June 15, 1859.—1. Le Troisième Jubilé de la Réformation Française: 2. Le Sensualisme Philosophique au Dix-huitième Siècle. Ch. Waddington: 3. L'Ancienne Religion Persane. J.-P. Trottet: 4. Du Mouvement de la Littérature Anglaise Pendant le Dernier Trimestre. Gustave Masson.

July, 1859.—1. William Penn et M. Macaulay. Vulliemin: 2. Souvenirs de la Vie de la Duchesse d'Orléans. Ch. Monnard: 3. L'Ancienne Religion Persane. J.-P. Trottet: 4. Poésie: 5. D'un Récent Essai sur la Philosophie de L'Education. Eug. Bersier.

II. Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1, 1859.—1. L'Art Français au Salon de 1859. M. Henri Delaborde: 2. Episodes de la Vie Anglo-Indienne Pendant la Dernière Guerre—La Fuite et les Aventures du Juge Edwards. M. E.-D. Forgues: 3. La Société D'Agriculture de Paris, son Histoire et ses Travaux. M. Léonce de Lavergne: 4. Poètas Modernes de L'Allemagne—Henri de Kleist, sa vie et ses Œuvres. M. Saint-René Taillandier: 5. Rachel, Histoire Lombarde de 1848. Christine Trivulce de Belgiojoso: 6. Une Page de L'Histoire du Piémont—Le Premier Roi de Sardaigne et la Politique de la Maison de Savoie. M. Charles de Mazade: 7. La Guerre et les Intérêts Européens dans la Question Italienne: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Revue Musicale. M. P. Scudo: 10. Académie Française—Réception de M. Jules Sandeau.

June 15, 1859.—1. La Fronde a Bordeaux. M. Victor Cousin: 2. L'Oncle César. Mme. Charles Reybaud: 3. Les Héros de la Grèce Moderne—2. Marc Botzaris. M. Eugène Yemeniz: 4. Le Roman Réaliste en Angleterre. (Adam Bede.) M. Emile Montégut: 5. Les Premiers Ages de Notre Planète.—2. L'Apparition de la Vie sur le Globe. M. Alfred Maury: 6. Etudes D'Economie Forestière—Les Forêts et L'Agriculture. M. Jules Clavé: 7. Le Roi Odoacre, Patrice D'Italie. M. Amédée Thierry: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 9. Revue Musicale—Les Concerts de la Saison. M. P. Scudo.

July 1, 1859.—1. L'Oncle César. Mme. Charles Reybaud: 2. Michel Ange, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, d'après des Documens Nouveaux. M. Charles Clément: 3. La Fronde a Bordeaux, Scènes Historiques. M. Victor Cousin: 4. Un Historiographe de la Presse Anglaise dans la Dernière Guerre de Chine. M. Charles Lavollée: 5. De la Philosophie de L'Historie Contemporaine. M. Ernest Renan: 6. La Prusse et L'Agitation Allemande. M. Saint-René Taillandier: 7. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire: 8. Revue Critique.—Les Romans Nouveau. M. E. Lataye.

July 15, 1859.—1. Le Mississipi, Etudes et Souvenirs.—1. Le Cours Supérieur du Fleuve. M. Elisée Reclus: 2. Etudes sur L'Histoire Diplomatique de L'Italie depuis le Commencement du XVIII Siècle jusqu'a nos Jours. M. Saint-Maro Girardin: 3. De la Liberté Civile et Politique. M. Charles de Rémusat: 4. Thomas Jefferson, sa Vie et sa Correspondance.—3. Le Parti Démocratique aux Affaires. M. Cornelis de Witt: 5. Georgy Sandon, Histoire d'un Amour Perdu. M. E. D. Forgues: 6. La Reine-Blanche dans les Iles Marquises, Souvenirs et Paysages de L'Océanie.—1. L'Arrivée et L'Installation. M. Max Radiguet: 7. Les Petits Secrets du Cœur.—1. Une Conversion Excentrique. M. Emile Montégut: 8. Chronique de la Quinzaine, Histoire Politique et Littéraire.

II. Studien und Kritiken, 1859.—Viertes Heft—Abhandlungen—Girolamo Zanchi. Gedanken und Bemerk ungen: 1. Brenske, Exegetische Bemerk ung zu Apostlegesh, 15, 19–21: 2. Steitz der ästhetische Charakter der Eucharistie und des Fastens in der Alten-Kirche Recension—Karsten, die letzen Dinge Characteristik—Baur, Carateristik Schleiermacher's.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

> It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Theodore Parker's Experience as a Minister*, with some Account of his Early Life and Education for the Ministry, contained in a Letter from him to the Members of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston." (Boston: Rufus Leighton, Jr. 1859.)

Theodore Parker lately informed us in a sarcastic tone that "orthodoxy is dyspeptic." We now learn from the same authority that heterodoxy is pulmonic. "Medical men" have bidden it "be silent and flee off for life to a more genial clime." It has availed itself of the opportunity of adding another item to its plagiarisms of the orthodoxy it abuses, by telling its "experience." That experience is more entertaining than edifying. It attracts by the peculiar power of the author's style; it fails to edify from the unhappy character of the system. It is strikingly variegated with strains of eloquence scarce unworthy of John Milton, and streaks of blasphemy quite worthy of Thomas Paine.

Mr. Parker, by his own chronology of life, has nearly closed his half century. Born of Unitarian parents, and attendant upon the ministry of Dr. Channing, he was firmly indoctrinated in the principles of natural right, but slightly tinctured with the principles of religious truth. The scanty creed of Unitarianism by natural progress, or rather regress, soon disappeared, and left him before manhood what he has since remained, a pure Deist. He settled very early in his own mind the primary dogma that miracles were impossible, and, by consequence, that the inspiration and all the supernatural facts of the Bible were by anticipation falsities; and by this fundamental law of criticism the genuineness of those sacred records was to be tested and repudiated. Believing himself destined to be a preacher, he passed through the divinity school of Harvard and thence to a country pulpit.

But in order to be a preacher it was necessary to have a religion. Harvard may abound in skillful chess playing, but is poorly endowed with piety. Being as poorly endowed in this respect as his Alma, Theodore was obliged to inaugurate a religion of his own. He identified, therefore, in the soul of man the "Three Intuitions" of Right, of the Divine or God, and of Immortality. These three fundamental intuitions are the basis, or, we may say, the entire substance of his Absolute Religion; so that his creed, if not his Deity, is triune. To this religion he made of himself a complete surrender, and felt rising in himself a vivified strength to act according to its dictates. Thus converted, dedicated, and regenerated, he entered the pulpit, and the parody was complete.

At this point we may *first* suggest that Christianity, as we understand it, embraces these three intuitions, so that the absolute religion, so far as it is positive, is truly embodied in the theology of the Bible. God, immortality, and the Divine Law—are not these fundamental in the Scripture system? They there exist, sustained by additional proofs and enforced by higher sanctions than pure Theism can pretend; and all Mr. Parker attempts is to diminish those evidences and lower those sanctions. And *second*, in addition to these *three* intuitions, which afford the basis of Mr. Parker's system, it is quite competent for us to inaugurate a *fourth*, authenticated by equally valid signatures, namely, an intuition of the *supernatural* or *miraculous*, which may stand as the basis of the Incarnation and all the attendant miracles of the Christian Theology. These two germinal suggestions, we apprehend, properly expanded, would furnish a fundamental refutation of Parkerism.

Having entered the pulpit, Mr. Parker, after a period of moral misgiving, sent forth his blast of war against Christianity in language and temper worthy the whole line of her assailants from Celsus to Strauss. Let the following passage illustrate how his absolute religion can

> "Unpack itself in oaths,
> And fall to cursing like a very drab."

> "I knew that I had thoroughly broken with the ecclesiastical authority of Christendom; its God was not my God, nor its Scriptures my Word of God, nor its Christ my Saviour; for I preferred the Jesus of historic fact to the Christ of theologic fancy. Its narrow, partial and unnatural Heaven I did not wish to enter on the terms proposed, nor did I fear, since earliest youth, its mythic, roomy Hell, wherein the Triune God, with his pack of devils to aid, tore the human race in pieces for ever and ever.

When Mr. Parker issued forth his manifesto, results followed at which he seems to have been very much surprised. The friends of the Christian religion withdrew their fellowship, avoided his intimacy, and discouraged his publications. Mr. Parker's surprise at this is to us very surprising. How he could expect that a community who considered him as undermining the foundations of public morality, of rudely assailing our holiest feelings and noblest hopes, should not look coldly on him, is a problem whose only solution can be found in the depth of his personal egotism.

Mr. Parker enumerates with pride his fearless labors in behalf of the great reform measures of the day. Most fearless and most efficient have been his utterances against slavery. They are among the most powerful denunciations against that crime in the English or any other language. They have thrilled the people like a trumpet-blast. And very skillfully has he used the vantage ground which the position of a large share of the ministry and the Church on that subject has afforded him, to denounce Christianity itself as false and corrupt. Fearful, indeed, is the responsibility of those ministers and those Churches who have afforded him that vantage ground. But then the sweeping charges made by men like Parker upon "the Church," without exception, are as false as they are bitter, and prompted by his intense hatred of Christianity itself. Our own Church, although she has not completely fulfilled her mission on that subject, is truly and nobly an antislavery Church; and we

entertain the cheering trust that a higher position is before her which she will attain and fill. Yet now, and for years past, the standing antislavery declarations of our Discipline, the bold and almost unanimous tone of our periodicals, the vigilant exclusion of slavery from our ministry, even in our slaveholding sections, the reiterated moral affirmations of our annual conferences, and the strong majority of our General Conference, are exerting a powerful antislavery impression upon the public mind. The indiscriminate denunciation of our Church, therefore, by men like Mr. Parker, as, on the whole, a pro-slavery Church, is a falsity which may gratify their own irreligious rancor, but must sadly react against the antislavery cause.

Were Christianity to disappear at Mr. Parker's bidding, and the "Absolute Religion" to become the sole supreme, what security could its founder furnish that its Church would always be true to its principles? Mr. Parker's denunciations of slavery are no more unsparing than Wesley's. What security can Mr. Parker give that after we abandon Christianity, and adopt the A. R., its devotees may not quietly print *his* antislavery lectures in the regular edition of his works, but buy slaves or defend slavery with the proceeds of their sale? Many of the followers of Wesley, in slaveholding sections, have, if we mistake not, done about this. And all professing Christians who hold slaves or defend slavery, do so under the claim that the intuitions of absolute Right justify their deed. They do so under the still more fearful condition that the Law of God sanctions the Right, and that an eternal Hell is the penalty of the violated law. If, with these terrible sanctions, Christians become pro-slavery, what security can we have that the church of the Absolute, divested of such sanctions, would entertain a greater dread of wrong? No religion assumes to afford an absolute guarantee that men shall, with mechanical necessity, obey its dictates. It can only unfold the truths, and present the motives for the Right. If then the religion of the deeper truth and the stronger motive, partially fail to accomplish this result, what but total failure can we hope from the religion of the shallower and the feebler?

It was our fortune to read in close connection Mr. Parker's "Experience" and Dr. Stevens's historical portraiture of Wesley. We thereby were led to bring into close comparison the Christian and the Antichristian Reformer. We must say that in the presence of the great, serene, reverential founder of Methodism our Absolute Religionist looks meager, limping, and bombastic. Great pretenses does he make of originality, and haughty rejection of the faith and theologies of past ages. And yet he miserably fails in comparative depth and power. How infinitely less searching is his discourse to disturb the guilty conscience with the damnation of sin and the terrors of God! How feebly he arouses the scourge of remorse or the radical volition of repentance. What knows he of the rapture of pardon, of communion with God, and joy in the Holy Ghost? All these deep, solemn, glorious feelings he ignores, and substitutes old Stoicism, with its marble moral will and its desperate reliance on self. Hence, never, never can he stir the moral depths of the popular heart, and pour religious revival through the soul of the dying masses of men. No John Nelsons or George Storys spring up to his side. No Kingswood collieries grow holy under his discourse. No helpers rise by

hundreds to carry the glad evangel to the common people of all the land. No impatient missionaries burn to herald his frozen gospel to distant isles and continents. From the far hemispheres and antipodes no echo comes, making the heavens above him glad with the shout of redeemed souls rejoicing in a gospel of peace.

(2.) "*The Annotated Paragraph Bible;* containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms; with Explanatory Notes, Prefaces to the several Books, and an entirely new selection of References to parallel and illustrative Passages. The Old Testament." (1 vol. octavo, pp. 1050. London: The Religious Tract Society. New York: Published for the Spingler Institute, Union Square, by Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co. 1859.) It is well known that the mangling process by which our Bible is divided into chapters and verses, often without any reference to the sense of the writer or the flow of the narrative, is not to be traced to a Divine origin. In the earliest manuscripts the text was divided into lines, which varied in length according to the width of the page; sometimes also into sentences, which were formed in accordance with the sense; in addition to which the several books were divided into sections of greater or shorter length. Ancient authorities, however, do not agree with respect to the number of these divisions, some reckoning them more, some less, so that the arrangement depended evidently upon the taste or skill of the translator. The present division into chapters was not made until about the year 1250, when the task was performed by Cardinal Hugo.

A Jewish Rabbi, named Mordecai Nathan, prepared a Concordance of the Hebrew Bible about the year 1405, and from this circumstance the subdivision of the chapters into verses took its origin, so far as the Old Testament is concerned. With respect to the New Testament, the cutting up into verses originated with Robert Stevens, a celebrated printer at Paris, who thus divided an edition of the New Testament A.D. 1551.

Stevens, however, did not form his verses into paragraphs, as is the case in nearly all the later editions of the Bible, but simply placed the figures denoting the verse in the margin. The former method, now so commonly in use, was first adopted in the Geneva English Bible, printed about the year 1560. For purposes of general reference some such division is allowable, and even desirable; but for popular reading such an arrangement is a great and deplorable evil.

And this we think is one great reason why the Bible is no more esteemed by the masses as an attractive reading book. Take any of the most popular literary works, say, Macaulay's, Prescott's, or Bancroft's histories, or any of the great poets, and haggle them up into chapters, and then into verses, without any just regard to the spirit of the passage or the sense of the writer, and where would their popular attractiveness be? The very works which in their present form are read with avidity and delight, would then probably be read only from a sense of duty, or be neglected altogether.

As being eminently adapted, in our judgment, to meet the necessity which has long existed for an edition of the authorized version of the Bible

adapted for popular reading, in which the arbitrary and defective division into chapters and verses is disearded, we hail with heartfelt pleasure the advent of the noble volume before us.

The paragraphs are formed with much judgment and skill, each one being an embodiment of the sense of the passage. For the sake of referenee, the figures denoting the chapters and verses are plaeed in the margin, the latter being distinguished from the former by the size of the figures. One sits down to the reading of the book with the same pleasure and satisfaetion with which other attractive works are read, no vail of obscurity being thrown over the sacred page by the abrupt cutting off of a verse or a chapter in the very midst of an inspired narrative, or of the divine poets' touching, swelling verse.

A large portion of the inspired books being poetical, what vast damage is done to the sacred lyrist by their being printed in prose form, and according to the chapter and verse plan above described. To remedy this defect, in the volume before us every poetic passage is given in parallellisms, which is according to the natural order of the original, and which renders the meaning more obvious to the reader, and exhibits more strikingly "the spirit and beauty of this divine poetry."

Another marked excellence of the work before us is its prefaces to the several books. The explanatory notes at the foot of the page very greatly enhance the value of the work. They do not by any means constitute a running commentary, but are designed simply to throw light upon obscure phrases and sentences, and thus enable the reader to apprehend the true meaning of the writer. They furnish "improved renderings in many instances, where our present translations appear incorrect or faulty," and by "references to the manners, customs, geography, and history of the countries and of the times in which the events of the Bible occurred," they "illustrate the language of the sacred writers." The work is also well supplied with maps and engravings illustrative of the countries and the subjects of which the Bible treats. It contains an entirely new selection of marginal references, chronological table, remarks on the fulfillment of prophecy, and a sketch of the history of the Jews. We may add that the mechanical execution of the work is quite equal to its literary design.

(3.) "*My Father Braddock;* being the History of the Trials, Sufferings Sacrifices, and Wrongs of this good old Man and his Family in the Methodist Itinerancy. By Rev. JOHN SMITH, A.M., M.D. With an Introduction, by Rev. W. BLACKBURNE, P.E., of East District. Also a Preface by J. BROWNE, A.M., D.D., of Bellevue." (12mo., pp. 137. Philadelphia: Published for the author by Perkinpine & Higgins. 1859.)

(4.) "*Evenings with Grandfather Braddock*, showing his Labors, Joys, and Triumphs in the Methodist Itinerancy; being an Antidote to 'My Father Braddock.' By Rev. FRANK F. FAIRVIEW." (12mo., pp. 147. Perkinpine & Higgins. 1859.)

Our excellent friends, Perkinpine & Higgins, have here furnished, in very prompt succession, the bane and the antidote. "Father Braddock" is a

graphic but very hasty caricature of our ecclesiastical system in the form of fiction; or, perhaps, of facts selected and fictitiously grouped and colored. It is an unfortunate performance, doing as little justice to the character and talents of the author as to the system it misrepresents, and likely to be accepted by few thinkers in our Church as the representative of their views and tempers. As a literary performance it is crude and slovenly, trailing its sentences over the page, each in separate paragraph, like so many independent aphorisms. When any Methodist minister, in any phase of mind, attacks the system of which he is a part, we respectfully desire him to do it well; otherwise he may disparage the Church less by the sharpness of the picture than by the poorness of the performance.

With intelligent minds who have studied appreciatively our institutions and our history, as developed in the grandeur of unfolding providence, or with the great mass of emotional hearts who have felt the genial influences of Methodism as a spiritual power, this book can do very little harm; for to the minds of the former the true answers will rise at every page, and the spontaneous feelings of the latter will repudiate it with an unerring instinct as a very bitter, self-seeking, hostile thing. But among those who belong to neither of these classes it has produced no little sensation; so as to be, in fact, quite a "sensation" book. To this class of persons Grandfather Braddock may be well recommended as a very timely alternative. And if desirous of further inquiry, let them try Reddy's "Inside Views of Methodism," or Dr. Porter's "Compend." Nor ought Stevens's History of Methodism, or the Pioneer Bishop, to fail to inspire them with an enlarged sympathy with the great movement in which this calumniated but noble system took its origin and character.

Grandfather Braddock is as good as we should expect from so impromptu an effort, furnished forthwith to the occasion. It is fashioned perhaps a little too much in accordance with a Hahnemannean maxim, *Similia similibus curantur.* It is shaped externally and internally after the same model as its predecessor. Even the fragmentary, aphoristic trail of sentences is very unnecessarily adopted. The best part of the book (and we may say of either book) is the Preface, in which a sketch of personal experience is given in mellow and fluent style. But the picture of Grandfather Braddock is not more genial only, but it is so palpably more true than that of the Father, the temper of the narrative is so much more magnanimous, the views presented of a true self-sacrificing Gospel ministry, are so much more unselfish, expansive, and Christian, that we may safely commend it as a fair corrective of the threatened mischief. Let it follow the tracks of its predecessor.

We have enjoyed the acquaintance of many a fine old superannuated itinerant; but among them all we have not yet discovered one lurking Father Braddock. Several of the grandfathers have we known under different names in different regions, who have in the few past years gone to their reward. Others are still living in different localities whom our pen can scarce refrain from naming, rare specimens of the patriarch, the sunshine of whose hearts suffuses their venerable features with the anticipative radiance of a better world. They have passed through the terrible ordeals of Scrambletown circuits, and Famine-street charges, and Break Neck responsibilities; they

have endured all the plagues arising from indifferent stewards, "an unsettled people," and the "sensation preachers;" they have undergone all the oppressions of "irresponsible committees," "secret cabinets," and "fixed episcopacy." They are as human as the rest of us, with sensitive flesh and brittle bones. They have had, doubtless, real wrongs, and hearts susceptible to their infliction. But somehow the remembrance of the wrong has retired into a holy and peaceful shade. Their trials, combats, and victories are now the gems of their history. They delight to refight the battles and reslay the slain. Their hearts still expand over the expansion of the cause in which they labored, and their solicitude is, that with all the "martyrdoms" "the system" requires it may go on with the glorious results it produces. They are not among the ecclesiastical "reformers." They have no execrations for "the system." They are earnestly anxious that the unchanged legacy may go down to posterity in the completeness of its machinery and all the fullness of its power.

(5.) "*Gnomon of the New Testament.* By JOHN ALBERT BENGEL. Translated by Rev. JAMES BANDINEL, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, and by Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin." (5 vols., 8vo. T. T. Clark, Edinburgh. 1858.)

The Gnomon was written in terse, weighty, and vigorous Latin in 1740. It was not composed in haste, and it has not been in haste to die. It was the life-work of a mighty thinker and unrivaled scholar, styled by John Wesley, "that great light of the Christian world, Bengeleus." There have been several editions of this work in Latin, and several in German, but not till 1858 has there been a translation in English. This translation is due to the enterprising publishers of foreign theological literature, T. T. Clark, of Edinburgh. The work of translation has every appearance of fidelity to the Latin text, and is accompanied with notes, making the reader acquainted with the results of modern critical labors in the same field.

As its title declares, it is not a commentary, but a *gnomon*, a pointer, a genuine mineral rod, indicating to the student where the gold mines are. If the reader is disposed to dig he will infallibly find rich veins of solid ore. Hence one negative excellency of the work is, that it never will damage the reader by doing all his thinking for him. The man who is accustomed to steal his sermons bodily, bones and flesh, from commentaries, will buy the wrong book if he buys the Gnomon. Bengel was endowed with a remarkable depth of insight and breadth of mental range, together with a marvelous conciseness and felicity of expression. He makes every word of the Bible utter some truth you never thought was in it, and leaves you wondering why you had not seen it before. Under the touch of his magic pen, even the genealogical tables of the evangelists, which we have been accustomed to pass by as dry and marrowless bones, are set before us full of fatness. Take Bengel with you as your guide through that divine temple, the New Testament, with every part of which you think yourself as familiar as with the stairways and apartments of your father's house, and at every step your guide tells you of hidden springs in the walls, which, if you touch, open unseen doors of cabinets full of precious stones, pearls and gold, and you blush to remember how many times

you have carelessly sauntered by these treasures, utterly ignorant of their existence. In this respect Bengel's acuteness of mental vision resembles the intellectual sharpsightedness of the immortal author of the Horæ Paulinæ, who dug up the undesigned coincidences in Paul's writings, buried so deep that the research of seventeen centuries had not found them, and welded those scattered links into a chain of evidence which infidelity can never break asunder. Bengel has a wonderful power to explain Scripture by itself; hence, he is full of references; not the common references printed in our Bibles, but those which are wholly new and apparently unrelated, but which on critical study are found full of light. It will not do to skip any of these, on the supposition that they are commonplace and superficial, for they often contain the solution of some difficulty or the forcible presentation of some truth. The Gnomon is a huge bundle of suggestions, in five volumes, 8vo. There are point, pith, and power in every period.

Though a German work, there are no Germanisms, no metaphysical haze, no places shaky with the dry rot of Rationalism. Bengel lived before the sirocco of Rationalism swept over the land of Luther. From his writings, as well as from the sketch of his life, appended to the Gnomon, we learn that he was a man eminently spiritually-minded, living in God's word, not only as the field of his life-toil, but as the garden of delights where his soul found food. Hence, any one who reads the Gnomon diligently will be repaid; but the highest benefits of the work will accrue to the thorough student of the Greek Testament. His exegetical hints are for the scholar, and require patience in the reader, on account of the author's use of a technical terminology, minute, antiquated, and rather burdensome, but which the translators have wisely retained in the appendix to save circumlocution and secure brevity. He who is able to read the original with any degree of fluency would do well to use it, and thereby retain and perfect his acquaintance with the tongue of Cicero and Augustine, while stimulating his intellect and refreshing his heart by companionship with one of the greatest of Christian scholars. S.

(6.) "*Shouting, Genuine and Spurious*, in all Ages of the Church, from the Birth of Creation, when the Sons of God shouted for Joy, until the Shout of the Archangel; with numerous Extracts from the Old and New Testament, and from the Works of Wesley, Edwards, Abbott, Cartwright, and Finley, giving a History of the Outward Demonstrations of the Spirit, such as Laughing, Screaming, Shouting, Leaping, Jerking, and Falling under the Power, etc. With extensive Comments, numerous Anecdotes, and Illustrations. By G. W. Henry, Author of 'Trials and Triumphs; or, Travels in Egypt,' 'Twilight and Beulah,' 'Wedlock and Padlock, Temporal and Spiritual,' 'Camp-meeting Hymn Book,' etc. With Steel Engraving of Author & Son." (12mo., pp. 425. Published and bound by the Author: Oneida, Madison County, New York. 1859.)

The author of this volume is entitled to respect for his piety, and sympathy for his misfortune; but he has produced a very weak and very pernicious book. We love a piety blending holy emotion with intellect. We know the rich power of spiritual joy. We thank God for the religion which has in all

ages made men weep and shout, and has even resulted, through human infirmity, in jerks and catalepsies; but we desire no effort to promote the weeping, shouting, jerking, and catalepsy as a distinct institution. We love in our home the gladness and buoyancy which make our children noisy and riotous; but it is no disparagement to our parental love that when the noise and the riot become special objects, or assume indecorous forms, we take measures to abate the domestic nuisance. And specially when the *noise* is cherished by them as in itself a source of pleasure, arousing the nerves by its concussions, and exciting the *animal* by its negation of restraint, it is an act and a duty of parental kindness not only to suppress the demonstration, but to correct the taste that enjoys it. With just the same view, as a pastor, we love in the Church the rich devotion which prompts to earnest manifestation; but, as we think, "nature itself teaches" that such *manifestation* is rather to be an irrepressible accident than an object; that it is never to be made an aim; that when unchecked, it is very liable to assume unseemly forms and extravagant lengths, and that its encouragement is very apt to produce a sensuous love of the nervous excitement, and to engender a very unintelligent style of piety.

To a certain extent it is true that extravagant external demonstration of emotion is the characteristic of a rude age, society, or class. The very essence of savageism, indeed, consists in wreaking its malign emotions in cruel action upon its victims. The half-civilized man gives free vent to his impulses in unmodified, unchastened laughter, crying, shouting, howling, leaping, and dancing. The Old Testament presents specimens of this in fact and in language, which are not to be quoted as models for action, or literal requirements for obedience. The ram's horns of Jericho would not justify a religious charivari, nor the dance of David authorize a holy cotillion. As society advances, decorum chastens our exhibitions of emotion; and the cultivation of the intellect, and the refinement of the taste, while in fact they deepen our better feelings, soften their expression. The Old Testament mother wept and howled, and even hired salaried howlers to express her extravagant grief. But her affections were less pure, less deep than those of yonder Christian mother, who hides the face suffused with silent tears. The expression of religious emotion obeys the same laws; and he who wishes to cultivate extravagant religious demonstration in itself *as an object simply*, desires to send us back to a rude antiquity. He cherishes a forced and false enthusiasm; and when, in addition to that, he rebukes as false professors the Christians who maintain a chaste reserve, he becomes censorious and condemnable. He then exhibits the "enthusiasm with an infusion of the malign emotions"—which is, as near as we can recollect, Isaac Taylor's exquisite definition of fanaticism.

(7.) "*Lectures on the Moral Government of God.* By NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR, D.D., Late Dwight Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College. 2 vols." (8vo., pp. 417, 423. New York: Clark, Austin, & Smith. 1859.)

We regret that our limits do not permit us to notice at some length this elaborate work. The able author considered it the great production of his life, the object of his labors, the monument of his name. Its purpose is to stand as a theodicy, and a theodicy identical with that of the Divine Word.

For this purpose the author draws up, at great length and with great constructive power, a draught of what a Divine Moral Government should be, and then shows as a counterpart that this theodicy is coincident with the scheme of Christianity. Thereby this theodicy becomes a powerful demonstration of the Christian religion. Theodicy and theology are as one. A true philosophy and a true religion agree, or rather are identical.

As a theology it would be easy to show that it is, as all self-styled moderate Calvinism is, a failure. High Calvinism is self-consistent, but contradicts our primary moral intuitions. Moderate Calvinism attempts to suit our intuitions, but contradicts itself. Its tergiversations are illustrated by a single instance in these volumes. Dr. Taylor repudiates the terms "*decree, predestination, and the like.*" This sounds very liberal, and we dreamed that we were catching a true Arminian. Yet he is forthwith compelled to substitute some synonym embracing the same traditional meaning—the meaning that has rendered those words stale and odious. He is compelled still to maintain that "God must *purpose* that every actual event shall take place;" "no event takes place which God has not *purposed* shall take place!" He may just as well have said that "no event takes place which God has not *decreed, determined, predestinated*"—the good old terms with the same old meaning. The man who affirms Dr. Taylor's propositions may just as well affirm "God preordains whatever comes to pass;" and he then may as well fling in necessitarianism and fatalism gratuitously. With Dr. Taylor's premises Bennet Tyler's conclusions are resistless.

Dr. Taylor's mind was clear and comprehensive. His style is lucid and strong. He sheds illumination upon point after point as he progresses. His work is well worth the perusal of the thinking student of theology.

(8.) "*Christ and his Church in the Book of Psalms.* By Rev. ANDREW A. BONAR." (8vo., pp. 457. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

Throughout the Psalms, Dr. Bonar maintains there is present to the inspired mind the idea of some one individual, a righteous man and a perfect, who is no other than the Living One. This is the Messiah. And though the utterances of the Psalms are brought out and shaped by occasions, yet they have a life suited to holy hearts in all ages. Christ and the Church, therefore, pervade this body of divine hymnology.

Having this idea for its standpoint, the volume possesses a specific object and character. This object is maintained with great interest and ability. As a general standard work on the Psalms, however, it will not compare with the volume by Dr. Hibbard, a volume which has met the high approbation of critics and students of different denominations in both England and America.

(9.) "*A Discourse on Church Polity.* By T. A. MORRIS, D.D., Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church." (18mo., pp. 93. Cincinnati: Swormsted & Poe. 1859.)

This little book contains a discourse by the Bishop before the North Indiana and Pittsburgh Conferences, and published by their request. His words are wise and his counsels weighty.

(10.) "*Inside Views of Methodism;* or, a Hand-Book for Inquirers and Beginners. By WILLIAM REDDY, of the Oneida Annual Conference. (24mo., pp. 188. New York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street. 1859.)

A popular manual, well suited to the times. It is one of those small books, interesting to the general mind, which will be read in a brief hour or so, and leave their impress on the memory. It should attain a large circulation.

(11.) "*A Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Practical, on the Epistle to the Ephesians.* By R. E. PATTISON, D.D., Late President of Waterville College." (12mo., pp. 244. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New York: Sheldon & Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard. 1859.)

This neat volume of Commentary is intended for popular use. It is prepared specially for one class of readers—intelligent, experienced Christians. It is Calvinistic, though it does not strongly bring out doctrinal points. For the benefit of Bible classes, a series of questions is added. The divisions are logical, and the style clear and flowing.

II.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(12.) "*The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., Vol. II." (12mo., pp. 520. Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street. London: Alexander Heylin, Paternoster Row. 1859.)

The second volume of Dr. Stevens's History more than fulfills the promise of the first. As the narrative advances the plot thickens, the area expands to a world-wide extent, and the magnitude of the work rises into grandeur. From the crowd of characters of varied interest, the personality of Wesley emerges in natural superiority, until he is seen to be the spontaneous master by necessary ascendancy of the whole system.

Thus much of this noble work is beyond contingency—a fact accomplished. It has in itself a rounded completeness, and yet contemplates a future. The high tone of commendation with which we first predicted its success has been amply ratified by critics of all creeds in America and England. When *finis* is written to the entire *monumentum ære perennius*, we shall be prepared to claim that as no modern Church has such a history to write, so none has such a written history. To members of our own Church the effects of its perusal will be to warm the heart with renewed spiritual emotions, to awaken a richer faith in the power of our Gospel, and to inspire a firmer loyalty to the institutes of Methodism.

(13.) "*Fiji and the Fijians.* By THOMAS WILLIAMS and JAMES CALVERT. Edited by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE." (8vo., pp. 551. New York: Appleton & Company. 1859.)

An article in our present Quarterly, by coincidence inserted before the present volume was received, might serve as a very good Review of it. It is a noble volume, and its pages are full of interest to the friend of missions. Williams and Calvert, the title should have said, were Wesleyan missionaries.

(14.) "*Life and Liberty in America;* or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857–8. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D., F.S.A. With Ten Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 413. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

Mr. Mackay's book is written with the animated style of a true poet, and the tact and judgment of the thoroughbred practical observer. The accuracy of his observations in so rapid a tour is remarkable; and to all who can make allowance for inevitable mistakes, and do not demand that a writer should reproduce to themselves all their own opinions and prejudices, he will appear frank, candid, and liberal. He landed at New York, where his impressions of Broadway and his comparisons of its traits with the most splendid streets of Europe will satisfy even a "native American." He ranged through the South, and his remarks on what he saw there are so well-tempered and manly that his pages are worthy to be quoted as an authority. The spirit in which he writes may be appreciated from the following passage, in the preface which we quote in default of room for larger extracts:

"He returned from America with a greater respect for the people than when he first set foot upon the soil. And if, with his European notions that a man's color makes no difference in his natural rights, he has come to the same conclusion as previous travelers, that 'Liberty' in the New World is not yet exactly what the founders of the Union intended it to be, he trusts that he has expressed his opinions without bitterness, and that, while he can admire the political virtues of the republic, he is not obliged to shut his eyes to its defects or its vices. It is on American soil that the highest destinies of civilization will be wrought out to their conclusions, and the record of what is there doing, however often the story may be told, will be always interesting and novel. Progress crawls in Europe, but gallops in America. The record of European travel may be fresh ten or twenty years after it is written, but that of America becomes obsolete in four or five. It took our England nearly a thousand years, from the days of the Heptarchy to those of William III., to become of as much account in the world as the United States have become in the lifetime of old men who still linger among us. Those who bear this fact in mind will not concur in the opinion that books of American travel are likely to lose their interest, even amid the turmoil of European wars, and the complications created by the selfish ambition of rulers whose pretensions and titles are alike anachronisms in the nineteenth century."

(15.) "*Ten Years of Preacher-life:* Chapters from an Autobiography. By WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN, Author of 'The Rifle, Axe, and Saddle-Bags.'" (12mo., pp. 363. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.)

By talent, by misfortune, by refined, intellectual, and pure moral character, Mr. Milburn has become a sort of gentle pet to an affectionate public. In the volume before us he has narrated in his own pure, flowing, transparent style the ten brief years of ministerial life which constitute thus far his history and have made his fame. It abounds with pleasant picture, varied event, piquant anecdote, and interspersed portraitures of public men. No autobiography was ever, with one or two exceptional passages, more unaffectedly modest. The successes which, in his narrative, turn up as unexpected surprises, have their solution in qualities of his own character, which his book amply manifests, but does not name. It is a fascinating book, tempting the reader to violate the laws of Hygiene in the unintentional effort to finish it at a single session.

It is a phenomenon hardly to have been expected that the rough "Brush

College" of our western itinerancy should turn out so æsthetic a graduate, who is so skillful in translating its rough lessons into romance, and so little inclined to say with the old Hetman in Mazeppa,

"Ill betide
The school wherein I learned to ride."

The same amenity which enabled him to appreciate genially the adventures of the rough West, enables him to see without seeing the morally repulsive institutions and demoralized style of statesmanship in the "sunny South."

(16.) "*Three Visits to Madagascar*, during the Years 1853, 1854, 1856. Including a Journey to the Capital, with Notices of the Natural History of the Country, and of the Present Civilization of the People. By the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, F.H.S., Author of 'Polynesian Researches.' Illustrated by Woodcuts from Photographs," etc. (8vo., pp. 514. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.) We have here another of those stately volumes of travel, in addition to Barth and Livingstone, issued from the Harper press, which, from their great bulk and high price will attain but a limited market, and are likely to be far more valuable to the world than remunerative to the publishers. It is from a hand well known to the missionary world. It concerns a country appearing to us like a fancy scene. In its Christian history the martyrdoms, the faith, the increase, amid cruel persecution, of the native converts, have reproduced in our own day the moral wonders, if not the physical miracles of the first century of Christianity. The dubious future of this people is portrayed by Mr. Ellis with deep interest. The character of the heir-apparent, on whom apparently so much of that future humanly depends, is delineated very impressively. To the philanthropic and Christian heart the volume will prove one of the most intensely absorbing books of the season, while to the savan it presents some objects of peculiar novelty.

(17.) "*Germany.* By Madame The BARONESS DE STAEL HOLSTEIN. With Notes and Appendices, by O. W. WIGHT, A.M. 2 vols." (12mo., pp. 408, 437. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.)

Madame de Stael's great work on Germany was translated into English in 1814, and soon after republished in America. It first opened to the English and American mind the wonders of that literature which has since become the object of a profound interest and the source of immeasurable influences. The present edition, forming a part of Derby & Jackson's new series of translations from French literature, has been revised with great care by Mr. Wight. The work is pronounced by Sir James Mackintosh "the greatest production of feminine genius."

(18.) "*The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D.*, with Notices of Cotemporary Persons and Events. By his son, THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING. Vol. I." (12mo., pp. 389. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

This important work has been noticed with high commendation by the leading Quarterly Reviews in England. We shall not notice it in full, as we shall give an extended article upon it in the next number of the Quarterly.

(19.) "*The Life and Times of Adam Clarke, LL.D.* By J. W. Etheridge, M.A., Doctor in Philosophy, of the University of Heidelberg, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris." (12mo., pp. 489. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.)

By far the best biography of Dr. Clarke ever published. New documents have been put into the possession of the writer. His management of his matter is excellent, his style truly attractive. It is worthy its illustrious subject, and for the first time the Church has received a biography of Clarke which she will be willing to accept and assign the place of a permanent standard. It is worthy to take its place by the side of the biography of Dr. Bunting.

III.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(20.) "*Slavery in the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Elias Bowen, D.D." (12mo. pp. 317. Auburn: W. J. Moses. 1859.)

Dr. Bowen takes the sternest view of the moral law of slavery, and the most somber view of our prospects on the subject of freedom. Slavery is *malum per se;* antislaveryism in the Church is declining; nothing but deep suffering and radical measures can produce the remedy. If this be so, it behooves us all full well to know it. We are to inaugurate *de novo* a more fundamental style of antislaveryism. A more sanguine temperament, perhaps too sanguine, has induced us, in common with many others, to entertain more cheering contemplations. So far as we can judge there has never been so general and yet so sound an antislaveryism in our Church at any former period. Meantime, what the moral force of the Church is too feeble to accomplish, God in his providence is accomplishing. At this hour slave states are fast becoming free states, free states are multiplying with amazing rapidity, and the "great evil" is fast preparing to *roll itself out* of the geographical territories of our Church. If we read aright the propitious omens, the controversy and its cause will soon disappear from our horizon. A free, yet patient spirit will see the salvation of God.

(21.) "*Review of the Lectures of William A. Smith, D.D.*, on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery, as exhibited in the Institution of Domestic Slavery in the United States, with the Duties of Masters to Slaves, in a series of Letters addressed to the Author. By Rev. John H. Power. D.D." (12mo., pp. 369. Cincinnati: Published by Swormstedt & Poe for the Author. 1859.)

There is no need of attempting to prove an axiom, and one might thence infer that there is no need of proving the criminality of slavery. The moment the axiomatic proposition is understood, the healthy mind instinctively and promptly affirms it. All this is true; and yet, though it is unnecessary to demonstrate the axiomatic proposition, there may be a necessity to refute the sophisms by which such proposition is misstated, obscured, entangled, and practically nullified by apparently counter but fraudful presentations. To dissipate the obscurities and bring out the axiom into the clear, full light of conscious perception, is often a great labor. And this labor Dr. Power has

well performed. Whoever wishes to give the theory of slavery a fundamental investigation should procure his work. For their convenience we may state that a remittance by mail of one dollar to the author at Middletown, Iowa, will procure a copy through the same medium from our Book Rooms at Cincinnati.

(22.) "*Compendium of the Impending Crisis of the South.* By HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina." (12mo., pp. 214. New York: A. B. Burdick. 1859.)

This is a book republished for cheap circulation, showing the economical and moral evils of bondage. We noticed it upon its first issue. Among its additional matter we are sorry to find that it contains an extract from Mr. Mattison's book, classifying the Methodist Episcopal with the mass of indiscriminably slaveholding Churches. Serious and just objections have been taken to this classification, as conveying, however near it may be to verbal truth, an impression erroneous and unjust. Methodists in general will be reluctant to circulate an account of our position so discreditable. We call the attention of the respected publisher to this point.

(23.) "*History of France*, from the Earliest Times to 1848. By the Rev. JAMES WHITE, Author of 'The Eighteen Christian Centuries.'" (New York: Appleton & Co. 1859.)

No history of the most brilliant of the continental nations of Europe in the language, perhaps, so supplies the need of the general reader as the present volume. So extended a subject needs to be treated with great skill and judgment to bring it into the proper compass suitable at once for the scholarly and the popular. In its proper selection of prominent and characteristic events, its judicious expansions and contractions, its clear and animated style, it is a model in its class.

IV.—*Educational.*

(24.) "*The Analytic and Phonetic Word-Book:* in which the Spelling of Words is made Phonetic, without altering their present Orthography, and their Composition and Orthoepy exhibited by their Arrangement and Classification. By J. C. ZACHOS, A.M." (12mo., pp. 151. Cincinnati: Moore. Wilstach, Keys, & Co.)

An ingenious and original method of reducing our disorderly English orthography to order, of overcoming the difficulties of learning it, and recovering the "lost art" of accurate spelling.

(25.) "*The Science of Education and Art of Teaching:* in Two Parts. By JOHN OGDEN, A.M." (12mo., pp. 478. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys, & Co.; New York: Ivison & Phinney. 1859.)

A work constructed on a philosophical plan, and full of happy suggestions, calculated to elevate our views of the educational profession, and both to stimulate and instruct the practical teacher.

(26.) "*Roman Orthoëpy:* A Plea for the Restoration of the True System of Latin Pronunciation. By JOHN F. RICHARDSON, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in the University of Richmond." (16mo., pp. 114. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.)

In the year 1851 Professor Haldeman, of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the most accomplished scholars of our country, published his Elements of Latin Pronunciation, in which he maintained the doctrine that it was fully possible to restore the Old Roman pronunciation of the Latin Language. This pamphlet, from some other cause than want of interest or importance in the subject, or success in its treatment, apparently failed to attract general attention. In the little book before us Professor Richardson has taken up the topic, and in a series of arguments, founded mainly on the same facts presented by Haldeman, has endeavored to impress the minds of the Latin scholars of our country with the importance of removing the present disagreements in the mode of Latin pronunciation, and restoring harmony by accepting truth. We would particularly call the attention of our academic and collegiate instructors to a fair consideration of his work.

A collation of the scattered hints left by ancient grammarians and rhetoricians, together with a comparison of the modes of pronouncing Greek and Roman letters, results in the establishment of the following scheme of vowel sounds as true according to ancient Roman orthoëpy:

ă	sounds like			the English	ăh,	as in	Dă-bam.
ā	"			"	āh,	"	Nā-bam.
ē	"	a	in	"	fāte	"	Vē-ni-o.
ē	"	a	"	"	făne	"	Vĕ-ni.
ĭ	"	ee	"	"	flēēt	"	Vĭ-de-o.
ī	"	ee	"	"	flēē	"	Vī-di.
ŏ	"	o	"	"	nōte	"	Fŏ-ve-o.
ō	"	o	"	"	tōne	"	Fō-vi.
ŭ	"	oo	"	"	bōōt	"	Fŭ-gi-o.
ū	"	oo	"	"	mōōn	"	Fū-gi.

Y, used only in Greek derivatives, sounds nearly like the French *u*.

The following is the scheme of diphthongs:

Ae (= Ai)	sounds like	ay,	the English	adverb of affirmation.
Au	"	"	ow,	in	"	now.
Oe (= Oi)	"	"	oi,	"	"	stoic, or,
			œ,	"	"	co-equal.

The main differences between the English pronunciation of the Roman and English consonants are in C and Qu, which always sound like the Greek κ; G, which is always hard, like the Greek γ; J, which resembles a slight initial Y; S, which is never soft like Z; and I, which never sounds like sh before io. The difference between the long and short vowels is not in quality but in quantity, a long vowel being twice the length of a short. Quantity, therefore, is not simply a separate matter, to be used only as an arbitrary test of useless memoriter scholarship, but is strictly introduced into audible pronunciation. Pronunciation secures both the remembrance and the exhibition of longs and shorts. There is a simplicity and a phonetic uniformity in the scheme of sounds which is proof of its truth and productive of easy acquirement. There is a music in the utterance consonant with the majesty of Roman speech. Its adoption in prose renders our present dry drill in scanning a

lightsome and agreeable exercise. These and other arguments, adduced by Professor Richardson with great apparent force, constitute a strong presumptive claim to the respectful attention of our classical scholars.

The discrepancies in the Latin and Greek pronunciation, exhibited by our different classical institutions, are a standing inconvenience and disgrace. The pronunciations are based in acknowledged error. They are founded in no pretense of truth. They presuppose, moreover, the impossibility of attaining truth. The different nations of Europe adopt that pronunciation which accords with the analogy of their own language, and English and American scholars have done the same thing. If we are to adopt a false system we may as well adopt a home-made as a foreign; especially when all the supposed superiorities of the foreign are accidental, and not in the principle. So long, then, as both systems are based upon no genuine foundation, there can be no harmony; for neither can present any essential superiority over the other. But introduce the genuine pronunciation and a basis of unity is presented. It is then hardly less than a matter of morality in our system of education to repudiate error and adopt the truth.

V.—*Belles-Lettres.*

(27.) "*Idyls of the King.* By ALFRED TENNYSON, D.C.L., Poet Laureate." (12mo., pp. 227. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.)

These Idyls are no Idyls at all. They are a beautiful romaunt, in Tennyson's more flowing and diffuse style, picturing the scenes and characters of the middle ages. The King is "the flower of royalty"—*Flos regum Arthurus*—the warlike Messiah of the ancient Britons, the semi-mythical King Arthur. It forms one of Ticknor & Fields' series of English classics in russet coats.

VII.—*Juvenile.*

"*Emilie the Peacemaker.* By Mrs. THOMAS GELDART." (16mo., pp. 179. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.)

"*Sunday Morning Thoughts;* or, Great Truths in Plain Words. By Mrs. THOMAS GELDART." (12mo, pp. 219. New York: Sheldon & Co.)

"*Sunday Evening Thoughts.* By Mrs. THOMAS GELDART." (16mo., pp. 206. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.)

"*Kind Words for Children,* to Guide them in the Path of Peace." By Rev. HARVEY NEWCOMB." (18mo., pp. 141. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.)

VIII.—*Miscellaneous.*

"*My Third Book.* A Collection of Tales. By LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON." (12mo., pp. 434. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*From Dawn to Daylight;* or, The Simple Story of a Western Home. By a Minister's Wife." (12mo., pp. 339. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1859.)

"*The Little Lychetts, and other Stories.*" (16mo., pp. 335. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1860.)

"*The Young Pilgrim.* A Story Illustrative of the Pilgrim's Progress. By the Author of the 'Giant-Killer, or the Battle which all must Fight.' Four Illustrations." (18mo., pp. 334. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.)

"*The Arbor;* or, Sequel to Voices from the Old Elm. By Rev. H. P. Andrews. Five Illustrations. (18mo., pp. 238. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859.)

"*A Natural Philosophy:* Embracing the most recent Discoveries in the various Branches of Physic, and exhibiting the Application of Scientific Principles in every-day Life. Adapted to use with or without apparatus, and accompanied with full descriptions of experiments, practical exercises, and numerous illustrations." (12mo., pp. 450. By G. P. Quackenboss, A.M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.)

"*Memoirs of James Wilson, Esq., F.R.S.E., M.W.S., of Woodville.*" By James Hamilton, D.D., F.L.S." (12mo., pp. 395. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Walter Thornley;* or, A Peep at the West. By the Author of Allen Prescott and Alida." (12mo., pp. 486. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859.)

"*Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses.* By Agnes Strickland. Vol. 8." (12mo., pp. 379. New York: Harper & Brothers.)

"*Cosmos;* a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from the German by E. C. Otte and W. S. Dallas, F.L.S." (12mo., pp. 462. New York: Harper & Brothers.)

"*A Compendium of American Literature* Chronologically arranged, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, and Selections from their Works, on the Plan of the Author's Compendium of English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. By Charles D. Cleveland." (12mo., pp. 284. Philadelphia: E. C. and J. Biddle. 1859.)

"*A Manual of Elementary Chemistry,* Theoretical and Practical. By George Fownes, F.R.S., late Professor of Practical Chemistry in University College, London. From the seventh and corrected London edition. Edited by Robert Bridges, M.D., Professor of Chemistry in the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy." (12mo., pp. 600. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea.)

"*The Roman Question.* Translated from the French of Edmond About. By Mrs. Annie T. Wood. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. E. N. Kirk, D.D." (12mo., pp. 308. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 1859.).

"*The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians.* By Charles Rollin, late Principal of the University of Paris. Translated from the French. Abridged by W. H. Wyckoff, LL.D., Late Principal of the Collegiate School. Complete in one volume." (8vo., pp. 550. New York: Sheldon & Co. Chicago: S. G. Griggs & Co.)

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